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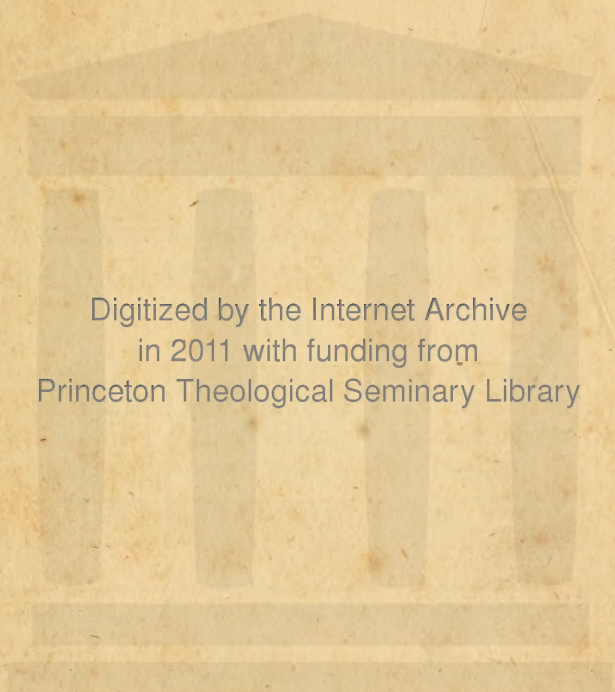
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PURITANS,
OR,

Protestant Non-Conformists,

FROM THE

Death of King CHARLES I. to the
Act of Toleration by King WILLIAM
and Queen MARY, in the Year 1689.

WITH

An Account of their Principles; their Attempts
for a further REFORMATION in the
CHURCH; their Sufferings; and the Lives
and Characters of their Principal DIVINES.

By DANIEL NEAL, M. A.

VOL. IV.

*This know also, that in the last Days perilous Times
shall come, 2 Tim. iii. 1.*

*They shall put you out of the Synagogues; yea, the Time
cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he
doth God Service, John xvi. 2.*

DUBLIN:

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Head in Dame-street,

MDCCCLV.

HISTORY
OF THE
PURITANS

Protestant Non-Conformists

FROM THE
DEATH OF KING CHARLES I. TO THE
ACT OF TOLERATION BY KING WILLIAM
AND QUEEN MARY, IN THE YEAR 1689.

BY DANIEL WOLFE, M.A.
OF LINCOLN'S INN, BARRISTER AT LAW.
AND OF LINCOLN'S INN, BARRISTER AT LAW.
LONDON: Printed by J. B. R. in the Strand, near St. Dunstons Church.
1725.



T H E
P R E F A C E.

THIS Volume brings the History of the Sufferings of the Puritans down to its period ; for though the Protestant Dissenters have since complained of several difficulties and discouragements, yet most of the Penal Laws have been suspended ; the prosecutions of the Spiritual Courts have been considerably restrained by the kind interposition of the Civil Powers, and Liberty of Conscience enjoyed without the Hazard of Fines, Imprisonments, and other Terrors of this World.

The Times now in review were stormy and boisterous : Upon the Death of King Charles I. the Constitution was dissolved : The Men at the Helm had no legal Authority to change the Government into a Commonwealth, the Protectorship of Cromwel was an Usurpation, because grafted only on the Military Power, and so were all the mishapen Forms into which the Administration was cast till the Restoration of the King. In order to pass a right Judgment

ment upon these extraordinary Revolutions, the temper and circumstances of the Nation are to be duly considered ; for these actions which in some circumstances are highly criminal, may in a different situation of affairs become necessary. The parties engaged in the Civil Wars were yet living, and their resentments against each other so much enflamed, as to cut off all hopes of a Reconciliation ; each dreaded the others success, well knowing they must fall a Sacrifice to those who should prevail. All present views of the King's recovering his Father's Throne were defeated at the Battle of Worcester, the Loyalists being then entirely broken and dispersed ; so that if some such extraordinary genius as Cromwel's had not undertaken to steer the Nation through the storm, it had not been possible to hold the Government together till Providence should open a Way for restoring the Constitution, and settling it on its legal Basis.

The various Forms of Government (if they deserve that Name) which the Officers of the Army introduced after the death of Cromwel, made the Nation sick of their frenzies, and turned their Eyes towards their banished Sovereign, whose Restoration, after all, could not be accomplished without great imprudence on one part, and the most artful dissimulation on the other. The Presbyterians, like weak politicians, surrendered at discretion, and parted with their Power on no other security than the Royal Word, for which they have been sufficiently reproached ; though I am of opinion, that if the King had been brought in by a Treaty, the succeeding Parliament would have set it aside. On the other hand, nothing can be more notorious, than the deep hypocrisy of General Monk, and the solemn assurances given by the Bishops and other Loyalists, and even by the King himself, of burying all past offences under the Foundation of the Restoration ; but when they were lifted into the saddle,

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dle, the haste they made to shew how little they meant by their promises, exceeded the rules of decency as well as honour. Nothing would satisfy, till their adversaries were disarmed, and in a manner deprived of the Protection of the Government; the terms of Conformity were made narrower and more exceptionable than before the Civil Wars, the Penal Laws were rigorously executed, and new ones framed almost every Session of Parliament for several successive years; the Non-conformist Ministers were banished five miles from all the Corporations in England, and their People sold for Sums of Money to carry on the King's unlawful pleasures, and to bribe the Nation into Popery and Slavery; till the House of Commons, awakened at last with a sense of the threatening danger grew intractable, and was therefore dissolved. His Majesty having in vain attempted several other Representatives of the People, determined some time before his death to change the Constitution, and govern by his sovereign Will and Pleasure; that the mischiefs which could not be brought upon the Nation, by consent of Parliament, might be introduced under the wing of the Prerogative; but the Roman Catholicks not satisfied with the slow proceedings of a disguised Protestant, or apprehending that the discontents of the people and his own love of ease might induce him some time or other to change measures, resolved to have a Prince of their own religion, and more sanguine principles on the throne, which hasten'd the crisis of the nation, and brought forward that Glorious Revolution of King William and Queen Mary, which put a final period to all their projects.

The nature of my design does not admit of a large and particular relation of all the Civil Transactions of these times, but only of such a summary as may give light to the affairs of religion; and I could have wished that the memory of both had been entirely blotted out of the records of time, if the animosities of the several parties, and their unchristian prin-

ciples had been buried with them; but, as the remembering them may be a Warning to posterity, it ought to give no offence to any denomination of Christians of the present age, who are no ways answerable for the conduct of their ancestors, nor can otherwise share in a censure of it, than as they maintain the same principles, and imitate the same unchristian behaviour. At the end of each year I have added the characters of the principal Non-conformist Ministers as they died, partly from the historians of those times, but chiefly from the writings of the late reverend Dr. Calamy, whose integrity, moderation, and industry, deserve a peculiar commendation. My design was to preserve the memory of the Reverend Assembly of Divines at Westminster, as well as of the little Army of Confessors, who afterwards suffered so deeply in the cause of Non-conformity.

In passing a judgment on the several parties in Church and State, I have carefully distinguished between those who went into all the arbitrary measures of the Court, and such as stood firm by the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of their Country; for it must be allowed, that in the reign of King Charles II. there were even among the clergy, some of the worst as well as best of men, as will appear to a demonstration in the course of this history; but I desire no greater stress may be laid upon Facts or Characters than the quality of the Vouchers in the margin will support. Where these have been differently related, I have relied on the best authorities, and sometimes reported from both sides, leaving the Reader to chuse for himself: for, if Facts are fairly represented, the Historian is discharged. I am not so vain as to imagine this history free from Errors; but if any mistakes of consequence are made to appear, they shall be acknowledged with thankfulness to those who shall point them out in a civil and friendly manner: And as I aim at nothing but Truth,
I see

I see no reason to engage in a warm defence of any parties of Christians who pass before us in review, but leave their conduct to the censure of the World. Some few Remarks of my own are here and there interspersed, which the Reader will receive according as he apprehends them to follow from the premises; but I flatter myself, that when he has carefully perused the several Volumes of this History, he will agree with me in the following Conclusion.

First, That Uniformity of Sentiments in Religion is not to be attained among Christians; nor will a Comprehension within an Establishment be of service to the cause of truth and liberty without a Toleration of all other dutiful Subjects. Wise and good Men, after their most diligent searches after Truth, have seen Things in a different light, which is not to be avoided as long as they have liberty to judge for themselves. If Christ had appointed an infallible Judge upon Earth; or Men were to be determined by an implicit Faith in their Superiors, there would be an end of such differences; but all the Engines of human Policy that have been set at work to obtain it have hitherto failed of success. Subscriptions, and a variety of oaths and other tests have occasioned great mischiefs to the Church; By these means Men of weak morals, and ambitious Views have been raised to the highest Preferments, while others of stricter virtue, and superior talents, have been neglected and laid aside; and Power has been lodged in the hands of those who have used it in an unchristian manner, to force Men to an agreement in sounds and outward appearances, contrary to the true conviction and sense of their minds; and thus a lasting reproach has been brought on the Christian Name, and on the genuine principles of a Protestant Church.

Secondly, All parties of Christians, when in Power, have been guilty of persecution for Conscience sake. The annals of the Church are a most melancholy demonstration of this truth. Let the reader call to mind the bloody proceedings of the Popish Bishops in Queen Mary's reign; and the account that has been given of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court in later times; what numbers of useful Ministers have been sequester'd, imprison'd, and their families reduced to poverty and disgrace for refusing to wear a white surplice, or to comply with a few indifferent ceremonies! What havock did the Presbyterians make with their Covenant Uniformity; their Jure Divino discipline, and their rigid prohibition of reading the old Service Book! And though the Independants had a better notion of the rights of Conscience, how defective was their instrument of Government under Cromwel! How arbitrary the proceedings of their Tryers! How narrow their list of Fundamentals! And how severe their restraints of the Press! And though the rigorous proceedings of the Puritans of this age, did by no means rival those of the Prelates before and after the Civil Wars, yet they are so many Species of persecution, and not to be justified even by the confusion of the times in which they were acted.

Thirdly, "It is unsafe and dangerous to intrust any sort of Clergy with the power of the Sword;" for our Saviour's Kingdom is not of this World, "if it were (says he) then would my Servants fight, but now is my Kingdom not from hence." The Church and State should stand on a distinct Basis, and their Jurisdiction be agreeable to the nature of their crimes; those of the Church purely Spiritual, and those of the State purely Civil; as the King is supream in the State, he is also head, or guardian of the Church in those spiritual rights that Christ has intrusted

intrusted it with. When the Church in former ages first assumed the secular power, it not only rival'd the State, but in a little time lifted up its head above Emperors and Kings, and all the Potentates of the Earth : The Thunder of its Anathema's was heard in all Nations, and “ in her skirts was found “ the Blood of the Prophets, and Saints, and of all “ that were slain upon the Earth.” And whenever it recovers the wound that was given it at the Reformation, it will undoubtedly resume the same absolute coercive dominion. It is therefore the interest of all Sovereign Princes, to keep the Clergy within the limits that Christ has prescribed them in the New Testament, and not to trust them with the power of inflicting corporal pains and penalties on their Subjects, which have no relation to the Christian methods of Conversion.

Fourthly, “ Reformation of Religion, or a Redress of grievances in the Church has not in fact “ arisen from the Clergy.” I would not be thought to reflect upon that venerable order, which is of great usefulness, and deserved honour, when the ends of its institution are pursued ; but so strange has been the infatuation, so enchanting the lust of dominion, and the charms of riches and honour, that the propagation of piety and virtue has been very much neglected, and little else thought of but how they might rise higher in the authority and grandeur of this world, and fortify their strong holds against all that should attack them. In the dawn of the Reformation the Clergy maintained the Pope's Supremacy against the King, till they were cast in a Præmunire. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth there was but one of the whole bench who would join in the consecration of a Protestant Bishop ; and when the Reformation was established, how cruelly did these Protestant Bishops, who themselves had suffered for Religion, vex the Puritans, because they could
not

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not come up to their standard. How unfriendly did they behave at the Hampton-Court Conference ! At the Restoration of King Charles II. and at the late Revolution of King William and Queen Mary ! when the most solemn promises were broken, and the most hopeful opportunity of accommodating differences among Protestants lost, by the perverseness of the Clergy towards those very men who had saved them from ruin. So little ground is there to hope for an Union amongst Christians, or the propagation of Truth, Peace, and Charity, from Councils, Synods, General Assemblies, or Convocations of the Clergy of any sort whatsoever.

Fifthly, Upon these principles it is evident, “ that
 “ Freedom of Religion, in subordination to the Civil
 “ Power, is for the benefit of society, and no ways
 “ inconsistent with a publick Establishment.” The
 King may create dignitaries, and give sufficient Encouragement to those of the publick Religion, without invading the Liberties of his Dissenting Subjects. If Religious Establishments were stript of their Judicial Processes, and Civil Jurisdiction, no harm could be feared from them. And as his Majesty is Defender of the Faith in Scotland as well as England, and equally the guardian of both Churches, he will, no doubt, hold the balance, and prevent either from rising to such a pitch of greatness as to act independently on the State, or become formidable or oppressive to their neighbours ; the former would create Imperium in Imperio ; and “ there is but
 “ one step between the Church’s being independant
 “ on the State, and the State becoming dependant
 “ on the Church.” Besides, as freedom of Religion is for the true honour and dignity of the Crown, it is no less for the service of the Community ; for the example of the neighbouring Nations may convince us, that “ Uniformity in the Church will al-
 “ ways be attended with absolute and despotick
 “ power

“ power in the State.” The meetings of Dissenting Protestants were formerly called seditious, because the peace of the publick was falsely supposed to consist in Uniformity of Worship ; but long experience has taught us the contrary ; for, though the Non-conformists in those times gave no disturbance to the administration, the Nation was far from being at peace ; but when things came to a crisis, their joining with the Church against a corrupt Court and Ministry, saved the Religion and Liberties of the Nation. It must therefore be the interest of a free people to support and encourage Liberty of Conscience, and not to suffer any one great and powerful Religious Body to oppress, devour, and swallow up the rest.

Finally, “ When Protestant Dissenters recollect
 “ the sufferings of their fathers in the last age for
 “ the freedom of their consciences, let them be
 “ thankful that their lot is cast in more settled
 “ times.” The Liberties of England are the price of a great deal of blood and treasure ; wide breaches were made in the Constitution in the four reigns of the Male Line of the Stuarts, persecution and arbitrary power went hand in hand ; the Constitution was often in convulsive Agonies, when the patrons of liberty appeared boldly in the noble cause, and sacrificed their estates and lives in its defence. The Puritans stood firm by the Protestant Religion, and by the liberties of their Country in the reigns of King Charles II. and King James II. and received the Fire of the Enemy, from all their batteries, without moving sedition, or taking advantage of their persecutors, when it was afterwards in their power. Some amendments, in my humble opinion, are still wanting to settle the cause of liberty on a more equal basis, and to deliver wise and good men from the fetters of oaths, subscriptions and religious tests of all sorts. But whether such desirable blessings are
 in

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in reserve for this Nation, must be left to the determination of an All-wise Providence. In the mean time, may Protestant Dissenters express their gratitude for the protection and ease they enjoy at present, by an undissembled piety towards God ! By a firm and unshaken loyalty to his Majesty's Person, and wise administration ! by avoiding every thing that tends to persecution or censoriousness for meer differences in Religion ! And by the integrity of their own lives and manners ! And while they think it their duty to separate from the National Establishment, may they distinguish themselves by the exercise of all social Virtues, and stand fast in the Liberty where-with the Providence of God has made them free ! By such a conduct they will preserve their characters with all sober persons, and will transmit the Blessings of the present age to their latest posterity.

LONDON,
March 1, 1737-8.

DANIEL NEAL.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PURITANS.

CHAP. I.

From the Death of King CHARLES I to
the Coronation of King CHARLES II. in
Scotland.



PON the death of the late King, the
legal Government was dissolved, and all
that followed till the Restoration of
King Charles II. was no better than an
Usurpation under different shapes; the
House of Commons, if it may deserve
that name, after it had been purged of
a third part of its Members, relying on

Common-
wealth.
1649.

The Mo-
narchy
turn'd into
a Common-
wealth.

the "Act of Limitation," called themselves the "Su-
preme Authority of the Nation," and began with an Act
to disinheret the Prince of Wales, forbidding all persons to
proclaim him King of England, on pain of High Treason

Common-
wealth.
1649.

fon. The House of Lords was voted uselefs; and the office of a King unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous. The form of Government for the future was declared to be a free Commonwealth; the Executive Power to be lodged in the hands of a Council of State of forty persons, with full powers to take Care of the whole Administration for one year; new Keepers of the Great Seal were appointed, from whom the Judges received their Commissions, with the name, stile, and Title of "Custodes Libertatis Angliæ Authoritate Parliamenti," i. e. "Keepers of the liberties of England by Authority of Parliament." The Coin was stamped on one side with the Arms of England between a Laurel and a Palm, with this Inscription, "The Commonwealth of England;" and on the other, a Cross and Harp, with this Motto, "God with us." The Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy were abolished, and a new one appointed, called the "Engagement," which was, "To be true and faithful to the Government established without King or House of Peers." Such as refused the Oath were declared incapable of holding any place or office of trust in the Commonwealth; but as many of the excluded Members of the House of Commons as would take it resumed their places.

Remarks.

Such was the foundation of this new Constitution, which had neither the consent of the people of England, nor their Representatives in a free Parliament. "And if ever there was an usurped Government, mutilated, and founded only in Violence (says Rapin) it was that of this Parliament." But though it was unsupported by any other power but the Army, it was carried on by the most consummate wisdom, courage, and success, till the same power that set it up, was permitted by divine providence with equal violence to pull it down.

Opposed by
the Levellers.

The new Commonwealth met with opposition from divers quarters in its infant state: The Levellers in the Army gave out, that the people had only changed their yoke, not shaken it off; and that the Rump's little finger (for so the House of Commons was now called) would be heavier than the King's loins. The Agitators therefore petitioned the House to dissolve themselves; that new Representatives might be chosen. The Commons alarmed at these Proceedings, ordered their General Officers to cashier the Petitioners, and break their Swords over their Heads, which was done accordingly. But when the Forces passed under

Whitl.

p. 387, 389. a general review at Ware, their friends in the Army agreed to

to distinguish themselves by wearing something white in their hats; which Cromwel having some intelligence of beforehand, commanded two Regiments of Horse who were not in the secret, to surround one of the Regiments of Foot; and having condemned four of the ringleaders in a council of war, he commanded two of them to be shot to death by their other two associates, in sight of the whole Army; and to break the combination, eleven Regiments were ordered for Ireland; upon which great numbers deserted and marched into Oxfordshire; but General Fairfax and Cromwel having overtaken them at Abingdon, held them in treaty till Colonel Reynolds came up, and after some skirmishes dispersed them.

Common-
wealth.
1649.

The Scots threatened the Commonwealth with a more formidable invasion, for upon the death of King Charles I. they proclaim'd the Prince of Wales King of Scotland, and sent Commissioners to the Hague, to invite him into that Kingdom, "provided he would renounce Popery and Prelacy, and take the solemn League and Covenant." To prevent the effects of this treaty, and cultivate a good understanding with the Dutch, the Parliament sent Dr. Dorislaus, an eminent Civilian, concerned in the late King's trial, Agent to the States General; but the very first night after his arrival, May 3. he was murdered in his own chamber by twelve desperate Cavaliers in disguise, who rush'd in upon him while he was at supper, and with their drawn swords killed him upon the spot. Both the Parliament and States of Holland resented this base action so highly, that the young King thought proper to remove into France; from whence he went into the Isle of Jersey, and towards the latter end of the year fixed at Breda; where the Scots Commissioners concluded a treaty with him, upon which he ventured his Royal Person into that Kingdom the next year.

And by the
Scots.

Whitl.
P. 386.

But to strike terror into the Cavaliers, the Parliament erected another High Court of Justice, and sentenced to death three illustrious Noblemen, for the part they acted in the last civil war; Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and Lord Capel, who were all executed March 9. in the Palace Yard at Westminster: Duke Hamilton, declared himself a Presbyterian; and the Earl of Holland was attended by two Ministers of the same Persuasion; but Lord Capel was a thorough Loyalist, and went off the stage with the courage and bravery of a Roman.

But

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wealth.
1649.

L. G.
Cromwel
reduces
Ireland.

But the chief scene of great actions this year was in Ireland, which Cromwel, a bold and enterprizing Commander, was appointed to reduce; for this purpose he was made Lord Lieutenant for three years, and having taken leave of the Parliament, sailed from Milford Haven about the Middle of August with an Army of fourteen thousand brave Soldiers of resolute principles, who before the embarkation kept a day of fasting and prayer; in which Mr. Whitlock observes, that after three Ministers had prayed, Lieutenant General Cromwel himself, and the Colonels Gough and Harrison expounded some parts of Scripture excellently well, and pertinently to the occasion. The Army was under a severe discipline; not an oath was to be heard throughout the whole Camp, but the Soldiers spent their leisure hours in reading their Bibles, in singing Psalms, and religious Conferences.

His rapid
success.

Almost all Ireland was in the Hands of the Royalists and Roman Catholicks, except Dublin and Londonderry; the former of these places had been lately besieged by the Duke of Ormond with twenty thousand men, but the Garrison being recruited with three Regiments from England, the Governor, Colonel Jones, surprised the besiegers, and after a vigorous sally stormed their camp, and routed the whole Army, which dispersed itself into Drogheda, and other fortified places. Cromwel, upon his arrival, was received with the acclamations of a vast concourse of people, to whom he addressed himself from a rising Ground, with hat in hand, in a soldier-like manner, telling them, "He was come to cut down and destroy the barbarous and blood-thirsty Irish, with all their adherents; but that all who were for the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of their Country, should find suitable encouragement from the Parliament of England and himself, in proportion to their Merits." Having refreshed his forces he marched directly to Drogheda, which was garrison'd with 2500 Foot and 300 Horse, and was therefore thought capable of holding out a month; but the General neglecting the common forms of approach, batter'd the walls with his canons, and having made two Breaches, like an impatient Conqueror, entered the Town in person at the head of Colonel Ewer's Regiment of Foot, and put all the garrison to the sword. From thence he marched to Wexford, which he took likewise by storm, and after the example of Drogheda, put the garrison to the sword; the General declaring, that "He would sacrifice all the Irish Papists to the ghosts of
" the

“ the English Protestants whom they had massacred in cold blood.” The conquest of these places struck such a terror into the rest, that they surrendered upon the first summons; the name of Cromwel carrying victory on its wings before himself appeared. the whole Country was reduced by the middle of May, except Limerick, Galway, and one or two other places, which Ireton took the following Summer. Lord Inchequin deserted the remains of the Royal Army, and Ormond fled into France. Lieutenant General Cromwel being called home to march against the Scots, arrived at London about the middle of May, and was received by the Parliament and City in a martial and pompous manner, as a hero that had gained more laurels, and done more wonders in nine months, than any age or history could parallel.

Common-
wealth.
1649.

’Tis a remarkable account the Lieutenant General gives in one of his letters, of the behaviour of the Army after their arrival in Ireland; “ Their diligence, courage and behaviour is such (says he) through the providence of God, and strict care of the Chief Officers, that never men did obey orders more chearfully, nor go upon duty more courageously. Never did greater harmony and resolution appear to prosecute this cause of God, than in this Army. Such a consent of heart and hands; such a sympathy of affections, not only in carnal but in spiritual bonds, which ties faster than chains of adamant! I have often observed a wonderful consent of the Officers and Soldiers upon the Grounds of doing Service to God, and how miraculously they have succeeded. The Mind of Man being satisfied, and fixed on God, and that his undertaking is for God’s Glory, it gives the greatest Courage to those Men, and Prosperity to their Actions.”

Whitl,
p. 434.

To put the Affairs of Ireland together; the Roman Catholics charged the ill Success of their Affairs upon the Duke of Ormond, and sent him Word, “ That they were determined not to submit any longer to his commands, it not being fit that a Catholick Army should be under the direction of a Protestant General; but that, if he would depart the Kingdom they would undertake of themselves to drive Ireton out of Dublin.” After this they offered the Kingdom to the Duke of Lorraine, a bigotted Papist, who was wise enough to refuse it; and then quarrelling among themselves, they were soon driven out of all the strong holds of the Kingdom, and forced to submit to the Mercy of the Conqueror.

Summary
Account of
the State
of Ireland.

Common-
wealth.
1649.

Carrington's
Life of
Cromw. p.

155.

Clar. p. 153.

All that had born Arms in the late Insurrection were shipped away into France, Spain, or Flanders, never to return on pain of Death. Those who had a hand in murdering the Protestants at the time of the Massacre, were brought from several parts of the Country, and after a fair conviction upon Trial were executed. The rest of the Natives, who were called Tories, were shut up in the most inland Counties, and their Lands given partly in payment to the Soldiers who settled there, and the rest to the first Adventurers. Lord Clarendon relates it thus, "Near one hundred thousand of them were transported into foreign parts, for the Service of the Kings of France and Spain; double that number were consumed by the Plague, Famine, and other Severities exercised upon them in their own Country; the remainder were by Cromwel transplanted into the most inland, barren, desolate, and mountainous part of the Province of Connaught, and it was lawful for any Man to kill any of the Irish that were found out of the bounds appointed them within that Circuit. Such a proportion of Land was allotted to every Man, as the Protector thought competent for them; upon which they were to give formal Releases of all their Titles to their Lands in any other Provinces; if they refused to give such Releases, they were still deprived, and left to starve within the limits prescribed them; out of which they durst not withdraw; so that very few refused to sign those Releases, or other Acts which were demanded. It was a considerable time before these Irish could raise any thing out of their Lands to support their Lives; but necessity was the Spring of Industry." Thus they lived under all the brands of a conquered Nation till the Restoration of King Charles II. A just Judgment of God for their barbarous and unheard of cruelties to the Irish Protestants!

Conduct of
the Presby-
terians to-
wards the
new Go-
vernment.

To return to England: The Body of the Presbyterians acted in concert with the Scots, for restoring the King upon the Foot of the Covenant; several of their Ministers carried on a private Correspondence with the Chiefs of that Nation, and instead of taking the Engagement to the present Powers, called them Usurpers, and declined praying for them in their Churches; they also declared against a general Toleration, which the Army and Parliament contended for.

When

When Lieutenant General Cromwel was embarking for Ireland, he sent Letters to the Parliament, recommending the Removal of all the penal Laws relating to Religion; upon which the House ordered a Committee to make report concerning a method for the ease of tender consciences, and an Act to be brought in to appoint Commissioners in every County for the approbation of able and well qualified persons to be made Ministers, who cannot comply with the present Ordinance for Ordination of Ministers.

Common-wealth.
1649.

L. G. Cromwel and the Army petition for a Toleration. Whitl. p. 405.

Aug. 16. General Fairfax, and his Council of Officers, presented a Petition to the same purpose, praying, " That " all penal Statutes formerly made, and Ordinances lately " made, whereby many conscientious people were molest- " ed, and the propagation of the Gospel hindered, might " be removed. Not that they desired this Liberty should " extend to the setting up Popery, or the late Hierarchy ; " or to the countenancing any sort of Immorality or Pro- " phaneness ; for they earnestly desired, that Drunkenness, " Swearing, Uncleaness, and all Acts of Prophaneness, " might be vigorously prosecuted in all persons whatso- " ever." The House promised to take the Petition into speedy consideration, and after some time passed it into a Law.

Ib. p. 404.

But to bring the Presbyterian Clergy to the Test, the Engagement, which had been appointed to be taken by all Civil and Military Officers within a limited Time, on pain of forfeiting their places, was now required to be sworn and subscribed by all Ministers, heads of Colleges and Halls, Fellows of Houses, Graduates, and all Officers in the Universities ; and by the Masters, Fellows, School-Masters, and Scholars of Eaton College, Westminster, and Winchester Schools ; no Minister was to be admitted to any ecclesiastical Living ; no Clergyman to sit as Member of the Assembly of Divines, nor be capable of enjoying any preferment in the Church, unless he qualified himself by taking the Engagement within six Months, publicly in the Face of the Congregation.

The Engagement enforced.

Walker. p. 146.

Nov. 9. It was referr'd to a Committee, to consider how the Engagement might be subscribed by all the people of the Nation of eighteen years of age and upwards. Pursuant to which a Bill was brought in, and pass'd, Jan. 2. to debar all who should refuse to take and subscribe it, from the benefit of the Law ; and to disable them from suing in any Court of Law or Equity.

To be taken by the whole Nation.

Common-
wealth.
1649.

Presbyter-
ians refuse it.
Baxter's Life,
p. 64, 66.

This was a severe Test on the Presbyterians, occasioned by the approaching War with the Scots; but their Clergy inveigh'd bitterly against it in their Sermons, and refused to observe the Days of Humiliation appointed by Authority for a Blessing upon their Arms. Mr. Baxter says, that he writ several Letters to the Soldiers, to convince them of the Unlawfulness of the present Expedition; and in his Sermons declared it a Sin to force Ministers to pray for the Success of those who had violated the Covenant, and were going to destroy their Brethren. That he both spoke and preached against the Engagement, and dissuaded Men from taking it. At Exeter, says Mr. Whitlock, the Ministers went out of Town on the Fast-Day, and shut up the Church Doors; and all the Magistrates refused the Engagement. At Taunton the Fast was not kept by the Presbyterian Ministers: and at Chester they condemned the Engagement to the Pit of Hell; as did many of the London Ministers, who kept Days of private Fasting and Prayer, against the present Government. Some of them (says Whitlock) joined the Royalists, and refused to read the Ordinances of Parliament in their Pulpits, as was usual in those Times; nay, when the Scots were beat they refused to observe the Day of Thanksgiving, but shut up their Churches and went out of Town; for which they were summoned before the Committee and reprimanded, but the Times being dangerous no further Notice was taken of them at present.

Cavaliers
and Sectari-
ans take the
Oath. Life,
p. 64, 65.

Most of the Sectarian Party (says Mr. Baxter) swallowed the Engagement; and so did the King's old Cavaliers, very few of them being sick of the Disease of a scrupulous Conscience: Some writ for it, but the moderate Episcopal Men, and Presbyterians, generally refused it. Those of Lancashire and Cheshire published the following Reasons against it.

Reasons
against it,
and for it.

- (1) " Because they apprehended the Oath of Allegiance, and the solemn League and Covenant, were still binding.
- (2) " Because the present Powers were no better than Usurpers.

- (3) " Because the taking of it was a Prejudice to the right Heir of the Crown, and to the ancient legal Constitution."

To which it was answered, " That it was absurd to suppose the Oath of Allegiance, or the solemn League and Covenant to be in force after the King's Death; for how could they be obliged to preserve the King's Person, when the King's Person was destroy'd and the kingly Office abolished; and as to his Successor, his Right had been for-

“ feited and taken away by Parliament?” With regard to the present Powers it was said, “ That it was not for private Persons to dispute the Rights and Titles of their supreme Governors. Here was a Government *de facto*, under which they lived; as long therefore as they enjoyed the Protection of the Government, it was their Duty to give all reasonable Security that they would not disturb it, or else to remove.” The Body of the common People being weary of War, and willing to live quiet under any Administration, submitted to the Engagement, as being little more than a Promise not to attempt the Subversion of the present Government; but many of the Presbyterian Clergy chose rather to quit their Preferments in the Church and University, than comply; which made way for the promotion of several Independent Divines, and among others, of Dr. Tho. Goodwin, one of the Dissenting Brethren in the Assembly, who by order of Parliament, Jan. 8, 1749-50, was appointed President of Magdalen College, Oxford, with the privilege of nominating Fellows and Demies in such places as should become vacant by death, or by the possessors refusing to take the Engagement.

Common-wealth. 1649.

Whitt. P. 453.

The Parliament tried several methods to reconcile the Presbyterians to the present Administration; persons were appointed to treat with them, and assure them of the protection of the Government, and of the full enjoyment of their Ecclesiastical Preferments according to Law; when this would not do, an order was published, that Ministers in their Pulpits should not meddle with State Affairs. After this the famous Mr. Milton was appointed to write for the Government, who rallied the seditious Preachers with his satyrical pen in a severe Manner; at length, when all other methods failed, a Committee was chosen to receive Informations against such Ministers as in their Pulpits vilified and aspersed the Authority of Parliament, and an Act was passed, that all such should be sequester'd from their Ecclesiastical Preferments.

Measures of the Parliament to support their Authority.

The Presbyterians supported themselves under these hardships by their Alliance with the Scots, and their prospect of a speedy alteration of Affairs from that Quarter; for in the Remonstrance of the General Assembly of that Kirk, dated July 27, they declare, that “ The Spirit which has acted in the Councils of those who have obstructed the Work of God, despised the Covenant, corrupted the Truth, forced the Parliament, murdered the King, changed the Government, and established such an un-

Whitt. P. 387.

Scots Declaration, against the English. V.P. No. 34. P. 6.

Common-
wealth.
1649.

“ limited Toleration in Religion, cannot be the Spirit of
“ Righteousness and Holiness. They therefore warn the
“ Subjects of Scotland against joining with them, and in
“ case of an Invasion to stand up in their own Defence.
“ The English have no Controversy with us (say they) but
“ because the Kirk and State have declared against their
“ unlawful Engagement; because we still adhere to our
“ Covenant, and have born our Testimony against their
“ Toleration, and taking away the King’s Life.” But
then they warn their People also against Malignants, “ who
“ value themselves upon their Attachment to the young
“ King, and if any from that Quarter should invade the
“ Kingdom, before his Majesty has given Satisfaction to
“ the Parliament and Kirk, they exhort their People to
“ resist them, as Abettors of an absolute and arbitrary Go-
“ vernment.”

Parliament
vindicate
their Pro-
ceedings.
V.P. No. 34.

About two Months after this, the Parliament of England published a Declaration on their part, wherein they complain of the Revolt of the English and Scots Presbyterians, and of their taking Part with the Enemy, because their Discipline was not the exact Standard of Reformation. “ But we are still determined (say they) not to be
“ discouraged in our Endeavours to promote the Purity of
“ Religion, and the Liberty of the Commonwealth; and
“ for the Satisfaction of our Presbyterian Brethren, we
“ declare, That we will continue all those Ordinances
“ which have been made for the promoting a Reforma-
“ tion of Religion, in Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline,
“ in their full force; and will uphold the same, in order
“ to suppress Popery, Superstition, Blasphemy, and all
“ kinds of Prophaneness. Only we conceive ourselves
“ obliged to take away all such Acts and Ordinances as
“ are penal and coercive in Matters of Conscience. And
“ because this has given so great offence, we declare, as in
“ the Presence of God, that by whomsoever this Liberty
“ shall be abused, we will be ready to testify our Displea-
“ sure against them, by an effectual Prosecution of such
“ Offenders.”

Scots Treaty
with the
King in
Holland.

The Scots Commissioners were all this while treating with the King in Holland, and insisting on his subscribing the solemn League and Covenant; his establishing the Westminster Confession, the Directory, and the Presbyterian Government in both Kingdoms. The King being under discouraging Circumstances consented to all their Demands with regard to Scotland, and as to England referr’d himself

“ to

to a free Parliament: But the Scots not satisfied with his Majesty's Exceptions as to England, replied, that "Such an Answer as this would grieve the whole Kirk of Scotland, and all their covenanting Brethren in England and Ireland, who under pain of the most solemn perjury stand bound to God and one another, to live and die by their Covenant, as the chief security of their Religion and Liberties, against Popish and Prelatical Malignants. Your Majesty's Father (say they) in his last Message to our Kirk offered to ratify the solemn League and Covenant. He offered likewise at the Isle of Wight to confirm the Directory, and the Presbyterial Government in England and Ireland, till he and his Parliament should agree upon a settled Order of the Church. Besides your Majesty having offered to confirm the Abolishing of Episcopacy, and the Service Book in Scotland, it cannot certainly be against your Conscience to do it in England." But the King would advance no farther till he had heard from the Queen Mother, who sent him word, that it was the opinion of the Council of France, that he should agree with the Scots upon the best Terms he could get; which he did accordingly, as will be related the next year.

Common-wealth. 1649. They will include the English Presbyterians.

The fifth Provincial Assembly of London met the beginning of May at Sion College, the Reverend Mr. Jackson, of St. Michael, Woodstreet, Moderator. A Committee was appointed to prepare Materials for proof of the Divine Right of Presbyterial Church Government. The proofs were examined and approved by this, and the Assembly that met in November following, of which Mr. Walker was Moderator, Mr. Calamy and Jackson Assessors, and Mr. Blackwell Scribe. The Treatise was printed and asserts,

(1.) That there is a Church Government of Divine Institution.

(2.) That the Civil Magistrate is not the Origin or Head of Church Government. And,

(3.) That the Government of the Church by Synods and Classes is the Government that Christ appointed. It maintains Separation from their Churches to be Schism; that Ministers formerly ordained by Bishops need not be re-ordained: And for private Christians in particular Churches to assume a Right of sending persons forth to preach, and to administer the Sacraments, is, in their Opinion insufferable.

Common-
wealth.
1649.

Augmenta-
tion of poor
Livings by
Tithes and
First Fruits,
&c.
Scobel,
p. 41, 113.

The Parliament did all they could to satisfy the male content Presbyterians, by securing them in their Livings, and by ordering the Dean and Chapter Lands to be sold, and their names to be extinct, except the Deanery of Christ Church, and the Foundations of Westminster, Winchester, and Eaton Schools. The Bishops Lands, which had been sequester'd since the year 1646, were now by an Ordinance of June 8, 1649, vested in the hands of new Trustees, and appropriated to the Augmentation of poor Livings in the Church. The first Fruits and Tenths of all Ecclesiastical Livings, formerly payable to the Crown, were vested in the same Hands, free from all Incumbrances, on Trust, that they should pay yearly, all such Salaries, Stipends, Allowances and Provisions, as have been settled and confirmed by Parliament, for preaching Ministers, School-Masters, or Professors in the Universities; provided the Assignment to any one do not exceed one hundred pounds. 'Tis further provided, that the maintenance of all Incumbents shall not be less than one hundred pounds per Annum, and the Commissioners of the Great Seal are empowered to enquire into the yearly value of all Ecclesiastical Livings, to which any Cure of Souls is annexed; and to certify into the Court of Chancery the names of the present Incumbents who supply the Cure, with their respective Salaries; how many Chapels belong to Parish Churches, and how the several Churches and Chappels are supplied with preaching Ministers; that so some course may be taken for providing for a better maintenance where it is wanting. Dr. Walker says, the Value of Bishops Lands forfeited and sold amounted to a Million of Money; but tho' they sold very cheap, they that bought them had a very dear Bargain in the End.

Presb. Gov.
established.

Upon Debate of an Ordinance concerning publick Worship, and Church Government, the House declared, that the Presbyterial Government should be the established Government. And upon the Question, Whether Tithes should be continued, it was resolved, That they should not be taken away till another maintenance equally large and honourable should be substituted in the room of it.

Propagati-
on of the
Gospel in
Wales.

The Inhabitants of the Principality of Wales were destitute of the Means of Christian Knowledge, their Language, was little understood, their Clergy were ignorant and idle; so that they had hardly a Sermon from one quarter of a year to another. The People had neither Bibles nor Catechisms;

techisms; nor was there a sufficient Maintenance for such as were capable of instructing them. The Parliament taking the Case of these People into Consideration, pass'd an Act, Feb. 22, 1649. "For the better Propagation and "Preaching of the Gospel in Wales, for the ejecting "scandalous Ministers and School-Masters, and Redress of "some Grievances;" to continue in force for three years. What was done in pursuance of this Ordinance will be related hereafter; but the Parliament were so intent upon the Affair of Religion at this time, that Mr. Whitlock says, they devoted Friday in every Week to consult Ways and Means for promoting it.

Common-
wealth.
1649.

Nor did they confine themselves to England, but as soon as Lieutenant General Cromwel had reduced Ireland, the Parliament pass'd an Ordinance, March 8. 1649. for the Encouragement of Religion and Learning in that Country; "They invested all the Manors and Lands late of the Archbishop of Dublin, and of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick, together with the Personage of Trym belonging to the Bishoprick of Meath, in the Hands of Trustees, for the Maintenance and Support of Trinity College in Dublin; and for the creating, settling, and maintaining another College in said City, and of a Master, Fellows, Scholars, and publick Professors: And also, for erecting a Free School, with a Master, Usher, Scholars, and Officers, in such Manner, as any Five of the Trustees, with the Consent of the Lord Lieutenant, shall direct and appoint. The Lord Lieutenant to nominate the Governor, Masters, &c. and to appoint them their Salaries; and the Trustees, with the Consent of the Lord Lieutenant, shall draw up Statutes and Ordinances, to be confirmed by the Parliament of England."

And in
Ireland.

The University of Dublin being thus revived, and put upon a new Foot, the Parliament sent over six of their most acceptable Preachers to give it Reputation, appointing them two Hundred Pounds per Annum, out of the Bishops Lands; and till that could be duly raised, to be paid out of the publick Revenues: And for their further Encouragement, if they died in that Service, their Families were to be provided for. By these Methods Learning began to revive, and in a few Years Religion appeared with a better Face than it had ever done in that Kingdom before.

A Prospect being opened for spreading the Christian Religion among the *Indians*, upon the Borders of *New-England*, the Parliament gave way to a general Collecti-

A Corpora-
tion for Pro-
pagation of
the Gospel
among the
Indians.
on

Common-
wealth.
1649.

on throughout *England*, and erected a Corporation for this Service, who purchased an Estate in Land of between five and six hundred pounds *per Annum*; but on the Restoration of King *Charles II.* the Charter became void, and Colonel *Bedingfield*, a Roman Catholick Officer in the King's Army, of whom a considerable Part of the Land, was purchased, seized it for his own Use, pretending he had sold it under the Value, in hopes of recovering it upon the King's Return. In order to defeat the Colonel's Design, the Society solicited the King for a new Charter, which they obtained by the Interest of the Lord Chancellor. It bears date Feb. 7. in the 14th Year of his Majesty's Reign, and differs but little from the old One. The Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq; was the first Governor. They afterwards recovered Colonel *Bedingfield's* Estate, and are at this Time in Possession of about five Hundred Pounds per Annum, which they employ for the Conversion of the Indians in America.

But all that the Parliament could do was not sufficient to stop the Mouths of the Loyalists and discontented Presbyterians; the Pulpit and Press sounded to Sedition; the latter produced Invectives every Week against the Government; it was therefore resolved to lay a severe Fine upon Offenders of this kind, by an Ordinance bearing Date Sept. 20. 1649. the Preamble to which sets forth, that "Whereas divers
" scandalous and seditious Pamphlets are daily printed, and
" dispersed with officious Industry by the malignant Party
" both at Home and Abroad, with a Design to subvert the
" present Government, and to take off the Affections of
" the People from it, it is therefore ordained,

Ordinance
against sedi-
tious Libels.
Seibel,
p. 88.
Chap. 60.

" **T**HAT the Author of every seditious Libel or Pamph-
" let shall be fined Ten Pounds, or suffer forty Days
" Imprisonment. The Printer Five Pounds, and his Print-
" ing Press to be broken. The Bookseller Forty Shillings;
" the Buyer Twenty Shillings, if he conceals it, and does
" not deliver it up to a Justice of Peace. It is further or-
" dained, That no News Paper shall be printed, or sold
" without Licence, under the Hand of the Clerk of the
" Parliament, or the Secretary of the Army, or such other
" Person as the Council of State shall appoint. No Printing
" Presses are to be allowed but in London, and in the two
" Universities. All Printers are to enter into Bonds of three
" Hundred Pounds, not to print any Pamphlet against the
" State without Licence, as aforesaid, unless the Author's
" or Licenser's Name, with the Place of his Abode be pre-
" fixed

“ fixed. All Importers of seditious Pamphlets are to forfeit
 “ Five Pounds for every such Book or Pamphlet. No Books
 “ are to be landed in any other Port but that of London,
 “ and to be viewed by the Master and Wardens of the
 “ Company of Stationers. This Act to continue in Force
 “ for two Years.”

Common-
wealth.
1649.

But the Pulpit was no less dangerous than the Press; the Presbyterian Ministers in their publick Prayers and Sermons, especially on Fast Days, kept alive the Discontents of the People. The Government therefore, by an Ordinance, abolished the Monthly Fast, which had subsisted for about seven Years, and had been in a great Measure a Fast for Strife and Debate; but declared at the same Time, that they should appoint occasional Fasts, from Time to Time, for the Future, as the Providences of God should require.

Ministers
forbid to
meddle in
Politics.

Whitl.
p. 383.

In the Midst of all these Disorders there was a very great Appearance of Sobriety both in City and Country; the indefatigable Pains of the Presbyterian Ministers in catechizing, instructing; and visiting their Parishioners, can never be sufficiently commended. The whole Nation was civilized, and considerably improved in sound Knowledge, though Bishop Kennet and Mr. Eachard are pleased to say, “ That Heresies
 “ and Blasphemies against Heaven were swell’d up to a most
 “ prodigious Height. I know (says Mr. Baxter) you may
 “ meet with Men who will confidently affirm, that in these
 “ Times all Religion was trodden under Foot, and that
 “ Heresy and Schism were the only Piety; but I give
 “ Warning to all Ages, that they take heed how they be-
 “ lieve any, while they are speaking for the Interest of their
 “ Factions and Opinions against their real or supposed Ad-
 “ versaries.” However, the Parliament did what they could to suppress and discountenance all such Extravagancies; and even the Officers of the Army, having convicted one of their Quarter Masters of Blasphemy in a Council of War, sentenced him to have his Tongue bored through with an hot Iron, his Sword broke over his Head, and to be cashiered the Army.

Remarks.

Life,
p. 86.

But Bishop Kennet says, “ Even the Turkish Alcoran
 “ was coming in; that it was translated into English, and
 “ said to be licensed by one of the Ministers of London.” Sad Times! Was his Lordship then afraid that the Alcoran should prevail against the Bible? Or, that the Doctrines of Christ could not support themselves against the extravagant Follies

Common-
wealth.
1649.

Follies of an Impostor? But the Book did no harm, though the Commons immediately published an Order for suppressing it; and since the Restitution of Monarchy and the Church of England, we have lived to see the Life of Mahomet and his Alcoran published without Offence.

His Lordship adds, that the Papists took Advantage of the Liberty of the Times, who were never more numerous and busy; which is not very probable, because the Parliament had banished all Papists twenty miles from the City of London, and excepted them out of their Acts of Indulgence and Toleration; the Spirit of the People against Popery was kept up to the height; the Mob carried the Popes Effigies in triumph, and burnt it publickly on Queen Elizabeth's Birth-day; and the Ministers in their Pulpits pronounced him Antichrist; but such is the partiality of this Right Reverend Historian!

1650.
Marquis of
Montrofs
executed.
Burn. Hist.
p. 36, 52

The beginning of this year the Marquis of Montrofs was taken in the North of Scotland by Colonel Straughan with a small body of Troops, and hanged at Edinburgh on a Gallows thirty Foot high; his Body was buried under the Gallows, and his Quarters set upon the Gates of the principal Towns in Scotland; but his behaviour was great and firm to the last. The Marquis appeared openly for the King in the year 1643, and having routed a small Party of Covenanters in Perthshire got a great deal of Reputation; but his little successes were very mischievous to the King's Affairs, being always magnified beyond what they really were: His vanity was the occasion of breaking off the Treaty of Uxbridge, and his fears lest King Charles II. should agree with the Scots, and recal his Commission before he had done any thing, now hurried him upon his own ruin.

Conditions
of the Scots
Treaty with
the King.

The young King being in Treaty with the Scots Covenanters at Breda was forced to stifle his resentments for the death of the Marquis, and submit to the following hard Conditions.

- (1.) " That all Persons excommunicated by the Kirk should be forbid the Court.
- (2.) " That the King by his solemn Oath, and under his hand and Seal, declare his allowance of the Covenantant.
- (3.) " That he confirm those Acts of Parliament which enjoin the Covenant. That he establish the Presbyterian
" Worship

“ Worship and Discipline, and swear never to oppose, or
“ endeavour to alter them. Common-
wealth.
1650.

(4.) “ That all civil matters be determined by Parlia-
“ ment ; and all ecclesiastical Affairs by the Kirk.

5. “ That his Majesty ratify all that has been done in
“ the Parliament of Scotland in some late Sessions, and
“ sign the Covenant upon his arrival in that Kingdom, if
“ the Kirk desired it.”

The King arrived, June 23. but before he landed the Com- He arrives
in Scotland.
missioners insisted on his Signing the Covenant, and upon
parting with all his old Counsellors, which he did, and was
then conducted by the Way of Aberdeen and St. Andrews
to his House at Falkland. July 11. his Majesty was pro-
claimed at the Cross of Edinburgh, but the Ceremony of his
Coronation was deferr'd to the Beginning of next Year. In Cromwel
marches
against the
Scots.
the mean Time the English Commonwealth was providing
for a War which they saw was unavoidable, and General
Fairfax refusing to act against the Scots, his Commission
was immediately given to Cromwel, with the Title of Cap-
tain General in chief of all the Forces raised, and to be raised
by Authority of Parliament within the Commonwealth of
England. Three Days after (viz.) June 29. he marched
with eleven Thousand Foot, and five Thousand Horse, to-
wards the Borders of Scotland, being resolved not to wait
for the Scots invading England, but to carry the War into
their Country. The Scots complained to the English Par-
liament of this Conduct, as a Breach of the Act of Pacifi-
cation, and of the Covenant ; but were answer'd, that they
had already broken the Peace by their Treaty with Charles
Stuart, whom they had not only received as their King, but
promised to assist in recovering the Crown of England. Their
receiving the King was certainly their Right as an independent
Nation ; but whether their promising to assist him in recover-
ing the Crown of England, was not declaring War, must be
left with the Reader.

July 22. the General crossed the Tweed, and marched
his Army almost as far as Edinburgh without much Opposi-
tion, the Country being deserted by Reason of the Terror of
the Name of Cromwel, and the Reports that were spread of
his Cruelty in Ireland. Not a Scots Man appeared under
sixty, nor a Youth above six Years old, to interrupt his
March. All Provisions were destroyed, or removed, to pre-
vent the Subsistence of the Army, which was supplied from
Time to Time by Sea ; but the General having made Pro-
clama-

Common-
wealth.
1650.

Battle of
Dunbar.
Life of
Cromwel.
p. 178.
Burnet.

clamation, that no Man should be injured in his Person or Goods who was not found in Arms, the People took Heart and returned to their Dwellings.

The Scots Army, under the Command of General Lesley, stood on the Defensive, and watched the Motions of the English all the Month of August; the main Body being intrenched within six Miles of Edinburgh, to the Number of thirty Thousand of the best Men that ever Scotland saw; General Cromwel did every Thing he could to draw them to a Battle, till by the Fall of Rain, and bad Weather, he was obliged to retreat to Musselborough, and from thence to Dunbar, where he was reduced to the utmost Streights, having no way left but to conquer or die. In this Extremity he summoned the Officers to Prayer; after which he bid all about him take Heart, for God had heard them; then walking in the Earl of Roxborough's Gardens, that lay under the Hill upon which the Scots Army was encamped, and discovering by Prospective Glasses that they were coming down to attack him, he said, God was delivering them into his Hands. That Night proving very rainy, the General refreshed his Men in the Town, and ordered them to take particular Care of their Firelocks, which the Scots neglected, who were all the Night coming down the Hill. Early next Morning, September 3. the General with a strong Party of Horse beat their Guards, and then advancing with his whole Army, after about an Hour's dispute, enter'd their Camp and carried all before him; about four Thousand Scots fell in Battle, ten Thousand were taken Prisoners, with fifteen Hundred Arms, and all their Artillery and Ammunition; the Loss of the English amounting to no more than about three Hundred Men.

Vol. VI.
p. 377.

'Tis an odd Reflection Lord Clarendon makes upon this Victory: "Never was Victory obtained (says his Lordship) with less Lamentation; for as Cromwel had great Argument of Triumph, so the King was glad of it, as the greatest Happiness that could befall him, in the Loss of so strong a Body of his Enemies." Such was the Encouragement the Scots had to fight for their King!

Scots Ministers invited to return to their Churches.

Immediately after the Battle the General took Possession of Edinburgh, which was in a Manner deserted by the Clergy, some having shut themselves up in the Castle, and others fled with their Effects to Sterling; the General, to deliver them from their Fright, sent a Trumpet to the Castle, to assure the Governor, that the Ministers might return to their

their Churches, and preach, without any Disturbance from him, for he had no Quarrel with the Scots Nation on the Score of Religion. But the Ministers replied, That having no Security for their Persons they thought it their Duty to reserve themselves for better Times. Upon which the General writ to the Governor;

Common-
wealth.
1650.

“ **T**HAT his Kindness offered to the Ministers in that
 “ Castle was without any fraudulent Reserve; that if
 “ their Master’s Service was their principal Concern they
 “ would not be so excessively afraid of suffering for it.
 “ That those Divines had misreported the Conduct of his
 “ Party, when they charged them with persecuting the Mi-
 “ nisters of Christ in England; for the Ministers in England
 “ (says he) are supported, and have Liberty to preach the
 “ Gospel, though not to rail at their Superiors at Discretion;
 “ nor under a pretended Privilege of Character to overtop
 “ the Civil Powers, or debase them as they please——No
 “ Man has been disturbed in England or Ireland for
 “ preaching the Gospel; nor has any Minister been mo-
 “ lested in Scotland since the coming of the Army hither
 “ ——Speaking Truth becomes the Ministers of Christ,
 “ but when Ministers pretend to a glorious Reformation,
 “ and lay the Foundation thereof in getting to themselves
 “ POWER, and can make worldly Mixtures to accomplish
 “ the same, such as the late Agreement with their King;
 “ they may know that the Sion promised is not to be built
 “ with such untempered Mortar. And for the unjust Inva-
 “ sion they [the Ministers] mention, Time was when an
 “ Army out of Scotland came into England, not called by
 “ the Supreme Authority——We have said in our Papers,
 “ with what Hearts, and upon what Account we came, and
 “ the Lord has heard us, though you would not, upon as
 “ solemn an Appeal as any Experience can parallel——I
 “ have nothing to say to you, but that I am,

Cromwel’s
Letter to the
Gov. of the
Castle.
Life.
Cromwel,
p. 182.

Sir, Your humble Servant,

O. CROMWEL.

The Scots Ministers, in their Reply to this Letter, ob-
 jected to the General, “ his opening the Pulpit Doors to all
 “ Intruders, by which Means a Flood of Errors was broke
 “ in upon the Nation.” To which the General replied,
 “ We look on Ministers as Helpers of, not Lords over the
 “ Faith

Ministers
Reply.

Common-
wealth.
1650.

Cromwel's
Answer.
Whitl.
p. 458.
Collier
Eccel. Hist.
p. 863.

" Faith of God's People: I appeal to their Consciences,
" Whether any denying of their Doctrines, or dissenting
" from them, will not incur the Censure of a SECTARY,
" and what is this but to deny Christians their Liberty, and
" assume the infallible Chair? Where do you find in Scrip-
" ture that Preaching is included within your Function?
" Though an Approbation from Men has Order in it, and
" may be well, yet he that hath not a better than that,
" hath none at all.

" I hope he that ascended up on High may give his Gifts
" to whom he pleases; and if those Gifts be the Seal of
" Mission, are not you envious, though Eldad and Medad
" prophesy? You know who has bid us covet earnestly the
" best Gifts, but chiefly, that we may Prophecy; which the
" Apostle explains to be a speaking to Instruction, Edifica-
" tion and Comfort which the instructed, edified, and com-
" forted, can best tell the Energy and Effect of.

" Now, if this be Evidence, take heed you envy not for
" your own sakes, lest you be guilty of a greater Fault than
" Moses reprov'd in Joshua, when he envied for his sake.
" Indeed you err through mistake of the Scriptures. Ap-
" probation is an Act of Convenience in respect of Order,
" not of Necessity, to give Faculty to preach the Gospel.
" Your pretended Fear, lest Error should step in, is like
" the Man, that would keep all the Wine out of the Coun-
" try lest Men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust
" and unwise Jealousy, to deny a Man the Liberty he hath
" by Nature, upon a Supposition he may abuse it. When
" he doth abuse it, then judge."

Governor's
Complaint.

The Governor complain'd to the General, " that the
" Parliament at Westminster had fallen from their Principles,
" not being true to the Ends of the Covenant." And then
adds with the Ministers, " That Men of secular Employments
" had usurped the Office of the Ministry, to the Scandal of
" the Reformed Churches."

Cromwel's
Reply.
Collier,
p. 564.

In Answer to the first Part of this Expostulation, Gene-
ral Cromwel desired to know, whether their bearing Wit-
ness to themselves was a good Evidence of their having pro-
secuted the Ends of the Covenant? " To infer this (says he)
" is to have too favourable an Opinion of your own Judg-
" ment and Impartiality. Your Doctrines and Practice
" ought to be tried by the Word of God, and other People
" must have a Liberty of examining them upon these Heads,
" and of giving Sentence."

As

As to the Charge of indulging the Use of the Pulpit to the Laity, the General admits it, and adds, "Are ye troubled that Christ is preached? Does it scandalize the Reformed Churches, and Scotland in particular? Is it against the Covenant? Away with the Covenant if it be so. I thought the Covenant and these Men would have been willing, that any should speak good of the Name of Christ; if not, 'tis no Covenant of God's approving; nor the Kirk you mention so much the Spouse of Christ."

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The General, in one of his Letters, lays considerable Stress upon the Success of their Arms, after a most solemn Appeal to God on both Sides. To which the Scots Governor replied, "We have not so learn'd Christ, as to hang the Equity of a Cause upon Events." To which Cromwel Answers, "We could wish that Blindness had not been upon your Eyes to those marvellous Dispensations which God has lately wrought in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not we and you to think with Fear and Trembling on the Hand of the great God in this mighty and strange Appearance of his, and not slightly call it an Event? Were not your Expectations and ours renewed from Time to Time, whilst we waited on God to see how he would manifest himself upon our Appeals? And shall we after all these our Prayers, Fasting, Tears, Expectations, and solemn Appeals, call these bare Events? The Lord pity you ———."

From this Correspondence the Reader may form a Judgment of the governing Principles of the Scots and English at this Time; the former were so inviolably attach'd to their Covenant, that they would depart from nothing that was inconsistent with it. The English, after seeking God in Prayer, judged of the Goodness of their Cause by the Appearance of Providence in its favour; most of the Officers and Soldiers were Men of strict Devotion, but went upon this mistaken Principle, that God would never appear for a bad Cause after a solemn Appeal to Heaven in the Affair. However, the Scots lost their Courage, and surrender'd the impregnable Castle of Edinburgh into the Hands of the Conqueror December 24. the Garrison having Liberty to march out with their Baggage to Bourt Island in Fife; and soon after the whole Kingdom was subdued.

The Provincial Assembly of London met this Year as usual, in the Months of May and November, but did nothing remarkable; the Parliament waited to reconcile them

Proceedings
against the
Presbyterians
and in
England.

Common-
wealth.
1650.

to the Engagement, and prolonged the Time limited for taking it, but when they continued inflexible, and instead of submitting to the present Powers were plotting with the Scots, it was resolved to clip their Wings, and make some Examples, as a terror to the rest. June 21. the Committee for regulating the Universities was ordered to tender the Engagement to all such Officers, Masters, and Fellows, as had neglected to take it, and upon their Refusal to displace them. Accordingly, in the University of Cambridge, Mr. Vines, Dr. Rainbow, and some others, were displaced, and succeeded by Mr. Sydrach Sympfon, Mr. Jo. Sadler, and Mr. Dell. In the University of Oxford, Dr. Reynolds, the Vice-Chancellor, refused the Engagement, but after some time offer'd to take it, in hopes of saving his Deanery of Christ Church; but the Parliament resenting the example, took advantage of his Forfeiture, and gave the Deanery to Dr. John Owen, an Independent Divine, who took Possession of it March 18. 1650-1.

O. Crom.
chosen
Chanc. of
Oxford.
Wood's
Fasti, p. 92.

Upon the Resignation of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Dan. Greenwood, Principal of Brazen Nose College, and a Presbyterian Divine, was appointed his Successor. Octob. 12. and on the 15th of January following Oliver Cromwell, now in Scotland, was chosen unanimously, in full Convocation, Chancellor of the University, in the Room of the Earl of Pembroke, lately deceased. When the Doctors and Masters who were sent to Edinburgh, acquainted him with the choice, he writ a Letter to the University, in which, after a modest refusal of their favour, he adds, "If these arguments prevail not, and that I must continue this Honour till I can personally serve you, you shall not want my Prayers, that Piety and Learning may flourish among you, and be render'd useful and subservient to that great and glorious Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ; of the approach of which, so plentiful an Effusion of the Holy Spirit upon those hopeful Plants among you is one of the best Presages—" When the General's Letter was read in convocation the House resounded with chearful acclamations. Dr. Greenwood continued Vice-Chancellor two Years, but was then displaced for his disaffection to the Government, and the Honour confer'd on Dr. Owen. Thus, by degrees, the Presbyterians lost their influence in the Universities, and delivered them up into the hands of the Independants.

Penal Laws
taken away.
Scobel, p.
131.

To strengthen the hands of the Government yet further, the Parliament, by an Ordinance bearing date Sept. 20. took away all the penal Statutes for Religion. The Preamble sets forth,

forth, " That divers religious and peaceable People, well affected to the Commonwealth, having not only been molested and imprisoned, but brought into danger of abjuring their Country, or in case of return to suffer death as Felons, by sundry Acts made in the times of former Kings and Queens of this Nation, against Recusants not coming to Church, &c. they therefore enact and ordain.

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" **T**HAT all the Clauses, Articles, and Proviso's, in the ensuing Acts of Parliament (viz.) 1st Eliz. 23d Eliz. 35th Eliz. and all and every Branch, Clause, Article or Proviso, in any other Act, or Ordinance of Parliament, whereby any Penalty or Punishment is imposed, or meant to be imposed on any Person whatsoever, for not repairing to their respective Parish Churches; or for not keeping of Holy Days; or for not hearing Common-Prayer, &c. shall be, and are hereby wholly repealed and made void.

" And to the end that no prophane or licentious Persons make take occasion, by the Repeal of the said Laws, to neglect the Performance of religious Duties, it is further ordained, That all Persons not having a reasonable Excuse, shall on every Lord's Day, and Day of publick Thanksgiving or Humiliation, resort to some Place of publick Worship; or be present at some other Place, in the Practice of some religious Duty, either of Prayer or Preaching, reading or expounding the Scriptures—"

By this Law the Doors were set open, and the State was at liberty to employ all such in their Service as would take the Oaths to the Civil Government, without any regard to their Religious Principles.

Sundry severe Ordinances were made for suppressing of Vice, Error, and all Sorts of Prophaneness and Impiety. Ordinances against Vice and Prophaneness. May 10. it was ordained, " That Incest and Adultery should be made Felony; and that Fornication should be punished with three Months Imprisonment for the first Offence; and that the second Offence should be Felony without benefit of Clergy. Common Bawds, or Persons Scobel, who keep lewd Houses, are to be set in the Pillory; to be p. 121. whip'd, and marked in the Forehead with the Letter B, and then committed to the House of Correction for three Years for the first offence; and for the second to suffer death, provided the Prosecution be within twelve Months.

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wealth.
1650.

Scobel,
p. 123.

June 28. it was ordained, "That every Nobleman who shall be convicted of prophane Cursing and Swearing, by the Oath of one or more Witnessees, or by his own Confession, shall pay for the first Offence thirty Shillings to the Poor of the Parish; a Baronet, or Knight, twenty Shillings; an Esquire ten Shillings; a Gentleman six Shillings and eight Pence; and all inferior Persons three Shillings and four Pence. For the second Offence they are to pay double, according to their Qualities abovementioned. And for the Tenth Offence they are to be judged Common Swearers and Cursers, and to be bound over to their good Behaviour for three Years. The like Punishment for Women, whose Fines are to be determined according to their own or their Husband's Quality."

Against blas-
phemous
Opinions.
Scobel,
p. 124.

August 9. an Ordinance was passed, for punishing Blasphemous and execrable Opinions. The Preamble takes Notice, that "though severall Laws had been made for promoting Reformation in Doctrines and Manners, yet there were divers Men and Women who had lately discovered monstrous Opinions, even such as tended to the Dissolution of human Society; the Parliament therefore, according to their Declaration of Sept. 27. 1649. in which they said, They should be ready to testify their Displeasure against such Offenders, by strict and effectual Proceedings against them who should abuse and turn into Licentiousness, the Liberty given in Matters of Religion, do therefore ordain and enact,

"**T**HAT any Persons not distemper'd in their Brains, who shall maintain any mere Creature to be God, or to be Infinite, Almighty, &c. Or, that shall deny the Holiness of God; or, shall maintain, that all Acts of Wickedness and Unrighteousness are not forbidden in Holy Scripture; or, that God approves of them. Any one who shall maintain, that Acts of Drunkenness, Adultery, Swearing, &c. are not in themselves shameful, wicked, sinful, and impious, or, that there is not any real Difference between Moral Good and Evil, &c. all such Persons shall suffer six Months Imprisonment for the first Offence; and for the second shall be banished; and if they return without Licence shall be treated as Felons."

For stricter
Observation
of the Sab-
bath.

Though severall Ordinances had been made heretofore for the strict Observation of the Lord's Day, the present House of Commons thought fit to enforce them by another, dated

April

April 19. 1650. in which they ordain, "That all Goods
 " cried, or put to Sale on the Lord's Day, or other Days
 " of Humiliation and Thanksgiving appointed by Authority,
 " shall be seized. No Wagoner or Drover shall travel on
 " the Lord's Day on Penalty of ten Shillings for every
 " Offence. No Persons shall travel in Boats, Horses or
 " Coaches, except to Church, on Penalty of ten Shillings.
 " The like Penalty for being in a Tavern. And where
 " Distress is not to be made, the Offender is to be put into
 " the Stocks six Hours. All Peace Officers are required to
 " make diligent Search for discovering Offenders; and in
 " case of Neglect, the Justice of Peace is fined five Pounds,
 " and every Constable twenty Shillings." Such was the
 " Severity of these Times!

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wealth.
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Scobel,
P. 119.

The Parliament having ordered the Sale of Bishops Lands, and the Lands of Deans and Chapters, and vested the Money in the Hands of Trustees, as has been related, appointed this Year, April 5. part of the Money to be appropriated for the Support and Maintenance of such late Bishops, Deans, Prebendaries, Singing Men, Choristers, and other Members, Officers, and Persons destitute of Maintenance, whose respective Offices, Places, and Livelihoods, were taken away, and abolished, distributing and proportioning the same according to their Necessities. How well this was executed I cannot determine; but it was a generous Act of Compassion, and more than the Church of England would do for the Nonconformists at the Restoration.

For Main-
tenance of
such clergy-
men belong-
ing to Cathed-
rals, whose
Offices were
abolished.
Scobel,
P. 111.

A Motion being made in the House about translating all Law Books into the English Language, Mr. Whitlock made a learned Speech on the Argument, wherein he observes, that "Moses read the Law to the Jews in the Hebrew Lan-
 " guage; that the Laws of all the Eastern Nations were in
 " their Mother Tongue; the Laws of Constantinople were
 " in Greek; at Rome they were in Latin; in France, Spain,
 " Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and other Places, their
 " Laws are published in their native Language. As for our
 " own Country (says he) those who can read the Saxon
 " Character may find the Laws of our Ancestors in that
 " Language. Pursuant to this Regulation, William Duke
 " of Normandy, commonly called the Conqueror, com-
 " manded the Laws to be published in English, that none
 " might pretend Ignorance. He observes further, that by
 " 36 Eliz. cap. 3. it was ordered, that all Pleadings should
 " be in English; and even in the Reigns of those Princes,
 " wherein our Statutes were enroll'd in French, the Sheriffs

Laws to be
translated
into English.
Whitl.
P. 460.

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wealth.
1650.

“ were obliged to proclaim them in English, because the
“ People were deeply concerned to know the Laws of their
“ Country, and not to be kept in Ignorance of the Rule by
“ which their Interests and Duty were directed.”

Scobel,
p. 155.

The Arguments in this Speech were so forcible, that the House agreed unanimously to a Bill, wherein they ordain,
“ That all Books of Law be translated into English; and
“ all Proceedings in any Court of Justice, except the Court
“ of Admiralty, after the Easter Term, 1651. shall be
“ in English only; and all Writs, &c. shall be in a legible
“ Hand, and not in Court-Hand, on Forfeiture of twenty
“ Pounds for the first Offence, half to the Commonwealth,
“ and the other half to them that will sue for the same.”
And though this Regulation ceased at the Restoration, as all other Ordinances did that were made in these Times, the late Parliament has thought fit to revive it.

Rise of the
Quakers.
Of George
Fox.

From this Time we may date the Rise of the People called QUAKERS, in whom most of the Enthusiasts of these Times center'd: Their first Leader was GEORGE FOX, born at Drayton in Lancashire, 1624. his Father being a poor Weaver put him Apprentice to a Country Shoemaker, but having a peculiar Turn of Mind for Religion, he went away from his Master, and wander'd up and down the Countries like an Hermit, in a Leathern Doublet: at length his Friends hearing he was at London, persuaded him to return home, and settle in some regular Course of Employment; but after he had been some Months in the Country he went from his Friends a second Time, in the Year 1646. and threw off all further Attendance on the publick Service in the Churches: The Reasons he gave for his Conduct were, because it was revealed to him, That a learned Education at the University was no Qualification for a Minister, but that all depended on the Anointing of the Spirit; and, that God who made the World did not dwell in Temples made with Hands. In the Year 1647. he travelled into Darbyshire and Nottinghamshire, walking through divers Towns and Villages, which Way soever his Mind turned, in a solitary Manner. He fasted much (says my Author) and walked often Abroad in retired Places, with no other Companion but his Bible. He would sometimes set in an hollow Tree all Day, and frequently walk about the Fields in the Night, like a Man possessed with deep Melancholy; which the Writer of his Life calls the Time of the first Working of the Lord upon him. Towards the latter End of this Year, he began, first to set up for Teacher of others, about Duckinfield and

Sewel's
Hist.

Man-

Manchester; the principal Argument of his Discourse being,
 " That People should receive the inward Divine Teachings
 " of the Lord, and take that for their Rule."

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 wealth.
 1650.

In the Year 1648. there being a Dissolution of all Government both Civil and Ecclesiastical, George Fox waxed bold, and travell'd through the Counties of Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Derbyshire, speaking to the People in Market Places, &c. about the inward Light of Christ within them. At this Time (says my Author) he apprehended the Lord had forbid him to put off his Hat to any one, high or low; he was required also, to speak to the People without Distinction in the Language of THOU and THEE. He was not to bid People good Morrow, or good Night; neither might he bend his Knee to the chief Magistrate in the Nation; the Women that followed him would not make a Courtesy to their Superiors, nor comply with the common Forms of Speech. Both Men and Women affected a plain and simple Dress distinct from the Fashion of the Times. They neither gave nor accepted any Titles of Respect or Honour, nor would they call any Man Master on Earth. They refused to take an Oath on the most solemn Occasion. These, and the like Peculiarities, he supported by such Passages of Scripture as these, " Swear not at all, " How can ye believe who receive Honour one of another, " and seek not the Honour which comes from God only?" But these Marks of Distinction which George Fox and his Followers were so tenacious of, unhappily brought them into a great deal of Trouble, when they were called to appear before the Civil Magistrate.

Hist.
 Quakers,
 p. 18.

In the Year 1649. he grew more troublesome, and began to interrupt the publick Ministers in Time of Divine Service: His first Essay of this Kind was at Nottingham, where the Minister preaching from those Words of St. Peter, We have a more sure Word of Prophecy, &c. told the People, that they were to try all Doctrines, Opinions, and Religions, by the Holy Scriptures. Upon which George Fox stood up in the Midst of the Congregation and said, " Oh no! 'tis not " the Scripture, but 'tis the Holy Spirit, by which Opinions, " and Religions, are to be tried; for it was the Spirit that " lead People into all Truth, and gave them Knowledge of " it." And continuing his Speech to the Disturbance of the Congregation, the Officers were obliged to turn him out of the Church, and carry him to the Sheriff's House; next Day he was committed to the Castle, but was quickly pleased without any other Punishment. After this he dis-

His Suf-
 ferings.

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wealth.
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turbed the Minister of Mansfield in Time of Divine Service, for which he was set in the Stocks, and turned out of the Town. The like Treatment he met with at Market Bosworth, and several other Towns. At length the Magistrates of Derby confined him six Months in Prison, for uttering divers blasphemous Opinions, pursuant to a late Act of Parliament for that purpose. By this Time there began to appear some other Visionaries, of the same Make and Complexion with George Fox, who spoke in Places of publick Resort; being moved (as they said) by the Holy Ghost; and even some Women, contrary to the Modesty of their Sex, went about the Streets, and enter'd into Churches, crying down the Teachings of Men, and exhorting People to attend to the Light within themselves.

He is join'd
by others.

They are
first called
Quakers.

It was in the Year 1650. that these wandering Lights first received the Denomination of QUAKERS, upon this Occasion, their speaking to the People was usually attended with convulsive Agitations, and shakings of the Body. All their Speakers had these Tremblings, which they gloried in, asserting it to be the Character of a good Man to tremble before God. When George Fox appeared before Gervas Bennet, Esq; one of the Justices of Derby, Octob. 30. 1650. he had one of his Agitations, or fits of Trembling upon him, and with a loud Voice, and vehement Emotion of Body, bid the Justice, and those about him, tremble at the Word of the Lord; whereupon the Justice gave him, and his Friends, the Name of QUAKERS, which being agreeable to their common Behaviour, quickly became the distinguishing Character of this People.

Their Beha-
viour.

At length they disturbed the publick Worship by appearing in ridiculous Habits, with emblematical or typical Representations of some impending Calamity; they also took the Liberty of giving the Ministers the reproachful Names of Hirelings, Deceivers of the People, false Prophets, &c. Some of them went through divers Towns and Villages naked, denouncing Judgments and Calamities upon the Nation. Some have famished and destroyed themselves by deep Melancholy; and others have undertaken to raise their Friends from the Dead. Mr. Baxter says, many Franciscan Friars, and other Papists, have been disguised Speakers in their Assemblies; but little Credit is to be given to such Reports.

Baxter,
p. 77.

It can't be expected that such an unsettled People should have an uniform System of rational Principles. Their first and chief Design, if they had any, was to reduce all revealed

revealed Religion to Allegory; and because some had laid too great a stress upon Rites and Ceremonies, these would have neither Order nor Decency, nor stated Times of Worship, but all must arise from the inward Impulse of their Spirits. Agreeable to this Rule they declared against all Sorts of Clergy, or settled Ministers; against People's assembling in Steeple Houses; against fixed Times of publick Devotion, and consequently against the Observation of the Sabbath. Their own Meetings were occasional, and when they met, one or another spake as they were moved from within, and sometimes they departed without any one's being moved to speak at all.

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The Doctrines they delivered were as various and uncertain as the Principle from which they acted. They denied the Holy Scriptures to be the only Rule of their Faith, calling it a dead Letter, and maintained, that every Man had a Light within himself, which was a sufficient Rule. They denied the received Doctrine of the Trinity and Incarnation. They disowned the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; nay, some of them proceeded so far, as to deny a Christ without them; or at least, to place more of their Dependence upon a Christ within. They spake little or nothing (says Mr. Baxter) about the Depravity of Nature; about the Covenant of Grace; about Pardon of Sin and Reconciliation with God; or about Moral Duties; but the Disturbance they gave to the publick Religion for a Course of many Years, was so insufferable, that the Magistrates could not avoid punishing them as Disturbers of the Peace; though of late Years they are become a more sober and inoffensive People; and by the Wisdom of their Managers have form'd themselves into a Sort of Body politick.

Their Doctrines.

Baxter,
P. 77.

CHAP. II.

From the Coronation of King CHARLES II. in Scotland, to the Protectorship of OLIVER CROMWELL.

THE Coronation of King Charles by the Scots, which had been deferr'd hitherto, being now thought necessary to give Life to their Cause, was perform'd at Scone on New-Years-Day, with as much Magnificence as their Circumstances would admit; when his Majesty took the following Oath: "I Charles King

Common-wealth.
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Coronation of King Charles.
II. 1651:
" of

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wealth.
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Oldm Hist.
Stuarts, p.
391.
His Oath.

“ of Great Britain, France and Ireland, do assure and de-
 “ clare by my solemn Oath, in the Presence of Almighty
 “ God, the Searcher of all Hearts, my Allowance and
 “ Approbation of the National Covenant, and of the so-
 “ lemn League and Covenant; and faithfully oblige my
 “ self to prosecute the ends thereof in my Station and Cal-
 “ ling; and that I myself, and Successors, shall consent
 “ and agree to all the Acts of Parliament enjoining the
 “ National Covenant, and the solemn League and Cove-
 “ nant, and fully establish Presbyterian Government, the
 “ Directory of Worship, Confession of Faith, and Cate-
 “ chisms, in the Kingdom of Scotland, as they are ap-
 “ proved by the General Assembly of this Kirk, and Par-
 “ liament of this Kingdom; and that I will give my Royal
 “ Assent to all Acts of Parliament passed, or to be passed,
 “ enjoining the same in my other Dominions; and that I
 “ shall observe these in my own practice and family, and
 “ shall never make opposition to any of these, or endea-
 “ vour any change thereof.” This Oath was annexed to
 the Covenant itself, drawn up in a fair Roll of Parchment,
 and subscribed by him in presence of the Nobility and
 Gentry.

He signs the
Covenant,
and a De-
claration.
Hist.
Stuarts,
p. 387.
Burnet, p.
50.

His Majesty also signed a Declaration, in which he ac-
 knowledged the Sin of his Father in marrying into an ido-
 latrous Family; that the Blood shed in the late Wars lay at
 his Father's Door. He expressed a deep sense of his own
 ill Education, and of the Prejudices he had drunk in, against
 the cause of God, which he was now very sensible of. He
 confessed all the former parts of his Life to have been a
 course of enmity to the Work of God. He repented of his
 Commission to Montrose. He acknowledged his own Sins,
 and the Sins of his Father's House, and says, he will ac-
 count them his enemies who oppose the Covenants, both
 which he had taken without any sinister intention of attain-
 ing his own ends. He declares his detestation and abhor-
 rence of all Popery, Superstition, Idolatry, and Prelacy,
 and resolves not to tolerate them in any part of his Domini-
 ons. He acknowledges his great sin in making peace with
 the Irish Rebels, and allowing them the Liberty of their
 Religion, which he makes void, resolving for the future
 rather to choose affliction than sin; and tho' he judges
 charitably of those who have acted against the Covenant,
 yet he promises not to employ them for the future till they
 have taken it. In the conclusion his Majesty confesses over
 again his own guilt; and tells the World, the State of the

Question

Question was now altered, in as much as he had obtained Mercy to be on God's Side, and therefore hopes the Lord will be gracious, and countenance his own cause, since he is determined to do nothing but with advice of the Kirk.

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wealth.
1651.

Our Historians, who complain of the prevarication of Cromwel, would do well to find a parallel to this in all History; the King took the Covenant three Times with this tremendous Oath, "By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I will observe and keep all that is contained herein." Mr. Baxter admits, that the Scots were in the wrong in tempting the young King to speak and publish that which they might easily know was contrary to the Thoughts of his Heart; but surely, his Majesty was no less to blame to trample upon the most sacred Bonds of Religion and Society; but he stuck at nothing. He complied with the Rigors of the Scots Discipline and Worship: He heard many Prayers and Sermons of great length. "I remember (says Bishop Burnet) in one Fast Day, there were six Sermons preached without intermission. He was not allowed to walk abroad on Sundays; and if at any time there had been any gaiety at Court, as dancing, or playing at Cards, he was severely reprov'd for it, which contributed not a little to beget in him an aversion to all strictness in Religion." And the Scots were so jealous that all this was from Necessity, that they would suffer none of his old Friends to come into his presence and Councils, nor so much as to serve in the Army.

Remarks.

p. 66.

p. 53.

While the Scots were raising Forces for the King's Service a private Correspondence was carried on with the English Presbyterians; Letters were also writ, and Messengers sent from London to the King and Queen Mother in France, to hasten an Accommodation with the Scots, assuring them, that the English Presbyterians would then declare for him the first opportunity. Large sums of money were collected privately to forward an expedition into England; but the vigilance of the Commonwealth discovered and defeated their Designs. The principal Gentlemen and Ministers concerned in the correspondence were some disbanded Officers who had served the Parliament in the late Wars; as Major Adams, Alford, and Huntington; Colonel Vaughan, Titus, Sowton, Jackson, Bains, Barton; Captain Adams, Potter, Massey, Starks, Farr; and, Mr. Gibbons. The Ministers were, Dr. Drake, Mr. Case, Watson, Heyrick, Jenkins, Jackson, Jaquel, Robinson, Cawton, Nalfon, Haviland,

Presbyte-
rian Plot.

Common-
wealth.
1651.

Haviland, Blackmore, and Mr. Love. These had their private Assemblies at Major Adams's, Colonel Barton's, and at Mr. Love's House, and held a correspondence with the King, who desired them to send Commissioners to Breda to moderate the Scots demands, which service he would reward when God should restore him to his Kingdoms.

But so numerous a Confederacy was hardly to be concealed from the watchful Eyes of the new Government, who had their Spies in all Places. Major Adams being apprehended on Suspicion was the first who discovered the Conspiracy to the Council of State. By his Information Warrants were issued out for apprehending most of the Gentlemen and Ministers above-mentioned; but several absconded, and withdrew from the Storm. The Ministers who were apprehended, were Dr. Drake, Mr. Jenkins, Jackson, Robinson, Watson, Blackmore, and Haviland, who after some time were released on their Petition for mercy, and promising submission to the Government for the future; but Mr. Love and Gibbons were made examples, as a terror to others. Mr. Jenkin's Petition being expressed in very strong terms was ordered to be printed; it was entitled, "The humble Petition of Will. Jenkins, Prisoner, declaring his unfeigned sorrow for all his late Miscarriages, and promising to be true and faithful to the present Government; with three Queries, bearing the Ground of his late Petition, and Submission to the present Powers."

Mr. Love's
Trial.

The Reverend Mr. Love was brought before a new High Court of Justice erected for this purpose, as was the Custom of these times for State Criminals; when Mr. Attorney General Prideaux, June 20. exhibited against him the following charge of High Treason, "That at several times, in the years 1649, 1650, and 1651. and in several places, he, with the Persons above-mentioned, had maliciously combined, and contrived to raise Forces against the present Government.—That they had declared and published Charles Stuart, eldest Son of the late King, to be King of England, without consent of Parliament.—That they had aided the Scots to invade this Commonwealth.—That the said Christopher Love, at divers times between the 29th of March, 1650, and the first of June, 1651, at London and other places, had traiterously and maliciously maintained correspondence and intelligence by letters and messages with Charles Stuart, Son of the late King, and with the
"Queen

“ Queen his Mother, and with sundry of his Council.—
 “ That he did likewise hold correspondence with divers of
 “ the Scots Nation, and had assisted them with Money,
 “ Arms, and other Supplies in the present War, as well as
 “ Colonel Titus, and others of the English Nation, in
 “ Confederacy with them, to the hazard of the publick
 “ peace, and in breach of the Laws of the Land.”—

Common-
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To this charge Mr. Love, after having demurred to the jurisdiction of the Court, pleaded Not Guilty. The Witnesses against him were eight of the above-mentioned gentlemen. The Reverend Mr. Jackson was summoned, but refused to be sworn, or give evidence, because he looked on Mr. Love to be a good Man; saying, he should have an hell in his conscience to his dying day, if he should speak any thing that should be circumstantially prejudicial to Mr. Love's Life. The Court put him in mind of his obligation to the Publick, and that the very safety of all Government depended upon it. But he refused to be sworn, for which the Court sent him to the Fleet, and fined him five hundred Pounds.

But it appeared by the other Witnesses, that Mr. Love had held a criminal correspondence both with the King, and the Scots: With regard to the King it was sworn, that about a Month after his late Majesty's Death several of them met at a Tavern at Dowgate, and other places, to concert measures to forward the King's agreement with the Scots, for which purpose they applied by letters to the Queen, and sent over Colonel Titus with one hundred Pounds to defray his expences. The Colonel having delivered his message, sent back letters by Colonel Alford, which were read in Mr. Love's House; with the copy of a Letter from the King himself, Mr. Love being present. Upon these, and such like facts, the Council for the Commonwealth insisted, that here was a criminal correspondence to Restore the King, contrary to the Ordinance of Jan. 30, 1649, which says,
 “ That whosoever shall proclaim, declare, publish, or any
 “ ways promote Charles Stuart, or any other person to be
 “ King of England, without consent of Parliament, shall
 “ be adjudged a Traytor, and suffer the pains of Death as
 “ a Traytor.”

The Evi-
dence.

The other branch of the charge against Mr. Love, was, his corresponding with the Scots, and assisting them in the War against the Parliament. To support this, Captain Potter, Adams, and Mr. Jaquel swore, that Letters came from Scotland to Colonel Bamfield with the Letter L. upon them,

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them, giving a large Narrative of the Fight at Dunbar, and of the Scots Affairs for three months after till Christmas. There came also Letters from the Earl of Argyle, Lothian, and Loudon, who propos'd the raising ten thousand pounds to buy arms, and to hire shipping, in order to land five thousand men in England. The Letters were read at Mr. Love's House, but the proposals were disliked: Only forty pounds was rais'd for the expences of the messenger. At another time a Letter was read from General Massey, in which he desires them to provide Arms, and mentions his own and Colonel Titus's Necessities; upon which it was agreed to raise two or three hundred pounds by way of contribution, and every one present writ down what he would lend, among whom was Mr. Love, who not only contributed himself, but carried about the paper to encourage others. This was construed by the Council for the Commonwealth sufficient to bring Mr. Love within the Ordinance of July 1. 1649, which says, "That if any
" shall procure, invite, aid, or assist, any Foreigners or
" Strangers to invade England or Ireland; or shall adhere
" to any forces rais'd by the Enemies of the Parliament,
" or Commonwealth, or Keepers of the Liberties of Eng-
" land, all such persons shall be deemed, and adjudged
" guilty of High Treason."

Mr. Love's
Defence.

Mr. Love, in his defence, behaved with a little too much freedom and boldness; he set too high a value upon his sacred character, which the Court was inclined to treat with neglect. He objected to the witnesses, as being forced into the service to save their Lives. He observes, that to several of the facts there was but one witness; and that some of them had sworn falsely, or at least their memories had fail'd them in some things, which might easily happen at so great a distance of time. He called no witnesses to confront the evidence, but at the close of his defence confessed ingenuously, that there had been several meetings of the above-named persons at his House, and that a Commission was read, but that he dissented from it. He acknowledged further, that he was present at the reading of Letters, or of some part of them, "but I was ignorant
" (says he) of the danger that I now see I am in. The
" Act of Aug. 2d, 1650, makes it Treason to hold any
" Correspondence with Scotland, or to send Letters thi-
" ther though but in a way of Commerce, the two Na-
" tions being at War; now here my Council acquaints me
" with my danger, that I being present when letters were
" read

“ read in my House am guilty of a concealment, and
 “ therefore as to that, I humbly lay myself at your Feet
 “ and Mercy.”

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And to move the Court to shew mercy to him, he endeavoured to set out his own character in the most favourable light, “ I have been called a Malignant and Apostate
 “ (says he) but God is my witness, I never carried on a
 “ malignant interest; I still retain my covenanting principles, from which by the Grace of God I will never depart; neither am I an Incendiary between the two Nations of England and Scotland, but I am grieved for their divisions; and if I had as much blood in my veins as there is Water in the Sea, I could account it well spent to quench the fire that our Sins have kindled between them. I have all along engaged my Life and Estate in the Parliament’s Quarrel against the Forces raised by the late King, not from a prospect of advantage, but from Conscience and Duty; and I am so far from repenting, that were it to do again upon the same unquestionable authority, and for the same declared Ends, I should as readily engage in it as ever; though I wish from my Soul, that the Ends of that just War had been better accomplished.

“ Nor have my sufferings in this cause been inconsiderable; when I was a Scholar in Oxford, and M. A. I was the first who publicly refused to subscribe the Canons imposed by the late Archbishop, for which I was expelled the Convocation-House. When I came first to London, which was about twelve years ago, I was opposed by the Bishop of London, and it was about three years before I could obtain so much as a Lecture. In the year 1640, or 1641. I was imprisoned in Newcastle for preaching against the Service Book, from whence I was removed hither by Habeas Corpus, and acquitted. In the beginning of the War between the late King and Parliament I was accused for preaching Treason and Rebellion, merely because I maintained in a Sermon at Tenterden in Kent, the lawfulness of a defensive War. I was again complained of by the Commissioners at Uxbridge for preaching a Sermon, which I hear is lately reprinted; and if it be printed according to the first Copy I will own every line of it. After all this I have been three times in trouble since the late change of Government. Once I was committed to custody, and twice cited before the Committee for plundered Ministers,

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nisters, but for want of proof was discharged. And now last of all, this great trial is come upon me ; I have been kept several Weeks in close prison, and am now arraigned for my Life, and like to suffer from the hands of those for whom I have done and suffered so much, and who have lift up their hands with me in the same Covenant ; and yet I am not conscious of any personal Act proved against me, that brings me within any of your Laws as to Treason.

Upon the whole, though I never writ nor sent Letters into Scotland, yet, I confess, their proceedings with the King are agreeable to my judgment, and for the good of the Nation ; and though I disown the Commission and Instructions mentioned in the Indictment, yet I have desired an agreement between the King and the Scots, agreeably to the Covenant ; for they having declared him to be their King, I have desired and prayed as a private Man, that they might accomplish their ends upon such terms as were consistent with the safety of Religion and the Covenant."

He concludes with beseeching the Court, that he may not be put to death for State Reasons. He owns he had been guilty of a Concealment, and begs the mercy of the Court for it, promising for the future to lead a quiet and peaceable Life. He puts them in mind, that when Abiathar the Priest had done an unjustifiable action, King Solomon said, he would not put him to death at that time, "because he bore the Ark of the Lord God before David his Father ; and because he had been afflicted in all wherein his Father hath been afflicted."——Thus (says he) I commit myself and my All to God, and to your Judgments and Consciences, with the Words of Jeremiah to the Rulers of Israel, "As for me, behold I am in your Hands, do with me as seemeth good and meet to you ; but know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death ye shall surely bring innocent Blood upon your selves." But I hope better Things of you, tho' I thus speak.

The Court allowed Mr. Love the benefit of Council learned in the Law to argue some exceptions against the Indictment ; but after all that Mr. Hales could say for the Prisoner, the Court, after six days hearing, on the 5th of July, pronounced sentence of death against him as a Traytor.

Great Intercessions were made for the life of this Reverend Person by the chief of the Presbyterian Party in London ; his Wife presented several moving petitions ; and two

were

were presented from himself, in one of which he acknowledges the justice of his sentence, according to the Laws of the Commonwealth; in the other he petitions, that if he may not be pardoned, his sentence may be changed into banishment; and that he might do something to deserve his life, he presented with his last petition a Narration of all that he knew relating to the plot, which admits almost all that had been objected to him at his Trial.

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But the Affairs of the Commonwealth were now at a crisis, and King Charles II. having entered England at the head of sixteen thousand Scots, it was thought necessary to strike some terror into the Presbyterian party by making an example of one of their favourite Clergymen. Mr. Whitlock says, that Colonel Fortescue was sent to General Cromwel with a petition on behalf of Mr. Love, but that both the General and the rest of the Officers declined meddling in the Affair; but Bishop Kennet and Mr. Eachard say, the General sent word, in a private Letter to one of his Confidants, that he was content that Mr. Love should be reprieved, and upon giving security for his future good behaviour pardoned; but that the Post-boy being stopt on the road by some Cavaliers belonging to the late King's Army, they searched his Packet, and finding this Letter of Reprieve for Mr. Love they tore it with indignation, as thinking him not worthy to live who had been such a fire-brand at the Treaty of Uxbridge. If this Story be true, Mr. Love fell a Sacrifice to the ungovernable rage of the Cavaliers, as Dr. Dorislaus and Mr. Ascham had done before.

A remark-
able Inci-
dent.

Compl.
Hist. p. 202.
Eachard, p.
689.

The Mail arriving from Scotland, and no Letter from Cromwel in behalf of Mr. Love, he was ordered to be executed upon Tower-Hill, Aug. 22. the very day the King entered Worcester at the head of his Scots Army. Mr. Love mounted the Scaffold with great courage and resolution, and taking off his Hat two several times to the people, made a long Speech, wherein he declares the satisfaction of his mind in the cause for which he suffered; and then adds, "I am for a regulated, mixed Monarchy, which I judge to be one of the best Governments in the World. I opposed, in my place, the forces of the late King, because I am against screwing up Monarchy into Tyranny, as much as against those who would pull it down into Anarchy. I was never for putting the King to death, whose Person I did promise in my Covenant to preserve; and I judge it an ill way of curing the Body politick by cutting off the political Head. I die with my judgment

His Speech
on the Scaf-
fold, and
Execution.

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“ against the Engagement ; I pray God forgive them that
 “ impose it, and them that take it, and preserve them that
 “ refuse it. Neither would I be looked upon as owning
 “ this present Government ; I die with my Judgment
 “ against it. And lastly, I die cleaving to all those Oaths,
 “ Vows, Covenants, and Protestations that were imposed
 “ by the two Houses of Parliament. I bless God I have
 “ not the least trouble on my Spirit, but I die with as much
 “ quietness of Mind as if I was going to lie down on my
 “ Bed to rest. I see Men thirst after my Blood, which
 “ will but hasten my happiness and their ruin ; for though
 “ I am but of mean Parentage yet my Blood is the Blood
 “ of a Christian, of a Minister, of an innocent Man, and
 “ (I speak it without vanity) of a Martyr---I conclude
 “ with the Speech of the Apostle, I am now ready to be
 “ offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand, but
 “ I have finished my course, I have kept the Faith, hence-
 “ forth there is laid up for me a Crown of Righteousness
 “ —and not for me only, but for all them that love the
 “ appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whose
 “ Blood I expect Salvation, and Remission of Sins. And
 “ so the Lord bless you all.”

After this he prayed with an audible Voice for himself
 and his Fellow-sufferer Mr. Gibbon, for the prosperity of
 England, for his covenanting Brethren in Scotland, and for
 an happy union between the two Nations, making no men-
 tion of the King. He then rose from his Knees, and hav-
 ing taken leave of the Ministers, and others that attended
 him, he laid his Head upon the Block, which the Executi-
 oner took off at one Blow, before he had attained the age
 of forty years. Mr. Love was a zealous Presbyterian, a
 popular Preacher, and highly esteemed by his Brethren.
 His Funeral Sermon was preached by Dr. Manton, and
 published under the Title of “ The Saints Triumph over
 “ Death ;” but his Memory has suffered very much by
 Lord Clarendon’s Character, who represents him as guilty
 of as much “ Treason against the late King as the Pulpit
 “ could contain ; and delighting himself with the recital of
 “ it to the last, as dying with false courage, or (as he calls
 “ it) in a raving Fit of Satisfaction for having pursued the
 “ ends of the sanctified Obligation the Covenant, without
 “ praying for the King, any farther than he propagated the
 “ Covenant.” Such Quarter must they expect who can’t
 go all his Lordship’s Lengths, though they sacrifice their
 Lives for their King !

Vol. III. p.
434.

To

To return to more publick affairs ; after the Battle of Dunbar General Cromwel, through the Inclemency of the Weather, and his great fatigues, was seized with an Ague which hung upon him all the Spring, but as the Summer advanced he recovered, and in the Month of July marched his Army towards the King's at Sterlin ; but not thinking it advisable to attempt his Camp, he transported part of his forces over the Firth into Fife, who upon their landing defeated the Scots, killing two thousand, and taking twelve hundred prisoners. After that, without waiting any longer on the King, he took Johnstown, and almost all the garrisons in the North.

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Progress of the English Army in Scotland,

While the General was employed in these parts, the Scots Committee that directed the marches of their Army, fearing the Storm would quickly fall upon themselves, resolved to march their Army into England, and try the Loyalty of the English Presbyterians ; for this purpose Colonel Massey was sent before into Lancashire, to prepare them for a revolt ; and the King himself entered England by the way of Carlisle, August 6. at the head of sixteen thousand Men ; But when the Committee of Ministers that attended the Army, observed that the King and his Friends, upon their entering England, were for dropping the Covenant, they sent an express to Massey without the King's knowledge (says Lord Clarendon) requiring him to publish a Declaration, to assure the People of their Resolution to prosecute the ends of the Covenant. The King had no sooner notice of this, but he sent to Massey, forbidding him to publish the Declaration, and to behave with equal civility towards all Men who were forward to to serve him ; “ but before this Inhibition (says his Lordship) the matter had taken air in all places, and was “ spread over the whole Kingdom, which made all Men “ fly from their Houses, or conceal themselves, who wished the King well.” But his Lordship is surely mistaken, for the King's chief hopes under Massey were from the Presbyterians, who were so far from being displeased with his Majesty's declaring for the Covenant, that it gave them all the Spirit he could wish for ; but when it was known that the Covenant was to be laid aside, Massey's measures were broken, many of the Scots deserted and returned home ; and not one in ten of the English would hazard his Life in the quarrel. Mr. Baxter, who was a much better judge of the temper of the People than his Lordship, says, “ The English knew that the Scots coming into England

The King marches into England with the Scots Army

Vol. III. p. 400, 406.

Rapin, p. 64.

Life, p. 68.

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“ was rather a slight than a march. They considered like-
“ wise, that the implacable Cavaliers had made no prepa-
“ ration of the people’s minds, by proposing any terms of
“ a future reconciliation. That the Prelatical Divines
“ were gone further from the Presbyterians by Dr. Ham-
“ mond’s new way, than their Predecessors ; and that the
“ cause they contended for being not Concord but Govern-
“ ment, they had given the Presbyterian Clergy and Peo-
“ ple no hopes of finding any abatement of their former
“ burdens ; and ’tis hard to persuade Men to venture their
“ Lives in order to bring themselves into a Prison or Ba-
“ nishment.” However, these were the true reasons, says
Mr. Baxter, That no more came into the King at present ;
and had the Presbyterians observed them at the Restoration,
they had made better terms for themselves than they did..

Preparati-
ons of the
Parliament.

p. 689.

The Parliament at Westminster were quickly advised of
the King’s March, and by way of precaution expelled all
Delinquents out of the City ; they raised the Militia ; they
mustered the Trained Bands, to the number of fourteen
thousand ; and in a few weeks had got together an Army of
near sixty thousand brave Soldiers. Mr. Eachard represents
the Parliament as in a terrible panick, and projecting means
to escape out of the Land ; whereas in reality, the unhap-
py King was the pity of his Friends, and the contempt of his
Enemies. General Cromwel sent an express to the Parlia-
ment, to have a watchful Eye over the Presbyterians, who
were in confederacy with the Scots, and told them, That
the reason of his not interposing between the Enemy and
England was, because he was resolved to reduce Scotland
effectually before Winter. He desired the House to collect
their forces together, and make the best Stand they could
till he would come up with the Enemy, when he doubted
not but to give a good account of them. At the same
Time he sent Major General Lambert with a strong body
of horse to harraßs the King’s Forces, while himself, with
the body of the Army, hastened after, leaving Lieutenant
General Monk with a sufficient Force to secure his Con-
quests, and reduce the rest of the Country, which he quick-
ly accomplished. Bishop Burnet says, there was an order
and discipline among the English, and a Face of Gravity
and Piety that amazed all People ; most of them were Inde-
pendants and Bishops, all gifted Men, and preached as they
were moved, but never above once disturbed the publick
Worship.

Burnet p.
58.

The

The Earl of Derby was the only Nobleman in England who raised fifteen hundred Men for the young King, but before he could join the Royal Army he was defeated by Col. Lilburn, near Wigan in Lancashire, and his Forces entirely dispersed. The Earl being wounded retired into Cheshire, and from thence got to the King, who had marched his Army as far as Worcester, which opened its gates, and gave him an honourable reception; from hence his Majesty sent Letters to London, commanding all his Subjects between the age of sixteen and sixty to repair to his Royal Standard; but few had the courage to appear, the Parliament having declared all such rebels, and burnt the King's summons by the hands of the common hangman. His Majesty's affairs were now at a crisis; Lambert was in his rear with a great body of horse, and Cromwel followed with ten thousand foot, which, together with the forces that joined him by order of Parliament, made an Army of thirty thousand Men. The King being unable to keep the field fortified the City of Worcester, and encamped almost under the walls. Sept. 3. Cromwel attacked Powick bridge, within two miles of the City, which drew out the King's Forces, and occasioned a general battle, in which his Majesty's Army was entirely destroyed; four thousand being slain, seven thousand taken prisoners, with the King's Standard, and one hundred fifty eight Colours. Never was a greater rout and dispersion, nor a more fatal blow to the Royal Cause. The account which the General gave to the Parliament was, "That the Battle was fought with various success for some hours, but still hopeful on our part, and in the end became an absolute victory, the Enemy's Army being totally defeated, and the Town in our possession, our Men entering at the Enemy's heels, and fighting with them in the Streets, took all their baggage and artillery. The dispute was long and very often at push of pike from one defence to another. There are about six or seven thousand Prisoners, among whom are many Officers, and persons of Quality. This for ought I know, may be a crowning Mercy." All possible diligence was used to seize the person of the King; it was declared High Treason to conceal him, and a reward of a thousand pounds was set upon his head; but Providence ordained his escape, for after he had travelled up and down the Country six or seven weeks, under various disguises, in company with one or two confidants, and escaped a thousand dangers, he got a passage cross the channel at Brighthelmstone in Sussex, and landed at Diepe in Normandy,

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King at
Worcester.

Battle of
Worcester.

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Low Condi-
tion of the
King and
the Church
of England.

He neglects
the Presby-
terians and
turns his
Eyes to-
wards the
Papists.
Clar. p.
444.

Kennet, p.
200, 210.
Rapin, p.
205.

Octob. 21. from whence he travelled by land to Paris, where his Mother maintained him out of her small pension from the Court of France.

The hopes of the Royalists were now expiring, for the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey, with all the British Plantations in America, were reduced this Summer to the obedience of the Parliament, in so much that his Majesty had neither Fort nor Castle, nor a foot of land in all his Dominions. The Liturgy of the Church of England was also under a total eclipse, the use of it forbidden not only in England, but even to the Royal Family in France, which had hitherto an apartment in the Louvre separated to that purpose; but after the battle of Worcester an order was sent from the Queen Regent, to shut up the Chappel, it being the King's pleasure not to permit the exercise of any Religion but the Roman Catholick in any of his Houses; nor could Chancellor Hyde obtain more than a bare promise, that the Queen of England would use her endeavours, that the Protestants of the Family should have liberty to exercise their Devotions in some private room belonging to the lodgings.

Upon the King's arrival in France he immediately threw off the mask of a Presbyterian, and never went once to the Protestant Church at Charenton, though they invited him in the most respectful manner; but Lord Clarendon dissuaded him, because the Hugonots had not been hearty in his Interest, and because it might look disrespectful to the old Church of England: But, in truth, there being no further prospect of the King's Restoration by the Presbyterians, the Eyes of the Court were turned to the Roman Catholicks, and many of his Majesty's Retinue changed their Religion, as appears by the *Legenda Ligneæ*, published about this time, with a list of fifty three new Converts, among whom were the following Names in red Capitals; the Countess of Derby, Lady Kilmichin, Lord Cottington, Sir Marm. Langdale, Sir Fr. Doddington, Sir Theoph. Gilby, Capt. Tho. Cook, Tho. Vane, D. D. De Cressy, Preb. of Windsor, Dr. Bayly, Dr. Cofins, jun. D. Goffie; and many others, not to mention the King himself, of whom Father Huddleston, his Confessor, writes in his Treatise, intitled, "A short and plain way to the Faith of the Church," published 1685, that he put it into the King's hands in his retirement; and that when his Majesty had read it, he declared he did not see how it could be answered. Thus early, says a Reverend Prelate of the Church of England, was the King's advance towards Popery, of which we shall meet with a fuller Demonstration hereafter.

General

General Monk, whom Cromwel left in Scotland with six thousand Men, quickly reduced that Kingdom, which was soon after united to the Commonwealth of England, the Deputies of the several Counties consenting to be governed by authority of Parliament, without a King or House of Lords. The Power of the Kirk was likewise reduced within a narrow compass; for though they had liberty to excommunicate Offenders, or debar them the Communion, they might not seize their Estates, or deprive them of their Civil Rights and Privileges. No Oaths or Covenants were to be imposed but by direction from Westminster; and as all fitting encouragement was to be given the the Ministers of the established Kirk, so others not satisfied with their Form of Church Government had liberty to serve God after their own manner; and all who would live peaceably, and yield obedience to the Commonwealth, were protected in their several Persuasions. This occasioned a great Commotion among the Clergy, who complained of the Loss of their Covenant, and Church Discipline; and exclaimed against the Toleration, as opening a door to all kinds of Error and Heresy: But the English supported their Friends against all opposition.

The Laird of Drum being threatened with excommunication, for speaking against the Kirk, and refusing to swear, that its Discipline was of Divine Authority, fled to the English for protection, and then writ the Assembly word, that their oppression was equal to that of the late Bishops, but that the Commonwealth of England would not permit them to enslave the Consciences of Men any longer. The Presbytery would have proceeded to extremities with him, but Monk brandished his Sword over their heads, and threatened to treat them as Enemies to the State, upon which they desisted for the present. Soon after this, Commissioners chiefly of the Independant Persuasion, were sent into Scotland, to visit the Universities, and to settle Liberty of Conscience in that Kingdom, against the coercive claim of the Kirk, by whose Influence a Declaration was presented to the Assembly at Edinburgh, July 26, in favour of the "Congregational Discipline, and for Liberty of Conscience;" but the stubborn Assembly Men, instead of yielding to the Declaration, published a Paper, called "A Testimony against the present encroachments of the Civil Power upon the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction," occasioned by a Proclamation of the English Commissioners appointing a Committee for visiting their Universities, which they take

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Low Condition of the Kirk of Scotland. Whitl. p. 503, 504, 498.

English Commissioners settle Liberty of Conscience in that Kingdom. Whitl. p. 500, 505, 525.

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The Kirk
insulted.
Whitl. p.
511, 512.

to be a special Flower of the Kirk Prerogative. The Synod of Fife also protested against the publick Resolutions of the Civil Power, but the Sword of the English kept them in awe; for when the Synod of Perth cited before them several persons for slighting the Admonitions of the Kirk, Mr. Whitlock says, that upon the day of appearance their Wives, to the number of about one hundred and twenty, with clubs in their hands, came and besieged the Church where the Synod sat; that they abused one of the Ministers who was sent out to treat with them, and threatened to excommunicate them; and that they beat the Clerk and dispersed the Assembly; upon which thirteen of the Ministers met at a Village about four miles distant, and having agreed that no more Synods should be held in that place, they pronounced the Village accursed. When the General Assembly met again at Edinburgh next Summer, and were just entering upon Business, Lieutenant Colonel Cotterel went into the Church, and standing up upon one of the Benches, told them, that no Ecclesiastical Judicatories were to sit there, but by authority of the Parliament of England; and without giving them leave to reply, he commanded them to retire, and conducted them out of the West Gate of the City with a Troop of Horse and a Company of Foot; and having taken away the Commissions from their several Classes, enjoined them not to assemble any more above three in a company.

State of
Scotland.
p. 61.

But with all these Commotions, Bishop Burnet observes, that the Country was kept in great order; the Garrisons in the Highlands observed an exact Discipline, and were well paid, which brought so much Money into the Kingdom, that it continued all the time of the Usurpation in a flourishing condition; Justice was carefully administered, and Vice was suppressed and punished; there was a great appearance of Devotion; the Sabbath was observed with uncommon strictness; none might walk the Streets in time of Divine Service, nor frequent publick houses; the evenings of the Lord's days were spent in catechising their Children, singing Psalms, and other acts of family Devotion, in so much that an acquaintance with the Principles of Religion, and the Gift of Prayer, encreased prodigiously among the common People.

Act of In-
demnity,
and a new
Council of
State.

The War being now at an end the Parliament published an Act of Indemnity for all crimes committed before June 30. 1648. except Pyrates, Irish Rebels, the Murderers of Dr. Dorislaus, and Mr. Ascham, and some others, provided they laid hold of it, and took the engagement before

Feb.

Feb. 1. 1652. In the close of the year they chose a new Council of State out of their own Body for the next Year, and continued themselves, instead of dissolving, and giving way to a new Parliament; the neglect of which was their Ruin.

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On the 26th of Sept. Lieutenant General Ireton died at Limerick, in Ireland, after he had reduced that City to the Obedience of the Commonwealth. He was bred to the Law, and was a Person of great Integrity, bold and courageous in all his Enterprizes, and never to be diverted from what he thought just and right by any Arguments or Persuasions. He was a thorough Commonwealths Man. Bishop Burnet says, he had the Principles and Temper of a Cassius, and was most liberal in employing his Purse, and hazarding his Person in the Service of the Publick. He died in the midst of Life of a burning Fever, after ten Days sickness. His Body being brought over into England was laid in State at Somerset House, and buried in Westminster-Abbey, with a Pomp and Magnificence suited to the Dignity of his Station; but after the Restoration of the Royal Family, his Body was taken out of the Grave with Cromwel's and buried under the Gallows.

Death of
L. G.
Ireton.

p. 46.

About the same Time died Mr. Francis Woodcock, born in Chester, 1613. and educated at Brazen Nose College, Oxford, where he took a Degree in Arts, enter'd into Orders, and had a Cure of Souls bestowed upon him. In the Beginning of the Civil Wars he sided with the Parliament, and was one of the Assembly of Divines, being then Lecturer of St. Lawrence Jewry. He was afterwards, by Ordinance of Parliament dated July 10. 1646. made Parson of St. Olaves, Southwark; having the Esteem of being a good Scholar, and an excellent Preacher. He died in the midst of his Days and Usefulness, ætatis 38.

Death of
Mr. Wood-
cock. Ath.
Ox.

Mr. George Walker proceeded B. D. in St. John's College, Cambridge: He was famous for his Skill in the Oriental Languages, and was an excellent Logician and Theologist; being very much noted for his Disputations with the Jesuit Fisher, and others of the Romish Church; and afterwards, for his strict Sabbatarian Principles. He was one of the Assembly of Divines, where he gain'd great Reputation by his munificent and publick Behaviour.

Of Mr.
George
Walker.
Eachard.

Mr. Thomas Wilson was born in Cumberland 1601. and educated in Christ's College, Cambridge, where he proceeded in Arts. He was first Minister of Capel in Surrey, and after several other Removes fixed at Maidstone in Kent, where he was suspended for refusing to read the Book of Sports, and

Of Mr.
Wilson.

not

Common-
wealth.
1651.

not absolved till the Scots Troubles in 1639. In 1643, he was appointed one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, being reputed a good Linguist, and well read in ancient and modern Authors. He was of a robust Constitution, and took vast Pains in preaching and catechising; he had a great deal of natural Courage, and was in every respect a chearful and active Christian, but he trespassed too much upon his Constitution, which wore him out when he was little more than fifty Years old. He died comfortably and chearfully towards the End of the Year 1651. Sir Edward Deering gave him this Character in the House of Commons; "Mr. Willson is as Orthodox in Doctrine, and Laborious in Preaching, as any we have, and of an unblemished Life."

1652.
Low Terms
of Confor-
mity.

The Terms of Conformity in England were now lower than they had been since the Beginning of the Civil Wars; the Covenant was laid aside, and no other Civil Qualification for a Living required, but the Engagement, so that many Episcopal Divines complied with the Government; for tho' they might not read the Liturgy in form, they might frame their Prayers as near as they pleased. Many Episcopal Conventicles were connived at, where the Liturgy was read, till they were found plotting against the Government; nor would they have been denied an open Toleration, if they would have given Security for their peaceable Behaviour, and not meddling with Politicks.

Petition
against
Tithes.

The Parliament having voted in the Year 1649. that Tithes should be taken away as soon as another Maintenance for the Clergy could be agreed upon, several Petitions came out of the Country, praying the House to bring this Affair to an Issue: One advised, that all the Tithes over the whole Kingdom might be collected into a Treasury, and that the Ministers might be paid their Salaries out of it. Others looking upon Tithes unlawful, would have the Livings valued, and the Parish engaged to pay the Minister. This was suspected to come from the Sectaries, and awaken'd the Fears of the Establish'd Clergy. Mr. Baxter printed the Worcester Petition on the Behalf of the Ministers, which was presented to the House by Colonel Bridges and Mr. Foley; and Mr. Bercman, B. D. and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, published, "The Country Man's Catechism; or, the Church's Plea for Tithes;" dedicated to the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of the Realm; in which he insists upon their Divine Right, but the Clergy were more afraid than hurt; for though the Commons were of Opinion with Mr. Selden, that Tithes were abolished with
the

Life,
p. 115.

the old Law, yet the Committee not agreeing upon an Expedient to satisfy the Lay-Impropriators, the Affair was dropt for the present.

Common-wealth.
1652.

Upon Complaint of the Expence and Tediouſneſs of Law Suits, it was moved in the Houſe, That Courts of Juſtice might be ſettled in every County, and maintained at the publick Charge; and that all Controverſies between Man and Man might be heard and determined free, according to the Laws of the Land; and that Clerks of all Courts and Committees might do their Duty without delay, or taking any Thing more than their ſettled Fees. Accordingly a Committee was appointed to conſider of the Inconveniencies and Delays of Law Suits, and how they might be remedied. The Committee came to ſeveral Reſolutions upon this Head; but the Diſſolution of the Parliament, which began with the next Year, prevented their bringing it to Perfection.

Attempts to regulate Law Suits.

An Act had paſſed in the Year 1643. for propagating the Goſpel in Wales; and Commiſſioners were appointed for ejection ignorant and ſcandalous Miniſters, and placing others in their Room; purſuant to which, Mr. Whitlock writes,

Propagation of the Goſpel in Wales.

p. 518.

“ That by this Time there were one Hundred and fifty good
“ Preachers in the thirteen Welch Counties, moſt of whom
“ preached three or four Times a Week; that in every
“ Market Town there was placed one; and in moſt great
“ Towns two School-Maſters, able, learned, and Univerſity Men; that the Tithes were all employed to the Uſes
“ directed by Act of Parliament; that is to the Maintenance of Godly Miniſters; to the Payment of Taxes
“ and Officers; to School-Maſters; and the Fifths to the
“ Wives and Children of the ejected Clergy.” Of which we ſhall meet with a more particular Relation in its proper Place.

The Commonwealth was now very powerful, and the Nation in as flouriſhing a Condition (ſays Mr. Rapin) as under Queen Elizabeth. The Form of Government indeed was alter'd contrary to Law, and without Conſent of the People, the Majority of whom were diſaffected, preferring a mixed Monarchy to an abſolute Commonwealth; but the Adminiſtration was in the Hands of the ableſt Men England had beheld for a long while; all their Enemies were in a Manner ſubdued, and the two Kingdoms incorporated into one Commonwealth: But ſtill there were two Things that gave them Uneaſineſs; one was the growing Power of the Army, which were now at leiſure, and expected Rewards ſuitable to their Succeſſes. The other, the Neceſſity they were under to diſſolve themſelves in a little Time, and put the Power into other Hands.

State of the Commonwealth.
P. 70.

With

Common-
wealth.
1652.

War with
the Dutch.

With regard to the Army, it was resolved to reduce the Land Forces, and augment the Fleet with them, in order to secure the Nation against the Dutch; for the Parliament having a Desire to strengthen their Hands, by uniting with the Commonwealth of Holland, sent over Oliver St. John, and Sir Walter Strickland, with Proposals for this Purpose; but the Dutch treated them with Neglect, as their younger Sister, which the Parliament resenting, demanded Satisfaction for the Damages the English had sustained at Amboyna, and other Parts of the East Indies; and to cramp them in their Trade, past the famous Act of Navigation, "prohibiting the importing Goods of foreign Growth in any but English Bottoms; or such as were of the Country from whence they came." Upon this the Dutch sent over Ambassadors, desiring a Clause of Exception for themselves, who were the Carriers of Europe; but the Parliament in their Turn treated them coldly, and put them in mind of the Murder of their Envoy Dr. Dorislaus. Both Commonwealths being dissatisfied with each other, prepared for War; and Van Trump, the Dutch Admiral, with a Convoy of Merchant Men, meeting Admiral Blake in the Channel, and refusing him the Flag, an Engagement ensued, May 17. which continued four Hours, till the Night parted them. The Dutch excused the Accident, as done without their Knowledge; but the Parliament was so enraged, that they resolved to humble them. In these Circumstances it was thought reasonable to augment the Fleet from the Land Forces, who had nothing to do, and would in a little Time be a Burden to the Nation.

Quarrel be-
tween the
Parliament
and Army.

Cromwel, who was at the Head of the Army, quickly discovered, that the Continuance of the War must be his Ruin, by disarming him of his Power, and reducing him from a great General to the Condition of a private Gentleman. Besides, Mr. Rapin observes, that he had private Information of a Conspiracy against his Life; and without all Question, if the Army had not agreed to stand by their General his Ruin had been unavoidable; the Officers therefore determined to stand by one another, and not suffer their Men to be disbanded, or sent to Sea, till the Arrears of the whole Army were paid; for this Purpose they presented a Petition to the House, which they resented, and instead of giving them soft Language, and Encouragement to hope for some suitable Rewards for their past Services, ordered them to be reprimanded, for presuming to meddle in Affairs of State that did not belong to them. But the Officers were as re-
solute

solute as their Superiors, and instead of submitting, presented another Petition, in which, having justified their Behaviour, they boldly strike at the Parliament's Continuance, and put them in mind how many Years they had sat; that they had engrossed all Preferments and Places of Profit to themselves and their Friends; that it was a manifest Injury to the Gentlemen of the Nation to be excluded the Service of their Country, and an Invasion of the Rights of the People to deprive them of the Right of frequent choosing new Representatives; they therefore insist upon their settling a new Council of State for the Administration of publick Affairs; and upon their fixing a peremptory Day for the choice of a new Parliament.

Cromwell-
wealth.
1652.

Here was a new Crisis of Affairs; the Civil and Military Powers being engaged against each other, and resolved to maintain their several Pretensions: If Cromwel, with the Sword in his Hand, had secured the Election of a free Representative of the People, and left the Settlement of the Nation to them, all Men would have blessed him, for the People were certainly weary of the Parliament, but when the Officers had pulled down this form of Government, they were not agreed what to set up in its room, whether a Monarchy, or a new Republick; the General being for a mixed Monarchy, had, no doubt, some ambitious views to himself, and therefore called together some select Friends of several Professions to advise on the Affair, when Sir Tho. Widdrington, Lord Chief Justice St. John, and the rest of the Lawyers, declared for Monarchy, as most agreeable to the old Constitution, and proposed the Duke of Gloucester for King; but the Officers of the Army then present were for a Republick. Cromwel himself, after much hesitation, gave his opinion for something of a Monarchical Power, as most agreeable to the Genius of the English, if it might be accomplished with Safety to their Rights and Privileges as English Men and Christians.

Debates
about a
new Form
of Govern-
ment.

Some time after Cromwel desired Mr. Whitlock's Opinion upon the present Situation of Affairs: "My Lord (says he) 'tis time to consider of our present Danger, that we may not be broken in pieces by our particular Quarrels after we have gained an intire Conquest over the Enemy." Whitlock replied, "That all their danger was from the Army, who were Men of emulation, and had now nothing to do." Cromwel answer'd, "That the Officers thought themselves not rewarded according to their deserts; that the Parliament had engrossed all Places of Honour and Trust among themselves; that they

Cromwel's
ambitious
Designs.
Whitl. p.
524.

delayed

Common-
wealth.
1652.

“ delayed the publick Busines, and designed to perpetuate themselves ; that the Officers thought it impossible to keep them within the Bounds of Justice, Law, or Reason, unless there was some Authority or Power to which they might be accountable.” Whitlock said, “ He believed the Parliament were honest Men, and designed the publick Good, though some particular Persons might be to blame, but that it was absurd for the Officers, who were private Men, and had received their Commissions from the Parliament, to pretend to controul them.” But, says Cromwel, “ what if a Man should take upon him to be King ?” Whitlock answered, “ That the remedy was worse than the disease ; and that the General had already all the Power of a King without the envy, danger, and pomp of the Title.” But, says he, “ the Title of King would make all Acts done by him legal ; it would indemnify those that should act under him at all events, and be of advantage to curb the Insolence of those whom the present Powers could not controul.” Whitlock agreed to the General’s Reasons, but desired him to consider, “ Whether the Title of King would not lose him his best Friends in the Army, as well as those Gentlemen who were for settling in a free Commonwealth ; but if we must have a King (says he) the Question will be, Whether it will be Cromwel or Stuart ?” The General asking his opinion upon this, Whitlock proposed a private Treaty with the King of Scots, with whom he might make his own Terms, and raise his family to what pitch of Greatness he pleased ; but Cromwel was so apprehensive of the danger of this Proposal, that he broke off the conversation with some marks of dissatisfaction, and never made use of Whitlock with confidence afterwards.

1653.
Cromwel
dissolves the
Long Parlia-
ment.

Thus things continued throughout the whole Winter ; the Army having little to do after the battle of Worcester drew near to London, but there was no Treaty of Accommodation between them and the Parliament ; one would not disband without their full pay ; nor the other dissolve by the direction of their own Servants, but voted the filling up their numbers, and that it should be High Treason to petition for their dissolution. When the General heard this, he called a Council of Officers to Whitehall, who all agreed, “ That it was not fit the Parliament should continue any longer.” This was published in hopes of frightening the House to make some advances towards a dissolution ; but when Colonel Ingoldsby informed the General next Morn-
ing,

ing, that they were concluding upon an Act to prolong their Session for another year, he rose up in a heat, and with a small Retinue of Officers and Soldiers marched to the Parliament House, April 20. and having placed his Men without doors, went into the House and heard their Debates. After some time he beckoned to Colonel Harrison, on the other side of the House, and told him in his ear, That he thought the Parliament was ripe for dissolution, and that this was the time for doing it. Harrison replied, That the work was dangerous, and desired him to think better of it. Upon this he sat down about a quarter of an hour, and then said, " This is the time I must do it ;" and rising up in his place, he told the House, That he was come to put an end to their Power, of which they had made so ill an use ; that some of them were whore-masters, looking towards Harry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth ; others were drunkards, and some corrupt, and unjust Men, who had not at heart the publick Good, but were only for perpetuating their own Power. Upon the whole, he thought they had sat long enough, and therefore desired them to retire and go away. When some of the Members began to reply, he stepped into the middle of the House, and said, " Come, come, I will put an end to " your prating ; You are no Parliament ; I say you are " no Parliament ;" and stamping with his foot, a file of musqueteers entered the House ; one of whom he commanded to take away that fool's bauble the Mace. And Major Harrison taking the Speaker by the Arm conducted him out of the Chair. Cromwel then seizing upon their papers obliged them to walk out of the House ; and having caused the doors to be locked after them returned to Whitehall.

Common-
wealth.
1653.



In the afternoon the General went to the Council of State, attended by Major General Lambert and Harrison, and as he entered the room, said, " Gentlemen, If you are met " here as private persons you shall not be disturbed, but if as " a Council of State this is no place for you ; and since you " cannot but know what was done in the morning, so " take notice the Parliament is dissolved." Serjeant Bradshaw replied, " Sir, We have heard what you did in the " morning, but you are mistaken to think the Parliament " is dissolved, for no Power can dissolve them but them- " selves ; therefore take notice of that." But the General not being frightened with big words, the Council thought it their wisest way to rise up and go home.

Thus

Common-
wealth.
1653.

Character of
the Com-
monwealth.

Detect. p.
363.

Remarks on
the change
of Govern-
ment.

i. 183.

Thus ended the Commonwealth of England, after it had continued four years, two months, and twenty days, which though no better than an Usurpation, had raised the credit of the Nation to a very high pitch of Glory and Renown; and with the Commonwealth ended the remains of the Long-Parliament for the present; an Assembly famous throughout all the world for its Undertakings, Actions, and Successes: "The Acts of this Parliament (says Mr. Coke) will hardly find belief in future ages; and to say the truth, they were a race of Men most indefatigable and industrious in business, always seeking Men fit for it, and never preferring any for Favour or Importunity: You hardly ever heard of any revolt from them; no Soldiers or Seamen being ever pressed. And as they excelled in Civil Affairs, so it must be confessed, they exercised in Matters Ecclesiastical no such severities as others before them did upon such as dissented from them."

But their foundation was bad, and many of their actions highly criminal; they were a packed Assembly, many of their Members being excluded by force, before they could be secure of a Vote to put the late King to death—They subverted the Constitution, by setting up themselves, and continuing their Sessions after his Majesty's Demise—By erecting high Courts of Justice of their own nomination for Capital Offences—By raising Taxes, and doing all other acts of Sovereignty without consent of the People; all which they designed to perpetuate among themselves, without being accountable to any Superior, or giving place to a new Body of Representatives. If then it be inquired, What Right or Authority General Cromwel and his Officers had to offer violence to this Parliament, it may be replied, 1. The Right of Self-preservation, the ruin of one or the other being unavoidable. 2. The right that every English Man has to put an end to an Usurpation when 'tis in his Power, provided he can substitute something better in its room; and if Cromwel could by this method have restored the Constitution, and referred the Settlement of the Government to a free and full Representative of the People, no wise Man would have blamed him. It was not therefore his turning out the old Parliament that was criminal, but his not summoning a new one, by a fair and free Election of the People; and yet Mr. Rapin is of opinion, that even this was impracticable, there being three opposite Interests in the Nation; the Republicans, who were for an absolute Commonwealth; the Presbyterians, who were for restoring things to the

the Condition they were in, in 1648, and the Cavaliers, who were for setting the King upon the Throne, as before the Civil Wars; it was by no means possible (says he) to reconcile the three Parties, and if they had been let loose they would have destroyed each other, and thrown the whole Nation into blood and confusion; nothing therefore but giving a forcible superiority to one was capable to hold the other two in subjection. The King was no way interested in the change, for it was not Charles Stuart, but a Republican Usurpation that was dispossessed of the supreme Power. If the General had failed in his design, and lost his life in the attempt, the King would have received no manner of advantage, for the Nation was by no means disposed to restore him at this time. Supposing it was not practicable to choose a free Parliament, nor fit to let the old one perpetuate themselves, Oliver Cromwel had no other choice, but to abandon the State; or to take the Administration upon himself; or put it into the hands of some other person that had no better a Title. How far private ambition took place of the publick good, in the choice, must be left to the Judgment of every Reader; but if it was necessary that there should be a Supreme Authority, capable of commanding obedience, it cannot be denied, but that General Cromwel was more capable to govern the State in such a Storm, than any Man then living. No objection can be raised against him, which might not with more Justice have been urged against any other single Person, or Body of Men in the Nation, except the Right Heir. However, all the three Parties of Cavaliers, Presbyterians, and Republicans, were displeased with his Conduct, loaded him with Invectives, and formed Conspiracies against his Person, though they could never agree in any other scheme, which in the present Crisis was more practicable.

Common-
wealth.
1653.

lb. p. 149;

The Parliament being thus broken up, the Sovereign Power fell into the hands of the Council of Officers, of which Cromwel was head, who published a Declaration, justifying his dissolution of the late Parliament, and promising to put the Administration into the hands of Persons of approved fidelity and honesty, and leave them to form it into what shape they pleased. Accordingly, April 30. another Declaration was published, signed by Oliver Cromwel, and thirty of his Officers, nominating a new Council of State to take care of the Government till a new Representative

G. Crom.
and the
Council of
Officers at-
sume the
Govern-
ment.

Common-
wealth.
1653.

Body of Men could be called together ; and June 8, the General by advice of his Council, sent the following Summons to one hundred and forty select Persons, out of the several Counties of England, to meet at Westminster, in order to settle the Nation ; “ I Oliver Cromwel, Captain General, &c. do hereby summons and require you-----
“ being one of the Persons nominated by myself, with the
“ advice of my Council, personally to appear at the Council Chamber at Whitehall, upon the fourth of July next
“ ensuing the date hereof, to take upon you the trust of the
“ Affairs of the Commonwealth ; to which you are hereby called and appointed to serve as a Member for the
“ County of--And hereof you are not to fail. Given under my Hand this 8th of June, 1653.”

O. Cromwel.

These were high Acts of Sovereignty, and not to be justified but upon the supposition of extreme Necessity. The Dissolution of the Long Parliament was an Act of violence, but not unacceptable to the People, as appeared by the numerous addresses from the Army, the Fleet, and other places, approving the General's conduct, and promising to stand by him and his Council in their proceedings ; but then for the General himself, and thirty Officers, to chuse Representatives for the whole Nation, without interesting any of the Counties or Corporations of England in the choice, would have deserved the highest censure under any other Circumstances.

The Little
Parliament.

About one hundred and twenty of the new Representatives appeared at the time and place appointed, when the General after a short speech, delivered them an Instrument in Parchment under his Hand and Seal, resigning into their hands, or the hands of any forty of them, the supreme authority and government of the Commonwealth, limiting the time of their continuance to November 3d, 1654, and empowering them, three Months before their dissolution, to make choice of others to succeed them, for a year, and they to provide for a future succession. It was much wondered, says Whitlock, that these Gentlemen, many of whom were persons of fortune and estate, should accept of the supreme authority of the Nation, upon such a Summons, and from such Hands. Most of them were Men of Piety, but no great Politicians, and were therefore in contempt called sometimes the Little Parliament ; and by

by others, Barebone's Parliament, from a Leatherfeller of that Name, who was one of the most active Members. When the General was withdrawn they chose Mr. Rouse, an aged and venerable Man, Member in the late Parliament for Truro in Cornwall, their Speaker, and then voted themselves the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England. Mr. Baxter places them in a contemptible light, and says, " They intended to eject all the Parish Ministers, and " to encourage the gathering independant Churches ; that " they cast out all the Ministers in Wales, which, though " bad enough for the most part, were yet better than none, " or the few itinerants they set up in their room ; and that " they attempted, and had almost accomplished the same " in England." But nothing of this appears among their Acts. When the City of London petitioned, that more learned and approved Ministers might be sent into the Country to preach the Gospel ; that their settled maintenance by law might be confirmed, and their just properties preserved ; and that the Universities might be zealously countenanced and encouraged, the petitioners had the thanks of that House ; and the Committee gave it as their opinion, that Commissioners should be sent into the several Counties, who should have power to eject scandalous and insufficient Ministers, and to settle others in their room. They were to appoint preaching in all vacant places, that none might have above three miles from a place of Worship. That such as were approved for publick Ministers should enjoy the maintenance provided by the laws ; and that if any scrupled the payment of Tithes the neighbouring Justices of Peace should settle the value, which the owner of the Land should be obliged to pay ; but as for the Tithes themselves they were of opinion, that the Incumbents and Impropiators had a right in them, and therefore they could not be taken away till they were satisfied.

July 23d, it was referred to a Committee, to consider of a repeal of such laws as hindered the progress of the Gospel ; that is (says Bishop Kennet) to take away the few remaining rules of decency and order ; or in other language, the Penal Laws. This was done at the instance of the Independants, who petitioned for protection against the Presbyteries ; upon which it was voted, that a declaration should be published, for giving proper liberty to all that feared God ; and for preventing their imposing hardships on one another.

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wealth.
1653.

Mr. Eachard, and others of his Stamp, write, that this Parliament had under deliberation the taking away the old English Laws, as Badges of the Norman Conquest, and substituting the Mosaick Laws of Government in their place; and that all Schools of Learning, and Titles of Honour, should be extinguished, as not agreeing with the Christian simplicity. But no such Proposals were made to the House, and therefore 'tis unjust to lay them to their charge.

Ordinance
for Mar-
riages.

The solemnizing of Matrimony had hitherto been engrossed by the Clergy, but this Convention considered it as a civil Contract, and put it into the hands of the Justices of Peace, by an Ordinance, which says, "That after the 29th of September, 1653. All persons who shall agree to be married within the Commonwealth of England, shall deliver in their Names, and Places of Abode, with the Names of their Parents, Guardians, and Overseers, to the Register of the Parish where each Party lives, who shall publish the Bans in the Church or Chapel three several Lord's Days, after the Morning Service; or else in the Market-place three several Weeks successively, between the hours of eleven and two, on a Market-day, if the party desire it. The Register shall make out a Certificate of the due performance of one or the other, at the request of the parties concerned, without which they shall not proceed to marriage.

"It is further enacted, that all persons intending to marry shall come before some Justice of Peace within the County, City, or Town Corporate, where publication has been made, as aforesaid, with their Certificate, and with sufficient proof of the consent of the Parents, if either party be under age, and then the Marriage shall proceed in this Manner:

"The Man to be married shall take the Woman by the Hand, and distinctly pronounce these Words, I A. B. do here, in the presence of God, the searcher of all Hearts, take thee C. D. for my wedded Wife; and do also in the presence of God, and before these Witnesses, promise to be to thee a loving and faithful Husband.

"Then the Woman taking the Man by the Hand shall plainly and distinctly pronounce these Words, I C. D. do here, in the presence of God, the searcher of all Hearts, take thee A. B. for my wedded Husband; and do also, in the presence of God, and before these Witnesses, promise to be to thee a loving, faithful, and obedient Wife.

"After

“ After this the Justice may, and shall declare the said Man
 “ and Woman to be from thenceforth Husband and Wife;
 “ and from and after such consent so expressed, and such De-
 “ claration made of the same (as to the Form of Marriage)
 “ it shall be good and effectual in Law; and no other Mar-
 “ riage whatsoever, within the commonwealth of England,
 “ after the 29th of Sept. 1653. shall be held, or account-
 “ ed a Marriage, according to the Law of England.”

Oliver
 Protector.
 1653.

This Ordinance was confirmed by the Protector's Parlia-
 ment in the Year 1656. except the Clause, “ That no o-
 “ ther Marriage whatsoever within the commonwealth of
 “ England shall be held, or accounted a legal Marriage;”
 and it was wisely done of the Parliament at the Restoration
 to confirm these Marriages, in order to prevent vexatious
 Law-suits in future Times. But the Acts of this convention
 were of little significance, for when they found the Affairs
 of the Nation too intricate, and the several Parties too stub-
 born to yield to their Ordinances, they wisely resigned, and
 surrender'd back their Sovereignty into the same Hands that
 gave it them, after they had sat five months and twelve Days.

The General and his Officers finding themselves rein-
 vested with the Supreme Authority, by what they fancied a
 more Parliamentary Delegation, took upon them to strike
 out a new Form of Government, a little tending towards
 Monarchy, contained in a large Instrument of Forty two
 Articles, entitled, “ The Government of the Common-
 “ wealth of England Scotland and Ireland,” It appoints the
 Government to be in a single Person;—That the single
 Person be the General, O. Cromwel, whose Stile and Title
 should be, “ His Highness, Lord Protector of the Com-
 “ monwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and of the
 “ Dominions thereunto belonging”——That the Lord
 Protector should have a Council, consisting of no more
 than Twenty one Persons, nor less than thirteen to assist
 him in the Administration——A Parliament was to be
 chosen out of the three Kingdoms every three Years at
 longest, and not to be dissolved without their Consent in less
 than five months. It was to consist of four Hundred Mem-
 bers for England and Wales; Thirty for Scotland, and
 Thirty for Ireland; whereof Sixty was to make a House.
 The Counties of England and Wales, were to chuse two
 Hundred thirty nine; the other Elections to be distributed a-
 mong the chief Cities and Market Towns, without regard to
 antient custom. The county of Dorset was to chuse eleven
 members, Cornwall eight, Bedfordshire five, the several ridings

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New Model
 of a Parlia-
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Protector.
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of Yorkshire fourteen ; Middlesex four ; the City of London six ; Westminster two ; the whole Number of Cities and Burroughs that had Priviledge of election were one hundred and ten ; and the number of Representatives to be chosen by them one hundred and sixty——If the Protector refused to issue out Writs, the Commissioners of the Great Seal, or the High Sheriff of the County, was to do it under Pain of Treason—None to have Votes but such as were worth two Hundred Pounds,——This Regulation being wisely proportion'd met with universal Approbation. Lord Clarendon says, it was fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time——All the great Officers of state, as Chancellor, Treasurer, &c. if they become vacant in Time of Parliament, to be supplied with their Approbation ; and in the Intervals with the Approbation of the Council——Such Bills as were offered to the Protector by the Parliament, if not signed in twenty Days, were to be Laws without him, if not contrary to this Instrument-----In the present Crisis the Protector and his Council might publish Ordinances which should have force till the first Sessions of Parliament ---The Protector was to have Power to make War and Peace, to confer Titles of Honour, to pardon all Crimes except Treason and Murder ; the Militia was intrusted with him and his Council, except during the Sessions of Parliament, when it was to be jointly in both. In short, the Protector had almost all the Royalties of a King---but then the Protectorship was to be elective, and no Protector after the present to be General of the Army——

Articles relating to Religion.

The Articles relating to Religion were these ;

Art. 35. “ That the Christian Religion contained in the
“ Scriptures be held forth and recommended as the publick
“ Profession of these Nations, and that as soon as may be, a
“ Provision less subject to contention, and more certain than
“ the present, be made for the maintenance of Ministers ;
“ and that till such Provision be made the present maintenance continue.

Art. 36. “ That none be compelled to conform to the
“ publick Religion by penalties or otherwise, but that endeavours be used to win them by sound Doctrine, and
“ the example of a good Conversation.

Art. 37. “ That such as profess Faith in God by Jesus
“ Christ, though differing in Judgment from the Doctrine,
“ Worship, or Discipline, publickly held forth, shall not be
“ restrained from, but shall be protected in the Profession
“ of their Faith, and Exercise of their Religion, so as
“ they

“ they abuse not this Liberty to the Civil Injury of others,
 “ and to the actual Disturbance of the publick Peace on
 “ their Parts; provided this Liberty be not extended to Po-
 “ pery or Prelacy, or to such as under a Profession of Christ
 “ hold forth and practise Licentiousness.

Oliver
 Protector
 1653.

Art. 38. “ That all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, and
 “ Clauses in any Law, Statute or Ordinance, to the con-
 “ trary, of the aforesaid Liberty, shall be esteemed null
 “ and void.”

The Protector was installed with great Magnificence, Decemb. 16. 1653. in the Court of Chancery, by Order of the Council of Officers, in presence of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, the Judges, the Commissioners of the Great Seal, and other great Officers, who were summoned to attend on this Occasion. O. CROMWELL standing uncover'd on the left Hand of a Chair of State set for him, first subscribed the Instrument of Government in the Face of the Court, and then took the following Oath.

Instalment
 of the Pro-
 tector.

“ **W** Hereas the major Part of the last Parliament
 “ (judging that their sitting any longer as then con-
 “ stituted, would not be for the good of the Common-
 “ wealth) did dissolve the same; and by a writing under
 “ their Hands, dated the 12th of this instant December,
 “ resigned to me their Powers and Authorities. And where-
 “ as it was necessary thereupon that some speedy Course
 “ should be taken for the Settlement of these Nations upon
 “ such a Basis and Foundation, as, by the Blessing of God,
 “ might be lasting, secure property, and answer to those
 “ great Ends of Religion and Liberty, so long contended
 “ for; and upon full and mature Consideration had of the
 “ Form of Government hereunto annexed, being satisfied
 “ that the same, through divine Assistance, may answer the
 “ Ends afore-mentioned. And having also been desired and
 “ advised, as well by several Persons of Interest and Fidelity
 “ in the Commonwealth, as the Officers of the Army, to
 “ take upon me the Protection and Government of these
 “ Nations in the manner expressed in the said Form of Go-
 “ vernment, I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare
 “ my Acceptance accordingly; and do promise in the pre-
 “ sence of God, that I will not violate, or infringe the
 “ Matters and Things contained therein, but to my Power
 “ observe the same, and cause them to be observed; and
 “ shall in all other things, to the best of my Understand-
 “ ing, govern these Nations according to the Laws, Statutes

His Oath.

Oliver
Protector.
1653.

“ and Customs, seeking their Peace, and causing Justice
“ and Law to be equally administred.”

After this he sat down in the Chair of State covered, and the Commissioners delivered him the Great Seal, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and Cap of Maintenance; which he returned in a very obliging Manner. The Ceremony being over, the Soldiers, with a shout, cried out, “ God
“ blefs the Lord Protector of the common Wealth of Eng-
“ land, Scotland, and Ireland.” In their Return to Whitehall the Lord Mayor carried the Sword before His HIGHNESS uncovered, and presently after he was proclaimed in the City of London and throughout all the British Dominions.

Thus did this wonderful Man, by surprizing Management, supported only by the Sword, advance himself to the supreme Government of three Kingdoms without consent of Parliament or People. His Birth seemed to promise nothing of this kind; nor does it appear that he had formed the Project, till after the Battle of Worcester, when he apprehended the Parliament had designed his Ruin by disbanding the Army, and perpetuating their Authority among themselves; Which of the two Usurpations was most eligible must be left with the Reader; but how he brought the Officers into his Measures, and supported his Sovereignty by an Army of Enthusiasts, Anabaptists, Fifth Monarchy Men, and Republicans, will be the Admiration of all Posterity; and though by this adventurous Act he drew upon himself the Plots and Conspiracies of the several Factions in the Nation, yet his Genius and Courage surmounted all Difficulties, his short Empire being one continued Blaze of Glory, and Renown to the British Isles, and of Terror to the rest of Europe.

Remarks on
the Instru-
ment of Go-
vernment.

The Reader will make his own Remarks upon the new Instrument of Government, and will necessarily observe, that it was a Creature of Cromwel's and his Council of Officers, and not drawn up by a proper Representative of the People. How far the present Circumstances of the Nation made this necessary, must be concluded from the Remarks we have made upon the Change of Government; but the Articles relating to Religion can hardly be complained of, though they disgusted all that part of the Clergy who were for Church Power; the Presbyterians preached and writ against the 36th and 37th Articles, as inconsistent with their Establishment, and sinking it almost to a Level with the Sectaries. The Republicans were dissatisfied because
the

the ENGAGEMENT, by which they had sworn Fidelity to a Commonwealth, without a single Person, or House of Lords, was set aside. Bishop Kennet is angry with the Protector's Latitude, because there was no Test or Barrier to the Establishment. "How little Religion was the Concern, or so much as any longer the Pretence of Cromwel and his Officers (says his Lordship) appears from hence, that in the large Instrument of the Government of the Commonwealth, which was the Magna Charta of the new Constitution, there is not a word of Churches or Synods, or Ministers, or any thing but the Christian Religion in general, with liberty to all differing in Judgment, from the Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline, publickly held forth." Strange, that this should displease a Christian Bishop! But his Lordship should have remember'd, that this Liberty was not to extend to any kinds of Immoralities, nor to such as injured the Civil Rights of others, nor to such as disturbed the publick Peace. And do the Scriptures authorize us to go further? The sixth Article provides, "That the Laws in being relating to the Presbyterian Religion were not to be suspended, alter'd, abrogated or repealed; nor any new Law made, but by consent of Parliament." The 36th adds, "That until a better Provision can be made for the Encouragement and Maintenance of able and painful Teachers, the present Maintenance shall not be taken away nor impeached." And Tryers were appointed soon after for preventing scandalous and unlearned Persons invading the Pulpit. This part of the Instrument is, in my Opinion, so far from being criminal, that it breaths a noble Spirit of Christian Liberty, though it was undoubtedly faulty, in putting Popery, Prelacy, and Licentiousness of Manners, upon a level. The open Toleration of Popery is hardly consistent with the Safety of a Protestant Government; and Licentiousness of Manners, is not to be indulged in any civilized Nation; but if the Episcopalians would have given Security for their living peaceably under their new Masters, they ought certainly to have been protected; however, the Protector did not in every Instance adhere strictly to the Instrument.

But though in point of Policy the Episcopalians were at this Time excepted from a legal Toleration, their Assemblies were connived at; and several of their Clergy indulged the publick Exercise of their Ministry without the Fetters of Oaths, Subscriptions, or Engagements; as Dr. Hall, afterwards Bishop of Chester, Dr. Wild, Pearson, Ball,

Episcopalians tolerated.

Oliver
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p. 186.

Ball, Hardy, Griffith, Farrington, and others. Several of the Bishops who had been kept from publick Service by the Covenant and Engagement, preached again publickly in the City, as Archbishop Usher, Bishop Brownrigge, and others. Mr. Baxter, who was very far from being a Friend of the Protector's, says, "That all Men were suffered to live quietly, and enjoy their Properties under his Government" — "That he removed the Terrors and Prejudices which hinder'd the Success of the Gospel, especially considering that Godliness had Countenance and Reputation as well as Liberty, whereas before, if it did not appear in all the Fetters and Formalities of the Times, it was the Way to common shame and ruin. 'Tis well known that the Presbyterians did not approve of the Usurpation, but when they saw that Cromwel's Design was to do Good in the Main, and encourage Religion as far as his Cause would admit, they acquiesced." And then comparing these Times with those after the Restoration, he adds, "I shall for the future think that Land happy, where the People have but bare Liberty to be as good as they are willing; and if Countenance and Maintenance be but added to Liberty, and tollerated Errors and Sects be but forced to keep the Peace, I shall not hereafter much fear such a Toleration, nor despair that Truth will bear down its Adversaries." This was a considerable Testimony to the Protector's Administration from the Pen of an Adversary.

Protector's
Council.

The Protector's first Council were, Major General Lambert, Lieutenant General Fleetwood, Colonel Montague, afterwards Earl of Sandwich; Philip Lord Viscount Lisle, since Earl of Leicester; Colonel Desborough, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftsbury; Sir Charles Woolsey, Major General Skippon, Mr. Strickland, Colonel Sydenham, Colonel Jones, Mr. Rouse, Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. Major: Men of great Name in those Times; some of whom made a considerable Figure after the Restoration. The Protector's wise conduct appeared in nothing more than his unwearied Endeavours to make all Religious Parties easy. He indulged the Army in their enthusiastick Raptures, and sometimes joined in their Prayers and Sermons. He countenanced the Presbyterians, by assuring them he would maintain the publick Ministry and give them all due Encouragement. He supported the Independants, by making them his Chaplains; by preferring them to considerable Livings in the Church and Universities; and

and by joining them in one Commission with the Presbyterians as Tryers of all such as desired to be admitted to Benefices. But he absolutely forbid the Clergy of every denomination dealing in Politicks, as not belonging to their Profession; and when he perceived the Managing Presbyterians took too much upon them, he always found means to mortify them; and would sometimes glory that he had curbed that insolent Sect, that would suffer none but it self.

Oliver
Protector
1653.

It was happy for the wise and moderate Presbyterians, that the Protector disarmed their Discipline of its coercive Power, for he still left them all that was sufficient for the purposes of Religion; they had their monthly or quarterly Classcal Presbyteries in every County for the Ordination of Ministers, by Imposition of Hands, according to the Directory, to whom they gave Certificates, or Testimonials, in the following Words.

“ **W**E the Ministers of the Presbytery of———having examined Mr.———according to the Tenor of the Ordinance for that purpose, and finding him duly qualified and gifted for that holy Office and Employment (no just exception having been made to his Ordination) have approved him, and accordingly on the Day and Year hereafter expressed, have proceeded solemnly to set him apart to the Office of a Preaching Presbyter, and Work of the Ministry, with Fasting and Prayer, and Imposition of Hands; and do hereby actually admit him (as far as concerns us) to perform all the Offices and Duties of a faithful Minister of Jesus Christ. In Witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our Names this——— Day of September, 1653.”

Copies of
Testimonials.

Other Testimonials were in this Form :

“ **W**E the Ministers of Christ, who are called to watch over this part of his Flock in the City of——— with the Assistance of some others, that we might not be wanting to the Service of the Church in its Necessity, having received credible Testimonials, under the Hands of divers Ministers of the Gospel, and others, of the sober, righteous, and godly Conversation of —— as also concerning his Gifts for the Ministry, have proceeded to make further Trial of his fitness for so great a Work; and being in some good measure satisfied concerning his Piety and Ability, have, upon the Day of——— 1652. proceeded solemnly to set him apart to the Office of a Presbyter, “ and

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“ and Work of the Ministry, by laying on our Hands with
“ Fasting and Prayer; by Virtue whereof we do esteem
“ and declare him a lawful Minister of Christ, and hereby
“ recommend him to the Church of——In Witness
“ whereof we have set our Hands, &c.”

Associations
of Ministers
in the Coun-
tries.

Baxter's life,
Part II. p.
147, &c.
p. 167, &c.

When the Presbyterians found that their Classes could obtain no Power to inflict pains and penalties on those who refused to submit to their Discipline, the ministers of the several denominations, in the Country, began to enter into friendly associations for brotherly council and advice. Mr. Baxter and his brethren of Worcestershire, formed a scheme upon such general principles as all good men were agreed in, which he communicated to the Reverend Mr. Vines and Gataker; and when he had drawn up Articles of Concord he submitted them to the correction of Archbishop Usher, and other Episcopal Divines, who agreed with him, that no more Discipline should be practised than the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Independant Divines agreed in; that they should not “ meddle with Politicks, or Affairs of
“ Civil Government in their Assemblies, nor pretend to ex-
“ ercise the power of the Keys, or any Church Censures,
“ but only to assist, advise, and encourage each other in propa-
“ gating Truth and Holiness, and in keeping their Churches
“ from prophane and scandalous Communicants.” Their Meetings were appointed to be once a month in some Market Town, where there was a Sermon in the Morning; and after Dinner the Conversation was upon such points of Doctrine or Discipline as required advice; or else an hour was spent in disputing upon some Theological Question which had been appointed the month before. Doctor War-
mestry, afterwards Dean of Worcester, and Dr. Good, one of the Prebendaries of Hereford, sent Mr. Baxter a Letter, dated Sept. 20. 1653. wherein they testify their approbation of the Association abovementioned, and of the Articles of Concord.

In the West of England Mr. Hughes of Plimouth, and Mr. Good of Exeter, prevailed with the Ministers of the several persuasions in those parts to follow the example of Worcestershire; accordingly they parcell'd themselves into four divisions, which met once a quarter; and all four had a general meeting for Concord once a year: The Reverend Mr. Hughes presided in those of 1655, and 1656. The Moderator began and ended with Prayer, and several of
the

the Episcopal Divines of the best Character, as well as Independants, joined with them; "The chief of the Presbyterian and Independent Divines, who were weary of Divisions, and willing to strengthen each others Hands, united in these Assemblies, though the exasperated Prelatists, the more rigid Presbyterians, and severer sort of Independents kept at a distance: But many remarkable advantages (says Mr. Baxter) attended these Associations;" they opened and preserv'd a friendly Correspondence among the Ministers; they removed a great many Prejudices and Misunderstandings, insomuch that the Controversies and Heats of angry Men began to be allayed, their Spirits better'd, and the ends of Religion more generally promoted.

Oliver
Protector:
1653.

But these Country Associations were not countenanced by the more zealous Presbyterians of London, who met weekly at Sion College; they could hardly digest a Toleration of the Sectaries, much less submit to a Coalition, but resolved to keep close to the Ordinances of Parliament, and to the Acts of their Provincial Assembly: They wanted the Sword of Discipline, and were impatient under the present Restraints; and nothing but the watchful Eye of the Protector, whose Spies were in every Corner, kept them from preaching, praying, and plotting against the Government. However, the Country Ministers being easy in their possessions, cultivated good Neighbourhood, and spread the Associations through Wiltshire, Essex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and other parts; and if I am not misinformed, there are the like brotherly Associations among the Dissenters, in several Counties to this Day.

Not countenanced by the London Presbyterians.

This year died old Dr. William Gouge, born at Stratford Bow in the Year 1575, and educated at Eaton College, Cambridge, of which he was Fellow. He entered into Orders 1607. and the very next year was settled at Black Friars, London, where he continued to his Death. He commenced Doctor of Divinity in the year 1628. about which time he became one of the Feoffees for buying up Improvements, for which he was ordered to be prosecuted in the Star Chamber. In the year 1643. he was nominated one of the Assembly of Divines, and was in such Reputation, that he often filled the Moderators Chair in his Absence. He was a modest, humble and affable Person, of strict and exemplary piety, an universal scholar, and a most constant Preacher, as long as he was able to get up into the Pulpit.

Death of
Dr. Gouge.

Oliver
Protector.
1653.

Pulpit. For many years he was esteemed the Father of the London Ministers, and died comfortably and piously, December 12. 1653. in the 79th year of his Age, having been Minister of Black Friars almost forty six years.

Of Dr. Hill:
Clark's
Lives.

Doctor Thomas Hill, of whom mention has been made before, was born in Worcestershire, and educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge, of which he was a Fellow, and Tutor to young Scholars for many years. He was afterwards prefer'd to the Living of Tichmarsh in Northamptonshire, and was chosen into the Assembly of Divines for that County. While he was at London he preached every Lord's Day at St. Martin's in the Fields, and was one of the Morning Lecturers at Westminster Abby. He was afterwards chosen to be Master of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and from thence removed to Trinity College; in which Stations he behaved with great Prudence and Circumspection. He was a good Scholar, and very careful of the Antiquities and Privileges of the University; a strict Calvinist, a plain, powerful, and practical Preacher, and of an holy and unblameable Conversation. He died of a Quartane Ague, December 18. 1653. in an advanced Age, very much lamented by his Acquaintance and Brethren.

C H A P. III.

From the Beginning of the Protectorship of OLIVER CROMWELL to his Death.

State of the
Nation.

IF the Reader will carefully review the unhappy State of the Nation at this Time, the Strength of the several Parties of opposite Interests, and almost equal Power, each resolved upon his own Scheme of Settlement, and all conspiring against the present, he will be surprized that any wise man should be prevailed with to put himself at the Head of such a disjointed Body; and much more, that such a Genius should arise, that without any Foreign Alliances was capable of guarding against so many foreign and domestick Enemies, and of steering the Commonwealth through such an Hurricane, clear of the Rocks and Quicksands which threaten'd its Ruin.

Protector
gives peace
to the
Dutch.

This was the province that the mighty Oliver undertook, with the Stile and Title of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. He assumed

all

all the State and Ceremony of a crowned Head ; his Household Officers and Guards attended in their places, and his Court appeared in as great Splendor, and more Order, than had been seen at Whitehall since Queen Elizabeth's Reign. His first concern was to fill the Courts of Justice with the ablest Lawyers ; Sir Matthew Hale was made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas ; Mr. Maynard, Twisden, Newdigate and Windham, Serjeants at Law ; Mr. Thurloe Secretary of State ; and Monk Governor of Scotland. His next care was to deliver himself from his foreign enemies ; for this purpose he gave peace to the Dutch, which the greatness of his reputation enabled him to accomplish without the ceremony of a formal Treaty ; he therefore sent his Secretary Thurloe with the Conditions to which they were to submit ; the Dutch pleaded for Abatements, but his Highness was at a point, and obliged them to deliver up the Island of Pelerone in the East Indies ; to pay three hundred thousand Pounds for the affair of Amboyna ; to abandon the interest of King Charles II. to exclude the the Prince of Orange from being Stadtholder, and to yield up the Sovereignty of the Seas.

Oliver
Protector.
1654.

When this was accomplished most of the foreign Powers of Europe sent to compliment his Highness upon his Advancement, and to cultivate his Friendship : The King of Portugal asked pardon for receiving Prince Rupert into his ports ; the Danes got themselves included in the Dutch Treaty, and became Security for one hundred and forty thousand pounds damages done to the English Shipping ; the Swedes sued for an Alliance, which was concluded with their Ambassador ; the Crown of Spain made offers which the Protector would not accept ; but the address of the French Ambassador was very extraordinary ; the Protector received him in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, with all the State and Magnificence of a crowned Head ; and the Ambassador having made his Obeysance, acquainted his Highness with the King his Master's Desire to establish a Correspondence between his Dominions and England. He mentioned the Value of the Friendship of France, and how much it was courted by the greatest Potentates of the earth ; " but (says the Ambassador) the King my Master commu-
" nicates his Resolutions to none with so much joy and
" Chearfulness, as to those whose virtuous actions and ex-
" traordinary merits, render them more conspicuously
" famous, than the largeness of their Dominions. His
" Majesty is sensible, that all these Advantages do wholly
reside

His high
Reputation
among fo-
reign Nati-
ons.

French Am-
bassador's
Speech.

Oliver
Protector.
1654.

“reside in your Highness, and that the Divine Providence,
“after so many Calamities, could not deal more favourably
“with these three Nations, nor cause them to forget their
“past miseries with greater satisfaction, than by substitu-
“ting them to so just a Government——”

Protector's
domestick
Enemies
Of the Ca-
valiers

But the Protector's most dangerous enemies were the Royalists, Presbyterians, and Republicans at home; the former threaten'd him with Assassination, upon which he declared openly, that though he would never begin so detestable a Practice, yet if any of the King's Party should attempt it and fail, he would make an assassinating War of it, and destroy the whole Family, which he had Servants ready to execute; the Terror of which was a greater security to him than his Coat of Mail or Guards. The Protector had the skill always to discover the most secret Designs of the Royalists by some of their own Number, whom he spared no Cost to gain over to his Interests. Sir Richard Willis was Chancellor Hide's chief confident, to whom he writ often, and in whom all the party confided, as in an able and wise Statesman; but the Protector gained him with two hundred Pounds a year, by which means he had all the King's Party in a Net, and let them dance in it at pleasure. He had another Correspondent in the King's little Family, one Manning a Roman Catholick, who gave Secretary Thurloe Intelligence of all his Majesty's Councils and Proceedings. But though the King's Friends were always in one Plot or other against the Protector's Person and Government, he always behaved with decency towards them, as long as they kept within tolerable Bounds; and without all question the severe Laws that were made against the Episcopal Party were not on the account of Religion, but of their irreconcilable Aversion to the Government.

Burn. p. 65.

The Pres-
byterians.

The whole Body of the Presbyterians were in Principle for the King and the Covenant, but after the Battle of Worcester, and the execution of Mr. Love, they were terrified into a compliance with the Commonwealth, though they disallowed their Proceedings, and were pleased to see them broken in pieces; but the surprizing Advancement of Cromwel to the Protectorship filled them with new terrors, and threaten'd the Overthrow of their Church Power, for they consider'd him not only as an Usurper, but a Sectarian, who would countenance the free Exercise of Religion to all that would live peaceably under his Government; and though he assured them he would continue Religion upon the Foot of the present Establishment, yet nothing would
content

content them as long as their Discipline was disarmed of its coercive Power.

Oliver
Protector.
1654.

The Republicans.

But the Protector's most determined Adversaries were the Commonwealth party; those were divided into two Branches; one had little or no religion, but were for a Democracy in the State, and universal Liberty of Conscience in religion; the Heads of them were Deists, or in the Language of the Protector Heathens, as Algernoon Sidney, Henry Neville, Martin, Wildman and Harrington. It was impossible to work upon these Men, or reconcile them to the Government of a single Person, and therefore he disarmed them of their Power. The other were high Enthusiasts, and Fifth Monarchy Men, who were in expectation of King Jesus, and of a glorious Thousand Years Reign of Christ upon Earth. They were for pulling down Churches (says Bishop Burnet) for discharging Tithes, and leaving Religion free (as they called it) without either encouragement or restraint. Most of them were for destroying the Clergy, and for breaking every thing that look'd like a National Establishment. These the Protector endeavoured to gain, by assuring them in private Conversation, "That he had no manner of Inclination to assume the Government, but had rather have been content with a Shepherd's Staff, were it not absolutely necessary to keep the Nation from falling to Pieces, and becoming a prey to the common Enemy; that he only stept in between the Living and the Dead, as he expressed it, and this only till God should direct them on what Bottom to settle, when he would surrender his Dignity with a joy equal to the sorrow with which he had taken it up." With the chiefs of this Party he affected to converse upon Terms of great Familiarity, shutting the Door, and making them sit down cover'd in his Presence, to let them see how little he valued those Distances, he was bound to observe for form sake with others; he talked with them in their own Language, and the Conversation commonly ended with a long Prayer.

p. 67.

The Protector's chief Support against these powerful Adversaries were the Independants, the City of London, and the Army; the former look'd upon him as the Head of their Party, though he was no more of theirs than as he was averse to Church Power, and for an universal Toleration. He courted the City of London with a decent Respect, declaring, upon all Occasions, his Resolution to confirm their Privileges, and consult measures for promoting Trade and Commerce. These, in return, after his Instalment, entertained

His Friends.

Burnet,
p. 63.

Oliver
Protector.
1654.

tained him at Dinner in a most magnificent and Prince-like Manner, and by degrees modell'd their Magistrates to his mind. But his chief dependance was upon the Army, which being made up of different Parties, he took care to reform by degrees, till they were in a manner entirely at his Devotion. He paid the Soldiers well, and advanced them according to their Merits, and Zeal for his Government, without regard to their Birth, or Seniority.

Remarks

It was the Protector's Happiness, that the Parties above mentioned had as great an Enmity to each other, as to the Protector himself; the Cavaliers hated the Presbyterians and Republicans, as these did the Cavaliers; the Royalists fancied that all who were against the Protector must join with them in restoring the King; while the Presbyterians were pushing for their Covenant Uniformity, and the Republicans for a Commonwealth. Cromwel had the skill not only to keep them divided, but to encrease their Jealousies of each other, and by that Means to disconcert all their Measures against himself. Let the Reader recollect what a difficult Situation this was; and, what a Genius it must require to maintain so high a Reputation abroad, in the midst of so many domestick Enemies, who were continually plotting his Destruction.

Scotland and
Ireland in-
corporated
with Eng-
land.

In pursuance of the Instrument of Government, the Protector published an Ordinance, April 12. to incorporate the two Kingdoms of Scotland and England. The Ordinance sets forth, "That whereas the Parliament in 1651. had sent Commissioners into Scotland to invite that Nation to an Union with England under one Government; and whereas the Consent of the Shires and Boroughs was then obtained, therefore for compleating that work, he ordains, That the People of Scotland, and all the Territories thereunto belonging, shall be incorporated into one commonwealth with England, and that in every Parliament to be held successively for the said Commonwealth, thirty Members shall be called from thence to serve for Scotland"—Shortly after Ireland was incorporated after the same Manner; and from this time the Arms of Scotland and Ireland were quartered with those of England.

Plot of the
Royalists.

But the Protector was hardly fixed in his Chair before an Assassination Plot of the Royalists was discovered, and three of the Conspirators (viz.) Mr. Fox, Mr. Gerhard, and Mr. Vowel, were apprehended, and tried before an high Court of Justice, for conspiring to murder the Lord Protector as
he

he was going to Hampton Court, to seize the Guards, and the Tower of London; and to proclaim the King. Mr. Fox, who confessed most of what was alledg'd against him, pleaded guilty, and was reprieved; but the other two putting themselves on their Trial, though they denied the Jurisdiction of the Court, were convicted, and executed July 10. Gerhard, a young hot-headed Ensign in the late King's Army being beheaded; and Vowel, a School Master at Islington, hanged at Charing Cross; Gerhard confessed he knew of the Plot, but Vowel was silent. These Commotions were the Occasion of the Hardships the Royalists underwent some time after.

Oliver
Protector.
1654.

Don Pantaleon Sa, Brother of the Portugueze Ambassador, was beheaded the same Day, upon account of a Riot and Murder in the New Exchange, Pantaleon had quarrell'd with the above-mentioned Gerhard, and to revenge himself, brought his Servants next Day armed with Swords and Pistols to kill him; but instead of Gerhard, they killed another Man, and wounded several others. The Portugueze Knight, and his Associates, fled to the Ambassador's House for Sanctuary, but the Mob followed them, and threaten'd to pull down the House, unless they were deliver'd up to Justice. The Protector being informed of the Tumult, sent an Officer with a Party of Soldiers to demand the Murderers. The Ambassador pleaded his publick Character, but the Protector would admit of no excuse; and therefore being forced to deliver them up, they were tried and convicted, by a Jury half English and half Foreigners; the Servants (says Whitelock) were reprieved and pardoned; but the Ambassador's Brother, who was the principal, notwithstanding all the Intercession that could be made for his Life, was carried in a Mourning Coach to Tower Hill and beheaded. This Remarkable Act of Justice raised the People's Esteem of the Protector's Resolution, and of the Justice of his Government,

Portugueze
Ambassa-
dor's
Brother exe-
cuted.

P. 577.

In order to a better Settlement of the Nation, the Protector summoned a Parliament to meet at Westminster, September 3. which being reckon'd one of his auspicious Days, he would not alter, though it fell on a Sunday; the House met accordingly, and having waited upon the Protector in the Painted Chamber, adjourned to the next Day, September 4. when his Highness rode from Whitehall to Westminster with all the Pomp and State of the greatest Monarch; some Hundreds of Gentlemen went be-

A New Par-
liament.

The Pro-
tector's
Stat.

Oliver
Protector.
1654.

fore him uncovered; his Pages and Lacqueys in the richest Liveries; the Captain of his Guards on each side of his Coach, with their Attendants, all uncover'd; then follow'd the Commissioners of the Treasury, Master of Ceremonies, and other Officers, The Sword, the Great Seal, the Purse, and four Maces, were carried before him by their proper Officers.

His Speech.
Whitl.
P. 582

After a Sermon preached by Dr. Thomas Goodwin his Highness repaired to the Painted Chamber, and being seated in a Chair of State, raised by sundry Steps, he made a Speech to the Members, in which he complained of the Levellers and Fifth Monarchy Men, who were for subverting all the Established Laws, and for throwing all Things back into Confusion. He put them in mind of the Difficulties the Nation was involved in at the Time when he assumed the Government. "That it was at War with Portugal, Holland, and France; which together with the Division among our selves (says he) begat a Confidence in the Enemy that we could not hold out long. In this heap of Confusion it was necessary to apply some Remedy that the Nation might not sink; and the Remedy (says he) is This Government, which is calculated for the Interest of the People alone, without Regard to any other, let Men say what they will; I can speak with Comfort before a Greater than you all as to my own Intention. Since this Government has been erected, Men of the most known Integrity and Ability have been put into seats of Justice. The Chancery has been reformed. It has put a Stop to that heady Way for every Man that will, to make himself a Preacher, by settling a Way for Approbation of Men of Piety and fitness for the Work. It hath taken care to expunge Men unfit for that Work; and now, at length, it has been instrumental of calling a free Parliament.

"A Peace is now made with Sweden, and with the Danes; a Peace honourable to the Nation, and satisfactory to the Merchants. A Peace is made with the Dutch, and with Portugal; and such an one that the people that trade thither have liberty of Conscience, without being subject to the bloody Inquisition." He then advises them to concert measures for the support of the present Government, and desires them to believe, that he spoke to them not as one that intended to be a Lord over them, but as one that was resolved to be a Fellow-servant with them for the interest of their Country; and then

then having exhorted them to unanimity, he dismissed them to their House to chuse a Speaker.

William Lenthall, Esq; Master of the Rolls, and Speaker of the Long Parliament, was chosen without Opposition. The first thing the House went upon was the Instrument of Government, which occasioned many warm debates, and was like to throw all back into confusion. To prevent this the Protector gave orders, Sept. 12th, that as the Members came to the House they should be directed to attend his Highness in the Painted Chamber, where he made the following remarkable Speech, which deserves the Reader's careful attention. " Gentlemen, I am sur-

Oliver
Protector.
1654.

Proceedings
of the
House.

" prized at your conduct, in debating so freely the Instrument of Government, for the same power that has made you a Parliament has appointed me Protector, so that if you dispute the one, you must disown the other. He added, that he was a Gentleman by Birth, and had been called to several employments in Parliament, and in the Wars, which being at an end, he was willing to retire to a private Life, and prayed to be dismissed, but could not obtain it, that he had pressed the Long Parliament, as a Member, to dissolve themselves; but finding they intended to continue their Sessions, he thought himself obliged to dismiss them, and to call some persons together from the several parts of the Nation, to see if they could fall upon a better Settlement. Accordingly he resigned up all his power into their Hands, but they after some time returned it back to him. After this (says he) divers Gentlemen having consulted together, framed the present Model without my privity, and told me, that unless I would undertake the same, blood and confusion would break in upon them; but I refused again and again, till considering that it did not put me into an higher capacity than I was in before, I consented; since which time I have had the Thanks of the Army, the Fleet, the City of London, and of great Numbers of Gentry in the three Nations. Now the Government being thus settled, I apprehend there are four fundamentals which may not be examined into, or alter'd. (1.) That the Government be in a single Person and a Parliament. (2.) That Parliaments be not perpetual. (3.) The article relating to the Militia. And, (4.) A due liberty of conscience in Matters of Religion. Other things in the Government may be changed as occasion requires. For as much therefore as you have gone about to subvert the fun-

Protector's
Speech.
Dugdale.

Whitl. p.
587.

Oliver
Protector
1654.

The Recog-
nition.

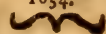
“damentals of this Government, and throw all things
“back into confusion, to prevent the like for the future. I
“am necessitated to appoint you a Test, or Recognition of
“the Government, by which you are made a Parliament,
“before you go any more into the House.” Accordingly
at their return, they found a guard at the door denying
entrance to any who would not first sign the following en-
gagement. “I A. B. do hereby freely promise, and en-
“gage to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector of the
“Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and
“will not propose or give my consent to alter the Govern-
“ment, as it is settled in one single person and a Parlia-
“ment.” About three hundred of the Members signed
the Recognition, and having took their place in the House,
with some difficulty confirmed the Instrument of Govern-
ment almost in every thing, but the right of nominating a
Successor to the present Protector; which they reserved to
the Parliament. They voted the present Lord Protector
to continue for life. They continued the standing Army of
ten thousand horse and twenty thousand Foot, and sixty
thousand pounds a month for their maintenance. They
gave the Protector two hundred thousand pounds a year for
his Civil List, and assigned Whitehall, St. James’s, and the
rest of the late King’s Houses, for his use; but they were
out of humour, and were so far from shewing respect to the
Court, that they held no manner of correspondence with
it; which, together with their voting, “That no clause
“of what they had agreed upon should be binding, unless
“the whole were consented to,” provoked the Protector,
as derogating from his power of consenting to, or refusing
particular Bills, and therefore having discovered several
plots against his Government ready to break out, in which
some of the Members were concerned, he sent for them
into the Painted Chamber, Jan. 22d, and after a long and
intricate Speech, in which, after some strong expressions in
favour of Liberty to Men of the same faith, tho’ of differ-
ent judgments in lesser matters, he complained, that they
had taken no more notice of him, either by Message or Ad-
dress, than if there had been no such person in being;
that they had done nothing for the honour and support of
the Government, but spent their time in fruitless debates of
little consequence, while the Nation was bleeding to death;
and instead of making things easy, that they had laid a
foundation for future dissatisfactions; he therefore dissolved
them, without confirming any of their Acts, after they
had sat five Months, according to the Instrument of Go-
vernment,

Life of
Cromwel,
p. 291.

Protector
dissolves
them.

vernment, reckoning twenty eight days to a month. This was thought an unpopular action, and a renouncing the additional Title the Parliament would have given him; but this great Man with the Sword in his hand was not to be jostled out of the Saddle with Votes and Resolutions; and if one may credit his Speech, his assuming the Government was not so much the effect of his own ambition, as of a bold resolution to prevent the Nation's falling back into Anarchy and Blood.

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Protector.
1654.



Upon the rising of the Parliament Major General Harrison, one of the Chiefs of the Republicans, was taken into custody; and Mr. John Wildman, who had been expelled the House, was apprehended as he was drawing up a Paper, entitled, "A Declaration of the free and well affected People of England now in Arms against the Tyrant Oliver Cromwel;" which prevented the rising of that Party.

Plot of the
Republicans
Whitt. p.
600.

The Royalists were buying up Arms at the same time, and preparing to rise in several parts of the Kingdom. They had procured Commissions from the young King at Cologne, and desired his Majesty to be ready on the sea coast by the 11th of March, when there would be a revolt in the Army, and when Dover Castle would be delivered into their hands. The King accordingly removed to Middleburgh in Zealand; but the Protector had intelligence of it from his Spies, and declared it openly as soon as he was arrived, which intimidated the Conspirators, and made them fear they were discovered: However, about the time appointed, some small parties of Royalists got together in Shropshire with an intent to surprize Shrewsbury and Chirk Castle. A Cart load of Arms was brought to a place of rendezvous for the Northern Parts, where they were to be headed by Wilmot Earl of Rochester; but they no sooner met but they dispersed for fear of being fallen upon by the regular Troops. In the West Sir Joseph Wagstaffe, Colonel Penruddock, Captain Hugh Grove, Mr. Jones, and others, entered the City of Salisbury, with 200 Horse well armed, in the time of the Assizes, and seized the Judges Rolls and Nichols, with the Sheriff of the County, whom they resolved to hang. They proclaimed the King, and threatened violence to such as would not join them; but the Country not coming in according to their expectations they were intimidated, and after five or six hours marched away into Dorsetshire, and from thence to Devonshire, where

And of the
Royalists.
Clar. Vol.
III. p. 551.

Oliver
Protector.
1654.

Captain Crook overtook them, and with one single Troop of Horse defeated, and took most of them prisoners; Penruddock and Grove were beheaded at Exeter; and some few others were hanged at Salisbury, the place where they had so lately triumphed.

Protector's
Vigilance.
Whitl. p.
602.

The vigilance of the Protector on this occasion is almost incredible; he caused a great many suspected Lords and Gentlemen to be secured; he sent Letters to the Justices of Peace in every County, whom he had already changed to his mind, commanding them to look out, and to secure all persons who should make the least disturbance. And his private Intelligence of Peoples discourse and behaviour, in every corner of the Land, never failed.

And Severi-
ty against
them by
Decimation.

If the reader will duly consider the danger arising from these commotions, and the necessity of striking some terror into the Authors of them, he will easily account for the Protector's severity against the Royalists; when therefore the insurrection was quashed he resolved to make the whole party pay the expence; and accordingly, with the consent of his Council, published an order, "That all who had been in Arms for the King, or had declared themselves of the Royal Party, should be decimated; that is, pay a tenth part of their Estates, to support the charge of such extraordinary forces as their turbulent and seditious practices obliged him to keep up; for which purpose Commissioners were appointed in every County, and considerable sums were brought into the Treasury." To justify this extraordinary method of proceeding, the Protector published another Declaration; in which he complains of the irreconcilableness of those who had adhered to the King, towards all those who had served their Country on the side of the Parliament; that they were now to be looked upon as publick Enemies, and to be kept from being able to do mischief, since it sufficiently appeared that they were always disposed to do all they could. Upon these accounts he thought it highly reasonable, and declares it to be his resolution, that if any desperate attempts were undertaken by them for the future, the whole party should suffer for it.

Affairs of
Religion.

To return to the affairs of Religion: Though the Presbyterian Discipline was at a low ebb, it was still the established Religion of the Nation. The Provincial Assembly of London continued their Sessions at Sion College every half year, and endeavoured to support the dignity of the ministerial

ministerial Office. Complaint having been made that the Pulpit Doors were set open to Laymen, and gifted Brethren, they appointed a Committee to collect materials for the Vindication of the ministerial Character, which being revised by the Synod, was published this Summer under the Title of "Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici : Or, The Divine Right of an Evangelical Ministry, in Two Parts. By the Provincial Assembly of London. With an Appendix, of the Judgment and Practice of Antiquity."

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Protector.
1654.

In the Debates of Parliament upon the Instrument of Government it was observed, that by the thirty seventh Article, "All who professed Faith in God by Jesus Christ should be protected in their Religion." This was interpreted, to imply an agreement in Fundamentals. Upon which it was voted, "That all should be tolerated, or indulged, who professed the Fundamentals of Christianity;" and a Committee was appointed to nominate certain Divines to draw up a Catalogue of Fundamentals to be presented to the House : The Committee being about fourteen, named each of them a Divine ; among others Archbishop Usher was nominated, but he declining the Affair, Mr. Baxter was appointed in his room : The rest that acted, were

Attempts
to settle
Fundamentals.
Baxter's
Life, Part II,
p. 197.

Dr. Owen,
Dr. Goodwin,
Dr. Cheynel,
Mr. Marshal,
Mr. Reyner,

Mr. Nye,
Mr. Sydrach Simpson,
Mr. Vines,
Mr. Manton,
Mr. Jacomb.

Committee
to draw up
the Fundamentals of
Religion.

Mr. Baxter would have persuaded his Brethren to offer the Committee the Apostles Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments alone, as containing the Fundamentals of Religion ; but it was objected, that this would include Socinians and Papists. Mr. Baxter replied, that it was so much fitter for a centre of Unity or Concord, because it was impossible, in his opinion, to devise a form of Words which Hereticks would not subscribe, when they had perverted them to their own sense. But these Arguments not prevailing, the following Articles were presented to the Committee, but not brought into the House ; under the Title of, "The Principles of Faith presented by Mr. Tho. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Sydrach Simpson, and other Ministers, to the Committee of Parliament

Life, Part II.
p. 198.

Oliver
Protector.
1654.

The Arti-
cles.
V. P. No.
68.

"ment for Religion, by way of Explanation to the Propo-
sals for propagating the Gospel."

First, "That the Holy Scripture is that Rule of know-
ing God, and living unto him, which whoso does not be-
lieve cannot be saved."

2 Thef. ii. 10, 11, 12, 15. 1 Cor. xv. 1, 2, 3. 2 Cor.
i. 13. John v. 39. 2 Peter ii. 1.

Secondly, "That there is a God, who is the Creator,
Governor, and Judge of the World, which is to be re-
ceived by Faith, and every other way of the Knowledge
of him is insufficient."

Heb. xi. 3, 6. Rom. i. 19, 20, 21, 22. 1 Cor. i. 21.
2 Thef. i. 8.

Thirdly, "That this God who is the Creator, is eter-
nally distinct from all Creatures in his Being and Bles-
sedness".

Rom. i. 18, 25. 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

Fourthly, "That this God is One in three Persons or
Subsistences."

1 John v. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. compar'd with John viii. 17, 18,
19, 21. Matth. xxviii. 19. compar'd with Ephes. iv. 4, 5,
6. 1 John ii. 22, 23. 2d Epist. John ver. 9, 10.

Fifthly, "That Jesus Christ is the only Mediator be-
tween God and Man, without the Knowledge of whom
there is no Salvation."

1 Tim. ii. 4, 5, 6. 2 Tim. iii. 15. 1 John ii. 22. Acts
iv. 10, 12. 1 Cor. iii. 10, 11.

Sixthly, "That this Jesus Christ is the true God."

1 John v. 29. Ifaiah xlv. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.

Seventhly, "That this Jesus Christ is also true Man.

1 John iv. 2, 3. 2d Epist. John, ver. 7.

Eighthly, "That this Jesus Christ is God and Man in
one Person."

1 Tim. iii. 16. Matth. xvi. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

Ninthly, "That this Jesus Christ is our Redeemer,
who by paying a Ransom, and bearing our Sins, has
made Satisfaction for them."

Ifa. liii. 11. 1 Pet. ii. 24, 25. 1 Cor. xv. 2, 3. 1. Tim.
ii. 4, 5, 6.

Tenthly, "That this same Lord Jesus Christ is he that
was crucified at Jerusalem, and rose again, and ascend-
ed into Heaven.

John

John viii. 24. Acts iv. 10, 11, 12. Acts x. 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43. 1 Cor. xv. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Acts xxii. 8. Acts ii. 36.

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Protector.
1654.

Eleventhly, "That this same Jesus Christ, being the only God and Man in one Person, remains for ever a distinct Person from all Saints and Angels, notwithstanding their Union and Communion with him."

Col. ii. 8, 9, 10, 19. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

Twelfthly, "That all Men by Nature are dead in Sin and Trespases; and no Man can be saved unless he be born again, repent and believe."

John iii. 3, 5, 6, 7, 10. Acts xvii. 30, 31. Acts xxvi. 17, 18, 19, 20. Luke xxiv. 47. Acts xx. 20, 21. John v. 24, 25.

Thirteenth, "That we are justified and saved by Grace, and Faith in Jesus Christ, and not by Works."

Acts xv. 24. compared with Gal. i. 6, 7, 8, 9. Gal. v. 2, 4, 5. Rom. ix. 31, 32, 33. Rom. x. 3, 4. Rom. i. 16, 17. Gal. iii. 11. Ephes. ii. 8, 9, 10.

Fourteenth, "That to continue in any known Sin, upon what Pretence or Principle soever, is damnable."

Rom. i. 32. Rom. vi. 1, 2, 15, 16. 1 John i. 6, 8. 1 John iii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. 2 Pet. ii. 19, 20. Rom. viii. 13.

Fifteenth, "That God is to be worshipped according to his own Will; and whosoever shall forsake and despise all the Duties of his Worship cannot be saved."

Jer. x. 15. Psalm xiv. 4. Jude, ver. 18, 19, 20, 21. Rom. x. 13.

Sixteenth, "That the Dead shall rise; and that there is a Day of Judgment, wherein all shall appear, some to go into everlasting Life, and some into everlasting Condemnation."

1 Tim. i. 19, 20. compared with 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18. Acts xvii. 30, 31. John v. 28, 29. 1 Cor. xv. 19.

Mr. Baxter says Dr. Owen worded these Articles; that Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye and Mr. Simpson were his assistants; that Dr. Cheynel was Scribe; and that Mr. Marshall, a sober, worthy Man, did something; but that the rest were little better than passive. He adds, that twenty of their Propositions were printed, tho' in my Copy, licensed by Scobel, there are but sixteen: However, the Parliament being abruptly dissolved they were all buried in Oblivion.

Oliver
Protector.
1654.
Remarks.

It appears by these Articles, that these Divines intended to exclude, not only Deists, Socinians, and Papists, but Arians, Antinomians, Quakers, and others. Into such difficulties do wise and good Men fall, when they usurp the kingly office of Christ, and pretend to restrain that liberty which is the Birthright of every reasonable Creature. 'Tis an unwarrantable presumption for any number of Men to declare what is fundamental in the Christian Religion, any further than the Scriptures have expressly declared it. 'Tis one thing to maintain a Doctrine to be true, and another to declare, that without the belief of it no Man can be saved: None may say this but God himself. Besides, why should the civil Magistrate protect none but those who profess "Faith in God by Jesus Christ?" If a Colony of English Merchants should settle among the Mahometans or Chinese, should we not think that the Government of those Countries ought to protect them in their Religion as long as they invaded no Man's property, and behaved with a dutiful obedience and submission to the Government under which they lived? why then should Christians deny others the same liberty?

Protector
for universal
Liberty. p.
193.

The Protector and his Council were in larger sentiments of Liberty, as will appear hereafter. Mr. Baxter says, the Protector and his Friends gave out, "That they could not understand what the Magistrates had to do in matters of Religion; they thought that all Men should be left to the Liberty of their own Consciences, and that the Magistrate could not interpose without insnaring himself in the Guilt of Persecution." And were not these noble and generous Sentiments, though the Parliament could not be brought into them? His Highness therefore, in his speech at their dissolution, reproaches them in these Words:—
"How proper is it to labour for Liberty, that men should not be trampled upon for their consciences? had we not lately laboured under the weight of Persecution; and is it fit then to sit heavy upon others? is it ingenuous to ask liberty and not to give it? what greater hypocrisy, than for those who were oppressed by the Bishops to become the greatest oppressors themselves so soon as their Yoke is removed? I could wish, that they who call for liberty now also, had not too much of that Spirit, if the power were in their Hands. As for prophane persons, blasphemers, such as preach sedition, contentious railers, evil-speakers, who seek by evil Words to corrupt good Manners; and persons of loose conversation, punishment from

Life of
Cromw. p.
307.

“ from the civil Magistrate ought to meet with them ; be-
 “ cause if these pretend conscience, yet walking disorderly,
 “ and not according, but contrary to the Gospel and natu-
 “ ral Light, they are judged of all, and their Sins being
 “ open, make them the subject of the Magistrates Sword,
 “ who ought not to bear it in vain.”

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 Protector.
 1654.

Agreeable to these Principles, Dr. George Bates, an emi-
 nent Royalist, and a great Enemy of Cromwel's, writes,
 “ That the Protector indulged the use of the Common
 “ Prayer in Families, and in private Conventicles ; and
 “ tho' the condition of the Church of England was but
 “ melancholy, yet (says the Doctor) it cannot be denied,
 “ but they had a great deal more favour and indulgence
 “ than under the Parliament ; which would never have
 “ been interrupted had they not insulted the Protector,
 “ and forfeited their Liberty by their seditious Practices,
 “ and Plottings against his Person and Government.”

The approbation of publick Ministers had been hitherto
 reserved to the several Presbyteries in City and Country ;
 but the Protector observing some inconvenience in this meth-
 od, and not being willing to entrust the qualification of
 Candidates all over England to a number of Presbyterians
 only, who might admit none but those of their own Persua-
 sion, contrived a middle way of joining the several Parties
 together, and intrusting the affair with certain Commissioners
 of each denomination, Men of as known Abilities and
 Integrity (says he) as any the Nation has. This was done
 by an Ordinance of Council, bearing date March 20th,
 1653-4, the Preamble to which sets forth, “ That where-
 “ as for some time past, there had not been any certain
 “ course established for supplying vacant places with able
 “ and fit persons to preach the Gospel, by reason whereof
 “ the Rights and Titles of Patrons were prejudiced, and
 “ many weak, scandalous, popish, and ill-affected Persons
 “ had intruded themselves, or been brought in ; for reme-
 “ dy of which it is ordained, by his Highness the Lord
 “ Protector, by and with the Consent of his Council, that
 “ every person who shall, after the 25th of March, 1654,
 “ be presented, nominated, chosen, or appointed to any
 “ Benefice with care of Souls ; or to any publick settled
 “ Lecture in England or Wales, shall, before he be ad-
 “ mitted, be examined and approved by the Persons here-
 “ after named, to be a person, for the Grace of God in
 “ him, his holy and unblameable Conversation, as also
 “ for his knowledge and utterance, able and fit to preach

Baxter's
 Life, p. 72.
 Ordinance
 appointing
 Commis-
 sioners for
 Approbation
 of public
 Preachers.
 Scobel, p.
 279.

“ the

Oliver
Protector.
1654.

" the Gospel." Among the Commissioners were eight or nine Laymen, the rest Ministers; their Names were,

Francis Rouse, Esq;
Alderman Titchbourne,
Mark Hildesley, Esq;
Thomas Wood, Esq;
John Sadler, Esq;
William Goffe, Esq;
Thomas St. Nicholas, Esq;
William Packer, Esq;
Edward Cresset, Esq;

The Reverend
Dr. John Owen,
Dr. Thomas Goodwin,
Dr. Arrowsmith,
Dr. Tuckney,
Dr. Horton,
Thankful Owen, M. A.
Mr. Joseph Caryl,
Mr. Philip Nye,
Mr. William Carter,
Mr. Sydrach Simpson,

The Reverend
Mr. William Greenhill,
Mr. William Strong,
Dr. Thomas Manton,
Mr. Samuel Slater,
Mr. William Cooper,
Mr. Stephen Marshall,
John Tombes, B. D.
Mr. Walter Craddock,
Mr. Samuel Fairclough,
Mr. Hugh Peters,
Mr. Peter Sterry,
Mr. Samuel Bamford,
Tho. Valentine, of Chaford, B. D.
Mr. Henry Jesse,
Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick,
Mr. Nicolas Lockyer,
Mr. Dan. Dike,
Mr. James Ruffel,
Mr. Nath. Campfield.

These were commonly called Tryers; in all thirty eight; of whom some were Presbyterians, others Independants, and two or three were Baptists. Any five were sufficient to approve; but no number under nine had power to reject a person as unqualified. In case of death, or removal of any of the Commissioners, their numbers were to be filled up by the Protector and his Council; or by the Parliament if sitting. But some of the Presbyterian Divines declined acting, for want of a better authority; or because they did not like the company; though the authority was as good as any these times could produce till the next Sessions of Parliament. By an Ordinance of Septem. 2d, 1654, I find the Reverend Mr. John Rowe, Mr. John Bond, Mr. George Griffith of the Charter-House, Mr. John Turner, and Godfrey Bosville, Esq; added to the Commissioners above-mentioned.

To such as were approved, the Commissioners gave an Instrument in writing under a common Seal for that purpose by virtue of which they were put into as full Possession of the

Scobel,
p. 366.

Their In-
structions.

the Living to which they were nominated or chosen, as if they had been admitted by institution and induction of a Bishop.

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Protector.
1654.

It was further provided, that all who presented themselves for approbation should produce a Certificate signed by three Persons at least of known integrity, one of whom to be a preacher of the Gospel in some settled place, testifying on their personal Knowledge, the holy and good conversation of the Person to be admitted; which Certificate was to be register'd and filed. And, "All Penalties for not subscribing, or reading the Articles of Religion, according to the Act of the 13th Eliz. were to cease and be void."

And for as much as some Persons might have been preferred to Livings within the last twelvemonth, when there was no settled method of approbation, the Ordinance looks back, and ordains, "That no Person who had been placed in any Benefice or Lecture since April 1st, 1653, should be allowed to continue in it, unless he got himself approved by the 24th of June, or at furthest the 23d of July, 1654."

'Tis observable, that this Ordinance provides no Security for the Civil Government, the Commissioners not being impowered to administer an Oath of Allegiance or Fidelity to the Protector. By this means some of the sequestered Clergy taking advantage of the Act of Oblivion in 1651, passed their trials before the Commissioners and returned to their Livings. The Protector being advised of this defect, by advice of his Council, published an additional Ordinance, Sept. 2d, 1654, requiring the Commissioners not to give admission to any who had been sequestered from their ecclesiastical Benefices for Delinquency, 'till by experience of their Conformity, and Submission to the present Government, his Highness and his Council should be satisfied of their Fitness to be admitted into ecclesiastical Promotions; and the same to be signified to the said Commissioners. Both these Ordinances were confirmed by Parliament in the year 1656, with this Proviso, "That the Commissioners appointed by his Highness in the intervals of Parliament should afterwards be confirmed by the succeeding Parliament." Another defect in the Ordinance was, that he did not appoint some Standard or Rule for the Tryers to go by; this would have taken off all odium from themselves, and prevented a great many needless disputes; but as matters now stood, Mens qualifications were

Remarks,

Additional
Ordinance.
Scobel, p.
366.

perhaps

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Protector.
1654.

Calamy, Vol.
II, p. 247.

perhaps left too much to the arbitrary Opinions and Votes of the Commissioners. After Examination they gave the Candidate a Copy of the Presentation in these Words: " Know all Men by these Presents, that the——Day of——in the Year——there was exhibited to the Commissioners for Examination of publick Ministers, a Presentation of Mr.——to the Rectory of——in the County of——made to him by Mr——the Patron thereof, under his Hand and Seal, together with a Testimony of his holy and godly Conversation. Upon perusal, and due Consideration of the Premises, and finding him to be a Person qualified, as in and by the Ordinance for such Qualifications is required, the Commissioners above-mentioned have adjudged and approved the said Mr.——to be a fit Person to preach the Gospel, and have granted him Admission, and do admit the said Mr.——to the Rectory of——aforesaid, to be full and perfect Possessor and Incumbent thereof: And do hereby signify to all Persons concerned therein, that he is hereby intitled to all the Profits and Perquisites, and to all Rights and Dues incident and belonging to the said Rectory as fully and effectually as if he had been instituted and inducted according to any such Laws and Customs as have in this Case formerly been made or used in this Realm. In Witness whereof they have caused the common Seal to be hereunto affixed, and the same to be attested by the Hand of the Register, by his Highness in that Behalf appointed. Dated at——the——Day of——in the Year——

(L. S.) John Nye, Reg.

Complaints
against the
Tryers.

Loud Complaints have been made against these Tryers; Mr. Collier objects to there being eight Laymen among the Commissioners, and that any Five having Power to act, it might sometimes happen that none but secular men might determine the Qualifications of such who were to preach and administer the Sacraments.

Mr. John Goodwin, an Independent Divine of Arminian Principles, says, the Tryers made their own narrow Calvinian Sentiments in Divinity the Door of Admission to all Church Preferments; and that their Power was greater than that of the Bishops, because the Laws had provided

provided a Remedy against their arbitrary Proceedings, by a Quare impedit; or if the Bishop might determine absolutely of the Qualifications of the Candidates or Clerk to be admitted into a Living, yet these Qualifications were sufficiently specified, and particularized in the Ecclesiastical Laws or Canons, and the Bishop might be obliged, by due Course of Law, to assign the Reasons of his Refusal; whereas the Determinations of these Commissioners for Approbation were final; nor were they obliged so much as to specify any Reason for their rejecting any Person, but only their Vote, Not approved.

Oliver
Protector.
1654.

It was further complained of as a very great Hardship, that "there was but one set of Tryers for the whole Nation, who resided always at London, which must occasion great Expence, and long Journies, to such as lived in the remoter Countries." But to remedy this Inconvenience, Dr. Walker says, they appointed Sub-Commissioners in the remoter Countries. And (according to Mr. Baxter) if any were unable to come to London, or were of doubtful Qualifications, the Commissioners of London used to refer them to some Ministers in the Country where they lived; and upon their Testimonial they approved or rejected them. But the Reader sees how impossible it was to please the several Parties; when there were no Tryers the Complaint was, that the Pulpit Doors were left open to all intruders, and now they cannot agree upon any one Method of Approbation. But it must be left with the Reader, whether a Bishop and his Chaplain, or a Classis of Presbyters, or the present Mixture, was most eligible?

Walker.
P. 172.

The chief Objections against these Tryers has been to the Manner of executing their Powers. Bishop Kennet says, "That this holy Inquisition was turned into a Snare to catch Men of Probity and Sense, and sound Divinity, and to let none escape but ignorant, bold, canting Fellows; for these Tryers (says the Bishop) asked few or no Questions in Knowledge or Learning, but only about Conversion, and the Grace of God in the Heart, to which the readiest Answers would arise from Infatuation in some, and the Trade of Hypocrisy in others. By this means the Rights of Patronage were at their Pleasure, and the Character and Abilities of Divines whatever they pleased to make them, and Churches were filled with little Creatures of the State." But the Bishop has produced no Example of this; nor were any of these canting little Creatures turn'd out for Insufficiency at the Restoration. Dr. George Bates,

Objections to
their Management.
Compl. Hist.
P. 209.

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an eminent Royalist, with a little more Temper and Modesty says, " That they enquired more narrowly into their Affec-
" tion to the present Government, and to the internal
" Marks and Characters of the Grace of God in their
" Hearts than into their Learning; by which means many
" ignorant Laicks, Mechanicks, and Pedlars, were ad-
" mitted to Livings, when Persons of great Merit were
" rejected." But it must be observed again, that as bad as they were, not one of those Mechanicks or Pedlars who conformed at the Restoration was ejected for Insufficiency. When the Commissioners had to do with Persons of known Learning, Sobriety, reputed Orthodoxy, and a peaceable Behaviour, they made but little enquiry into the Marks of their Conversion; as appears by the Example of Mr. Fuller the Historian, who being presented to a Living was approv'd by the Tryers, without giving any other Evidence of the Grace of God in him than this, " That he made conscience
" of his Thoughts."

Their Pro-
ceedings.

Dr. Walker has published the Examinations of two or three Clergymen, who were notorious for their Malignity and Disaffection to the Government, whom the Commissioners puzzled with dark and Abstruse Questions in Divinity, that they might set them aside, without having recourse to their political Principles; for when they had private Intimations, of notorious malignants to come before them, they frequently had recourse to this method; though 'tis not unlikely but that upon some other Occasions, they might lay too great stress upon the internal Characters of Regeneration, which depend entirely upon the Integrity of the Respondent. But I believe not a single instance can be produced, of any that were rejected without being first convicted either of Immorality, of obnoxious Sentiments in the Socinian or Pelagian Controversy, or of Disaffection to the present Government. Mr. Sadler, who was presented to a Living in Dorsetshire, but rejected by the Tryers, published his Examination in a Pamphlet, which he calls, *Inquisitio Anglicana*, wherein he endeavours to expose the Commissioners in a very ridiculous manner; but Mr. John Nye Clerk to the Commissioners, followed him with an Answer, intitled, " Sadler Examined; or, His Disguise discover'd:" Shewing the gross mistakes, and most notorious Falsehoods in his Dealings with the Commissioners for Approbation of publick Preachers, in his *Inquisitio Anglicana*. To which Mr. Sadler never applied.

Ath. Ox.
P. 370.

Doctor

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1654.

Doctor George Bates, and Dr. Walker have charged the Tryers with Simony, upon no other Proof, but that Hugh Peters said once to Mr. Camplin, a Clergyman of Somersetshire, upon his applying to him, by a Friend, for Dispatch, Has thy Friend any money? A slender Proof of so heavy a charge, They that are acquainted with the jocosse Conversation of Hugh Peters, will not wonder at such an Expression. But I refer the Reader back to the Names and Characters of the Commissioners, most of whom were Men of unquestionable Probity, for a sufficient Answer to this Calumny.

No doubt but the Tryers might commit fundry mistakes, which was impossible to avoid in their Station. I am far

Remarks.

from vindicating all their Proceedings; they had a difficult Work on their Hands, and were to deal with men of Different Principles in Religion and Politicks; and those who were not approv'd, would of course complain. Had this Power been lodg'd with the Bishops of these Times, or their Chaplains; or with the high Presbyterians, would they not have had their Shibboleth, for which ill natur'd Men might have called them an Holy Inquisition? But Mr. Baxter has given a very fair and candid Account of them; his words are these, " Because this Assembly of Tryers is most heavily accused " and reproached by some Men, I shall speak the truth of " them, and suppose my Word shall be taken, because most " of them took me for one of their boldest Adversaries: " The truth is, though their Authority was null, and " though some few over rigid and over busy Independents " among them were too severe against all that were Ar- " minians, and too particular in enquiring after Evidences " of Sanctification in those whom they examined; and " somewhat too lax in admitting of unlearned and errone- " ous Men, that favour'd Antinomianism or Anabaptism; " yet, to give them their due, they did abundance of good " to the Church. They saved many a Congregation from " ignorant, ungodly, drunken Teachers, that sort of Men " who intended no more in the Ministry than to say a Ser- " mon, as Readers say their Common Prayers on Sundays, " and all the rest of the Week go with the People to the " Ale-house and harden them in Sin; and that sort of mi- " nisters who either preached against a holy Life, or preach- " ed as men that were never acquainted with it: These they " usually rejected, and in their stead admitted of any that " were able, serious Preachers, and lived a godly Life, of " what tolerable opinion soever they were; so that though

Mr. Baxter's
Opinion of
them. Bax-
ter's Life,
P. 72.

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“ many of them were a little partial for the Independants,
“ Separatists, Fifth Monarchy Men, and Anabaptists,
“ and against the Prelatists and Arminians, yet so great
“ was the Benefit above the Hurt which they brought
“ to the Church, that many Thousands of Souls blest’d
“ God for the faithful Ministers whom they let in, and
“ grieved when the Prelatists afterwards cast them out
“ again.”

The Commissioners were not empowered to look further back than one Year before the Date of the Ordinance that constituted them. All that were in Possession of Livings before that Time were out of their Reach; nor would the Protector have given these any Disturbance, had he not received certain Information of their stirring up the People to join the Insurrection that was now on foot for the Restoration of the King. They continued sitting at Whitehall till the Protector’s Death, or the Year 1659. and were then discontinued.

New Ordinance for
ejecting
scandalous
Ministers.
Scobel.
p. 335,
340.

But to humble the Clergy yet further, and keep them within the Bounds of their spiritual Function, his Highness, by the Advice of his Council, published an Ordinance, bearing Date Aug. 28. 1654. entitled, An Ordinance for ejecting scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient Ministers and School-Masters. The Ordinance appoints, and nominates certain Lay-Commissioners for every County, and joins with them Ten or more, of the gravest, and most noted Ministers, as their Assistants, and empowers any Five, or more of them, to call before them any publick Preacher, Lecturer, Parson, Vicar, Curate, or School-Master, who is, or shall be reputed ignorant, scandalous, insufficient, or negligent; and to receive all Articles or Charges that shall be exhibited against them on this Account; and to proceed to the Examination and Determination of such Offences, according to the following Rules.

“ Such Ministers and School-Masters shall be accounted
“ scandalous in their Lives and Conversations, as shall hold
“ or maintain such blasphemous, or atheistical Opinions, as
“ are punishable by the Act, entitled, An Act against several blasphemous and atheistical Opinions, &c. or that shall
“ be guilty of prophane Swearing and Cursing, Perjury, and
“ Subornation of Perjury; such as maintain any popish Opinions, required to be abjured by the Oath of Abjuration;
“ or are guilty of Adultery, Fornication, Drunkenness, common Haunting of Taverns, or Ale-houses; frequent Quarrellings or Fightings; frequent playing at Cards or Dice;
“ prophane

“ prophaning of the Sabbath ; or that do allow and counte-
 “ nance the same in their Families, or in their Parishes. Such
 “ as have frequently read, or used the Common Prayer
 “ Book in publick since the first of Jan. last ; or
 “ shall at any Time hereafter do the same. Such as pub-
 “ lickly and prophanely scoff at the strict Profession, or
 “ Professors of Godliness. Such as encourage or counte-
 “ nance Whitson-Ales, Wakes, Morrice-Dancing, May-
 “ Poles, Stage-Plays, or such like licentious Practices.
 “ Such as have declared, or shall declare by writing, preach-
 “ ing, or otherwise publishing, their Disaffection to the
 “ present Government.

Oliver
 Protector.
 1654.

“ Such Ministers shall be accounted negligent as omit
 “ the publick Exercise of preaching and praying on the Lord’s
 “ Day (not being hinder’d by necessary Absence or In-
 “ firmity of Body ;) or that are, or shall be Non-Resi-
 “ dents. Such School-Masters shall be accounted negli-
 “ gent as absent themselves from their Schools, and wilfully
 “ neglect to teach their Scholars.

“ Such Ministers or School-Masters shall be accounted
 “ ignorant and insufficient as shall be so declared and ad-
 “ judged by the Commissioners in every County, or any
 “ five of them, together with five of the Ministers men-
 “ tioned in the Ordinance.”

The Lay-Commissioners were to proceed upon Oath both
 for and against the Person accused ; but in Cases of Igno-
 rance or Insufficiency, they were to be joined by five of the
 Assistant Clergy at least ; and if Ten of the Commissioners,
 whereof five to be Ministers, gave it under their Hands, that
 the Party was ignorant or insufficient, then the said Minis-
 ter or School-Master was to be ejected, and the said Judg-
 ment enter’d in a Register Book with the Reasons thereof,
 After Ejection the Party might not preach or teach School
 in the Parish from whence he was ejected ; but convenient
 Time was to be allowed for his Removal, and the Fifts re-
 served for the Support of his Family. The rightful Patron
 was to present to the vacant Living an approved Preacher ;
 and in case of Lapse it fell to the Protector and his Council.

Their In-
 structions.

This Ordinance being confirmed by the Parliament of
 1656. gave great Offence to the old Clergy ; Mr. Gatford,
 the sequester’d Rector of Dennington, published a Pamph-
 let, entitled, “ A Petition for the Vindication of the publick
 “ Use of Common Prayer, &c.” occasioned by the late
 Ordinance for ejecting scandalous Ministers ; as also Thirty

seven

Oliver
Protector.
1654.

Objections
against it.

seven Queries concerning the said Ordinance; which he presented to the Parliament, which began Sept. 3. 1654. but they took no Notice of it.

Mr. Gatford observes, That the Protector and his Council had no legal Authority to make this, or any other Ordinance, without consent of a Parliament; whereas the Instrument of Government empowered them to provide for the Safety of the State by making Laws, till the Parliament should meet. He observes further, That such a Proceeding must justify his late Majesty and Council in all their illegal Proceedings before the Civil Wars; that it would justify the High Commission Court; and, that by the same Authority, an Ordinance might be published to eject Freeholders out of their Estates.

He complains, That the Power of the Commissioners is final, and admits of no Appeal; that looks back to Crimes antecedent to the Law for a Twelve-month; whereas it ought only to declare, that for the future such Offences shall be punished with Deprivation.

That the Commissioners who were to sit in Judgment upon the Clergy were all Laymen, the Ministers being called in only in Cases of Ignorance and Insufficiency; that the Ordinance admits of the Oath of one Witness, provided it be supported with other concurrent Evidence, which is contrary to the Laws of God and Man.

That some Crimes in the Ordinance were none at all, and others of a very doubtful Nature; as, how often a Minister omitting to pray and preach in his Pulpit should render him negligent; and what should be deem'd Non-Residence. Above all, he complains that the publick Reading of the Common Prayer should be ranked with the Sins of Swearing and Drunkenness, and be an Evidence of a scandalous Life and Conversation; which Observation was unquestionably just.

Dr. Pordage
ejected.

To give the Reader an Example or two of the Proceedings of the Commissioners: Those for Berkshire summoned Dr. Pordage, Rector of Bradfield, to appear before them at Speenham Land, near Newbury, to answer to divers Articles of Blasphemy and Heresy. After several Days hearing, and Witnesses produced on both Sides, the Commissioners determined Dec. 8. 1654. that the said Doctor was guilty of denying the Deity of Christ; the Merits of his precious Blood and Passion; and several other dangerous Opinions. 'Tis further declared under the Hands of six of the Commissioners, and a sufficient Number of Ministers their Assistants,

stants, that the said Doctor was ignorant, and insufficient for the Work of the Ministry; it is therefore ordered, that the said Doctor be, and he is hereby ejected out of the Rectory of Bradfield, and the Profits thereof, but the said Commissioners do grant him Time, till the 2d of February, to remove himself, his Family, his Goods and Chattels, out of the said Personage House; and further Time to remove his Corn out of the Barns, till the 25th of March.

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Protector.
1654.

The Oxford Historian says, this Pordage was a Dr. by Charientismus, and had been Preacher of St. Lawrence Church in Reading before he came to Bradfield. That he was a mystick Enthusiast, and used to talk of the Fiery Deity of Christ dwelling in the Soul, and mixing itself with our Flesh. He dealt much in Astrology, and pretended to converse with the World of Spirits. After his Ejection he writ against the Commissioners a Pamphlet, entitled, "Innocency appearing;" which was answered by Mr. Christopher Fowler, Vicar of St. Mary, Reading, in his "Demonium Meridianum." However, the Doctor was restored to his Living at Bradfield at the Restoration.

The Wiltshire Commissioners summoned Mr. Walter Bushnel, Vicar of Box, near Malmesbury, before them, to answer to a Charge of Drunkenness, Prophanation of the Sabbath, Gaming, and Disaffection to the Government; and after a full Hearing, and Proof upon Oath, they ejected him. The Vicar prepared for the Press a Narrative of the Proceedings of the Commissioners appointed by O. Cromwel for ejecting scandalous and ignorant Ministers, in the Case of Walter Bushnel, &c. but it was not printed till the King's Restoration; and even then the Commissioners did themselves Justice in a Reply, which they called, A Vindication of the Marlborough Commissioners, by the Commissioners themselves. And Dr. Chambers, who was reproached by the said Bushnel, did himself Justice in a distinct Vindication. However, the Vicar was restored to his Vicarage in a Lump, with the rest at the Restoration.

Upon the Whole, the industrious Dr. Walker says, he can find no Footsteps of the Numbers of Clergy that were ejected by the Commissioners, tho' he imagines they might be considerable. But I am well satisfied, there were none of any Character; for there were not a great many zealous Loyalists in Possession of Livings at this Time; and those that were, had the Wisdom to be silent about publick Affairs, while they saw the Eyes of the Government were upon them in every Corner of the Land. The Commissioners

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1654.

Commissi-
oners for
Wales.
Scobel,
P. 347.

continued to act for some Time after the Protector's Death, and were a greater Terror to the Fanaticks, than to the regular Clergy of any Denomination.

The Protector and his Council passed another Ordinance, August 30. for the Service of Wales, appointing Sir Hugh Owen, and about Eighteen other Commissioners, for the six Counties of South Wales, with the County of Monmouth; and Matthew Morgan, with about Twelve other Commissioners, for the six Counties of North Wales; any Three of which were empowered to call before them, all such, who by Authority of the Act for propagating the Gospel in Wales, had received, or disposed of any of the Profits of the Rectories, Vicarages, &c. in that Principality; and to give an Account upon Oath, of all such Rents and Profits; and the Surplus Money in the Hands of the Commissioners, to be paid into the Exchequer.

Sad State of
that Principa-
lity.
Calamy's
Comm.
of Church
and Dis-
senters.

To set this Affair before the Reader in one View; the Principality of Wales, by reason of the Poverty of the People, and the small Endowments of Church Livings, was never well supplied with a learned or pious Clergy; the People were generally very ignorant, and but one remove from Heathens. In 1641. a Petition was presented to the King and Parliament, which declares, That there were not so many conscientious and constant Preachers in Wales as there were Counties; and that these were either silenced, or much persecuted. The Civil Wars had made their Condition worse; for as they generally adhered to the King, and received great Numbers of Irish Papists into their Country, their Preachers went into his Majesty's Service, or fled from their Cures, when the Parliament Forces took Possession of it. After the King's Death the Parliament passed the Ordinance already mentioned, for the better propagating the Preaching of the Gospel in Wales, and for ejecting scandalous Ministers and School-Masters, and for Redress of some Grievances; it bears Date Feb. 22. 1649. and empowers the Commissioners therein mentioned, or any Twelve of them, to receive and dispose of all and singular Rents, Issues, and Profits of all Ecclesiastical Livings, Improvements, and Glebe Lands, within the said Counties, which then were, or afterwards should be under Sequestration, or in the Disposal of the Parliament, and out of them to order and appoint a constant yearly Maintenance for such Persons as should be recommended, and approved for the Work of the Ministry, or Education of Children; and for

such

Ordinance
for propagat-
ing the Gos-
pel in Wales.
Calamy's
Comm.
of Church
and Dis-
senters.
p. 46.

such other Ministers as were then residing in the said Counties. The Ordinance to continue in Force for three years, from March 25. 1650.

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By virtue of this Ordinance many were ejected, but not all, for in Montgomeryshire eleven or twelve remained, as did several in other Counties; but all that were ejected were for manifest Scandal. After this, Complaints being made, that the People were turning Papists or Heathens, for want of the Word of God, several were sent into Montgomeryshire, where there were at least sixteen Preachers, of which ten were University Men, the meanest of which were approved and settled in Parishes at the Restoration. The Commissioners were empowered to examine into the Behaviour of such as were reputed Ignorant, Insufficient, Non-Resident, Scandalous, or Enemies to the present Government. And it being impossible to fill up the vacant Livings with such as could preach in the Welsh Language, the Revenues were to be collected and brought into a common Treasury, out of which one hundred pounds per Annum was to be given to sundry itinerant Preachers in each County.

Dr. Walker says, that from the Account drawn up by the Commissioners themselves in April 1652. it appears, that there had been ejected in South Wales, and Monmouthshire, one hundred seventy five Ministers; that is, fifty six from the year 1645. to the time when this Act took place, and one hundred and nineteen by the present Commissioners. Mr. Vavasor Powel, who had a chief Hand in the Sequestrations, says, that by virtue of this Act between fifty and sixty of the old Clergy were dispossessed of their Livings when he writ. Upon the whole, the Commissioners who continued to act as long as the Protector lived, charge themselves with between three hundred and twenty, and three hundred and thirty several distinct Livings; but there could not be an equal Number of sequester'd Clergymen, because in the compass of seven years a great many must die; some fled, or were killed in the Wars; in many Parishes the Tithes were not duly paid by reason of the Confusion of the Times, and the Livings being but from five to ten, or twenty pounds a year, most of the Incumbents were Pluralists. It is computed that about one half of the Church-Lands and Revenues in the Principality of Wales, by the several Accidents of Death, Desertion, Sequestration, &c. fell into the Hands of the Government before the Expiration of this Ordinance in 1653. the Profits of which, if duly collected, and paid, must amount to a very considerable Sum.

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Sum. There were thirteen Counties in North and South Wales within the Limits of the Commission; but the largest sum that the Sequestrators and Agents charge themselves with for the County of Brecknockshire, in any one Year, 'till the Year 1658. when the Propagation had subsisted eight Years, is one thousand five hundred forty three pounds, by which the Reader may make a tolerable computation of the whole; and if we may believe Mr. Whitlock, who lived through these Times, that in the Year 1653. there were one hundred and fifty good Preachers in the thirteen Welsh Counties, most of whom preached three or four times a Week; that in every Market-Town there was a School-Master, and in most great Towns two, able, learned, and University Men; that the Tithes were all employed to the Uses directed by Act of Parliament, there can be no great reason to complain of the negligence of the Commissioners.

Their
Crimes.

The crimes for which the old Clergy were ejected, were Malignancy, Insufficiency, Drunkenness, and Negligence of their Cures. Mr. Vavasor Powel says, That "of all the Men they had put out in North Wales, he knew not any that had the power of Godliness, and very few the Form; but that most of them were unpreaching Curates, or scandalous in their Morals." The Commissioners affirm, That "of the sixteen they had dispossessed in Cardiganshire there were but three that were Preachers, and those most scandalous Livers." And Mr. Baxter admits, That "they were all weak, and bad enough for the most part." But the Writers on the other side say, That the Commissioners had no regard to Ability in Preaching, or Sobriety in Conversation. And Dr. Walker thinks, the sequester'd Welch Clergy need no other Vindication than to let the World know, "That many of them were Graduates in the University;" as if every Graduate must of Course be possessed of all ministerial Qualifications. There might possibly be some few pious and industrious Preachers among the ejected Welch Clergy; but they who will argue very strenuously in favour of the Body of them, must know very little of the country, or their manner of life.

Their method of supplying the Vacancies.

It was not in the power of the Commissioners to find a Succession of pious and learned Preachers in the Welch Language; But to remedy this in the best manner they could, they appointed six itinerant Preachers of University Education for each County, to whom they allowed one hundred

dred pounds per Annum; besides which, they sent out thirty two Ministers, of whom twenty four were University Men, and some of the rest good Scholars; but these were too few for the Work, though they were indefatigable in their pains. To supply what was further wanting, they approved of several Gifted Laymen, Members of Churches, to travel into the neighbourhood, and assist the people's devotions, and to these they allowed from seventeen to twenty pounds per Annum. In an article of the Sequestrators Accompts there appears three hundred and forty pounds per Annum distributed among godly Members of the Church of Lanvacles, and Mynthist Loyn, who had been sent out to exercise their Gifts among the Welch Mountaineers, and to help forward the Work of the Lord. Many others of the same Quality were approved by the Commissioners, who went through great difficulties and hardships in their work. Mr. Powel says, that some hundreds, if not thousands, had been converted and reformed by the Propagators. But after all, it must be allowed, that at first the number of Itinerants, both Scholars and others, was by no means equal to their Work; the Parishes in that mountainous Country are large and wide, and there being but one Itinerant to several of those Parishes, the People must be neglected, and their Children too much without Instruction; but this was owing to the Necessity of the Times.

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Protector.
1654.

Calamy's
Comp. p.
48.

When the Commissioners had acted about two years, a Petition was presented to the Parliament by the Inhabitants of South Wales, signed by above a thousand hands, in favour of the old ejected Clergy, setting forth, the Numbers that had been dispossessed, and the want of a competent number of Preachers in their places, upon which account the Country was reduced to a very miserable Condition. They therefore pray the House to take some Course for a future supply of godly and able Preachers; and to call those persons to account who had received all the Profits of Church Livings into their Hands. The House received the Petition, and refer'd it to the Committee for plunder'd Ministers, who were empowered to examine Witnesses, and to authorize other Commissioners in the Country to examine Witnesses upon Oath, touching the Matters contained in the Petition. The Committee ordered the Commissioners to bring in their Accounts in a Month's time, which they did accordingly. And the Petitioners were ordered to give in the Particulars on which they desired Witnesses

Petitions
against the
Commissioners.

Walker, p.
168.

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Protector.
1654.

nesses might be examined, within two Days ; but not being provided, they desired Liberty to make good their Allegations in the Country ; to which the Commissioners willingly agreed. But this taking up some time, the Long Parliament was dissolved, and the Prosecution of this Enquiry suspended for the present ; but as soon as the Protector was fixed in his Government, he published an Ordinance, Aug. 20. 1654. to bring the Propagators to an Account ; pursuant to which the Sequestrators and Treasurer for South Wales delivered in their Accounts for the Years 1650, 1651, 1652, which was all the Time the Ordinance was in Force ; and the Commissioners appointed by the Protector having received and examined them, after a full Enquiry allowed and passed them, Aug. 10. 1655.

Further
Complaints
against
them.

It is hard to express with decency the reproaches cast upon these Commissioners by our angry Historians, who have charged them with all manner of Corruption, as if they had got great Estates out of the Revenues of the Church, tho' without producing a single Example. Mr. Powel, who took more pains among them than any Man of his time, declares, that he never received for all his preaching in Wales, by Salary, above six or seven hundred pounds ; that he never had any thing from the Tithes. And whereas it was said, That he had enriched himself by purchasing some thousands a year of Crown Lands, he protests, that he never purchased above seventy pounds a year, which he lost at the Restoration. And if Mr. Powel did not enrich himself, I apprehend, none of his Brethren could. Besides, if this had been true, the Protectors Commissioners would have discovered them ; or if they had escaped the Protector's Enquiry, their enemies would have exposed them at the Restoration, when King Charles appointed a Commission to make the strictest Enquiry into their Management. " All persons who had acted as Commissioners for propagating the Gospel, were by his Majesty's " instructions to be summoned before his Commissioners ; " and all that had acted under them as Farmers, Tenants, " &c. all that had succeeded in the sequester'd Livings, " or received any of the profits ; all Parishioners, who " had kept any of the Tithes in their Hands ; the Heirs, " Executors, or Administrators, of any of the afore- " said persons ; and all credible persons, who could give " Evidence of any of these Matters. They were like- " wise to enquire after Books and Writings, and to " signify to all persons concerned, that if they would
" forth-

Calamy's
Comp.
p. 46.

“ forthwith apply to his Majesty’s Commissioners, they
 “ might compound for what they stood charged with, and
 “ so avoid the expence of a Law Suit.” But after all this
 mighty noise and scrutiny nothing of any consequence ap-
 peared, and therefore it was thought proper to drop the
 Commission, and bury the whole Affair in silence. Mr.
 Vavasor Powel, above-mentioned, was cruelly handled by
 the Welch Clergy, but he did himself Justice in a Pamphlet,
 entitled, “ Examen & Purgamen Vavasoris,” published 1653. Walker, p.
 149.
 wherein he vindicates his Proceedings in the Propagation.
 And when he was in the Fleet after the Restoration, he
 published a brief narrative concerning the Proceedings of
 the Commissioners in Wales against the ejected Clergy, oc-
 casioned by a report that he had been thrown into that prison
 for some of the Revenues ; which was never answered.

By an Ordinance of September 2. Commissioners were
 appointed to enquire into the yearly value of all Ecclesiasti-
 cal Livings and Benefices without Cure of Souls ; what
 Person or Persons received the profits, and who was the Pa-
 tron ; and to certify the same into Chancery ; and if upon
 a careful consideration of things, it shall be found convenient
 and advantageous, to unite two Parishes or more into one, and
 that the whole Ecclesiastical Revenues, Tithes, and Profits
 belonging to the said Parishes so united, should be applied
 for a Provision for one godly and painful Minister, to preach
 in the said united Parishes, then the Trustees, or Com-
 missioners appointed by this Act shall present the same to
 his Highness and Council, upon whose approbation they
 shall, by an Instrument under the Hands and Seals of any
 five, or more of them, declare, that they do thereby unite
 such Parishes into one ; which Instrument being enrolled in
 Chancery, the said Parishes from thenceforth shall be ad-
 judged and taken to be consolidated into one. If there hap-
 pen to be more Patrons than one in the Parishes thus united,
 the Patrons shall present by turns ; but the Union shall not
 take place till the avoidance of one of the Livings by death
 of the incumbent.

Oliver
 Protector.
 1654.

Walker, p.
 149.

Ordinance
 for uniting
 small Li-
 vings, and
 dividing
 greater.
 Scobel, p.
 353.

On the other hand, where Parishes were too large, the
 Trustees for the Augmentation of poor Livings were em-
 powered to divide them into two, or more, upon their avoid-
 ance by death.

Further, if when two, or more Parishes were united in-
 to one, the Income or Salary did not amount to one hun-
 dred pounds per annum, the Trustees for the receiving Im-
 propriations, Tithes, First Fruits, and Tenths, &c. were di-
 rected

Oliver.
Protector.
1654.

rected to make up the deficiency; and where there was a considerable Surplus they might take off the Augmentations formerly granted. Provided this Ordinance be not construed to restrain the said Trustees from granting Augmentations to Preachers in Cities and Market Towns, where there shall be cause, to a greater proportion, with the consent of the Protector and his Council. This was a noble and generous design; and if the Protector had lived to have seen it executed, must have been of general Service to the Body of the Clergy.

Protector
for encouraging
Learning.
Whitl. p.
588.

Though his Highness himself was no great Scholar, he was a Patron of Learning and learned Men: He settled one hundred pounds a year on a Divinity Professor in Oxford; and gave twenty four rare Manuscripts to the Bodleian Library; he erected and endowed a College in Durham for the Benefit of the Northern Counties, Mr. Frankland, M. A. being one of the first Fellows. But these, and some other Designs that he had formed for the advancement of Learning, died with him.

In order to secure the Education of youth he took care to regulate both Universities, by appointing new Visitors, the former ceasing with the dissolution of the Long Parliament, viz.

For the University of Oxford,

The Vice Chancellor for the Time being,

Visitors for
the Universities.
Scobel, p.
366.

Dr. Harris, President of Trinity College,	Mr. Thankful Owen, Pres. of St. John's,
Dr. Rogers, Principal of New Inn Hall,	Mr. Stephens, Principal of Hart Hall,
Dr. T. Goodwin, President of Magdalen College,	Mr. James Baron, of Magd. College,
Dr. John Owen, Dean of Christ Church,	Mr. Francis Howel, Fellow of Exeter College.
Dr. Hen. Wilkinfon, Marg. Professor of Divinity,	William, Visc. Say and Seal, Nathaniel Fiennes, Esq;
Dr. Peter French, Prebend of Christ Church,	Bulstrode Whitlock, Comm. of the Great Seal,
Dr. John Conant, Rector of Exeter College,	Samuel Dunch, Esq;
Dr. John Goddard, Ward. of Merton College,	Sir John Dreyden, Rich. Ingoldisby, Esq;
	John Crew, Esq;

George

Chap. III. of the PURITANS.

III

George Fleetwood, } Esqrs. John Jenkinson, } Esqs; Oliver
John Bright, } ——— Greenfield. } Protector.
1654.

For the Univerſity of Cambridge,

The Vice Chancellor for the Time being,

Dr. Tuckney, Maſter of St. John's College,	Mr. Mowbrey, Fellow of St. John's College,
Dr. Arrowſmith, Maſter of Trinity College,	Mr. William Moſes, Fellow of Pembroke Hall,
Dr. Horton, Preſident of Queen's College,	Mr. Wood, Fellow of Magd. College.
Dr. Sam. Bolton, Maſter of Chriſt's College,	Henry Cromwell,
Dr. Law. Seaman, Maſter of Peter Houſe,	Henry Lawrence, Lord Preſident of his Highneſs's Council,
Dr. Lightfoot, Maſter of Katherine Hall,	J. Lambert, } Esqs;
Mr. John Sadler, Maſter of Magdalen College,	J. Deſborough, } Esqs;
Dr. Whitchcot,	Sir Gilbert Pickering,
Dr. Cudworth,	Col. Ed. Montague, } Esqs;
Dr. Worthington, Maſter of Jeſus College,	Francis Rouſe,
Mr. Dillingham, Maſter of Emanuel College,	Oliver St. John, Lord Ch. Juſtice of Com. Pleas,
Mr. Simpson, Maſter of Pembroke Hall,	J. Thurloe, } Esqs;
Mr. Templer, Fellow of Trinity College,	Robert Caſtle,
	Tho. Bendiſh,
	Rob. Viner,
	Griffith Lloyd,
	Sir William Strickland.

Any ſeven, or more of the Commiſſioners above-named, were authorized to viſit all Colleges and Halls within their reſpective Univerſities; to examine what Statutes were fit to be abrogated, altered, or added, and to exhibit the ſame to his Highneſs, and the Parliament. They are further authorized, to explain ſuch Statutes as are ambiguous and obſcure; to determine Appeals; and are to be aſſiſted upon all occaſions by the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Juſtices of Peace. The ſaid Viſitors, or any four of them, are authorized to viſit Weſtminſter School, Wincheſter School, Merchant Taylor's School, and Eaton College; and to conſider of ſuch Statutes of the ſaid Schools as are fit to be abrogated, and of others that may be proper to be added

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1654.

Their Influ-
ence.

added for the well Government of the said Schools and Colleges.

The Visitors discharged their duty with great fidelity; and the Heads of Colleges had a watchful Eye over their several Houses. Drunkenness, Swearing, Gaming, and all kinds of Immorality, were severely punished; Students, Graduates, and others, were obliged to be at home in proper hours; the publick houses were searched; and the practice of Religion in the several Colleges enforced with rigor. One of the Professors writes, That there was more frequent practical preaching in the Colleges than ever had been known. On the Lord's day, at different hours, there were three or four Sermons in several Churches; and on the Week-days, Lectures on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays. The Tutors were very diligent in discharge of their duty; the publick Readings were well attended, and the Students under strict discipline; Learning revived, and the Muses returned to their Seats, as appears by the numbers of learned Men who adorned the Reign of King Charles II. and owed their education to these Times.

The Protec-
tor's Zeal
for the Pr.
Religion.
Hist.
Stuarts, p.
423.

The Protector's Zeal for the welfare of the Protestant Churches abroad deserves a particular notice, and was highly valued by all the reformed in foreign Parts. He took all imaginable care to put himself at the head of that Interest on all occasions, and to shew his Power in protecting them. The Prince of Tarente having writ a respectful letter to the Protector, his Highness returned him the following answer, "That it was with extreme pleasure he had learned by letters his inviolable zeal and attachment to the Reformed Churches, for which his praise was the greater, in as much as he shewed that zeal at a time, and in a place, where such flattering hopes were given to persons of his rank if they would forsake the orthodox Faith; and where these who continued stedfast are threatened with so many Troubles. He rejoices that his own conduct in Religion was so pleasing to him he calls God to witness, that he desired nothing so much as an Opportunity to answer the Favourable Opinion the Churches have of his Zeal and Piety, by endeavouring to propagate the true Faith, and procure Rest and Peace for the Church. He exhorts the Prince to hold out firm to the End in the Orthodox Religion which he received from his Fathers; and adds, that nothing would bring him greater Glory than to protect it as much as lay in his Power." What projects the Protector framed for this Purpose will be seen hereafter.

But

But the Royal Interest abroad was inclining towards Popery; the Duke of York was already perverted to the Romish Faith; no Attempts were unessayed by the Queen Mother, the Queen of France, and others, to gain the young Duke of Gloucester, who had been under the Instruction of Parliamentary Tutors till the last Year: But this young Prince was too well established in his Religion to be perverted at present, upon which the Queen forbid him her presence; and the Marquis of Ormond conducted him to his Brother at Cologne. The King was a Man of no Religion, and having little to do, devoted his leisure Hours to the Ladies, and other private Pleasures. His Majesty had some trial (says Bishop Kennet) of his Conscience and Courage in resisting the little Arguments, or rather importunities of Popery. The Papists put him in mind, that all his Hopes from the Protestant Party were at an end; that the Bishops were dead, except a very few; and the Church Lands sold; and that since the late Defeat at Worcester the Presbyterian Power was destroyed; all his Hopes therefore must be from the Roman Catholics, from whose Power and Assistance only he could now hope for his Restoration. But the Prospect was too distant, that the King, by advice of Lord Clarendon, was prevailed with not to declare himself openly at present.

Oliver Protector.
1654.
State of the Royal Family.
Compl. Hist. p. 203.
Kennet's Chron. p. 599.
Compl. Hist. p. 213.

On the last of November died the learned Mr. John Selden, the Glory of the English Nation; He was born in Suffex, Dec. 16. 1584. and educated in Hart Hall, Oxford, after which he was transplanted to the Inner Temple, where he became a Prodigy in the most uncommon Parts of Learning. He was a great Philologist, Antiquary, Herald, Linguist, Statesman, and Lawyer, but seldom appeared at the Bar. He was chosen Burgeſs for several Parliaments, where he shewed his profound Learning in Speeches and Debates for the Liberty of the Subject; for which he was imprisoned, and severely fined with Mr. Pym in the Parliaments of 1618, and 1628. He was chosen again in the Long Parliament, and appeared against the Prorogative, as he had formerly done. He was one of the Laymen in the Assembly of Divines, and by his vast skill in the oriental Learning, and Jewish Antiquities, frequently puzzled the most able Divines. He writ many learned Works, which gained him the Title among Foreigners, of the Dictator of Learning in the English Nation. Among other remarkable Writings of our Author we may reckon his History of

Death of Mr. Selden.
Ath. Ox.

Oliver
Protector.

1644.

Tithes, published 1618, in which he proves them not to be due to the Christian Clergy by divine institution : For this he was summoned before the High Commission Court, and obliged to make a publick recantation. But after some time his reputation was so great, that it was thought worth while to gain him over to the Court ; and upon the new civilities he received at Lambeth, he was prevailed with to publish his *Mare Clausum* against Hugo Grotius, which was esteemed such an invaluable Treasure, that it was ordered to be laid up in the Court of Records. The Archbishop offered him preferments, but he would accept nothing. Upon the first pressures against the Bishops he published his *Eutychius* in Greek and Latin, with Notes, in which he proves, that “ Bishops and Presbyters differ only in degree.” He afterwards answered his Majesty’s Declaration about the Commission of Array, and was made Master of the Rolls by the Long Parliament. He had a large and curious Library of Books, in the Frontispiece of each he used to write this Motto, *Περὶ πάντος ἐλευθερίαν*, Above all, Liberty. At length, being worn out with age, and hard study, he died at his House in the White Fryars, aged seventy years, and was magnificently buried in the Temple Church on the South side of the round walk, according to the Directory, in the presence of all the Judges, some Parliament Men, Benchers, and great Officers. His Funeral Sermon was preached by Archbishop Usher, who acknowledged he was not worthy to carry his Books after him. His Works are lately collected, and printed together in six Volumes, Folio.

Of the Re-
verend Mr.
Gataker.

Mr. Thomas Gataker was born in London, 1574, and was educated in St. John’s College, Cambridge, where he proceeded M. A. and was afterwards removed to Sidney College, where he became remarkable for his skill in the Hebrew and Greek Languages. After his Ordination he was chosen Minister of Lincoln’s Inn, and continued in that station ten years ; but in the year 1611, he was presented to the Rectory of Rotherhithe, where he continued till his death. In the year 1643, he was chosen a Member of the Assembly of Divines, and was an ornament and reputation to it. When the Earl of Manchester visited and reformed the University of Cambridge, he offered Mr. Gataker the Mastership of Trinity College, but he refused it on the account of his health. Mr. Gataker was a very learned Man, and a considerable Critick and Linguist, as appears by his

his Writings, which were very numerous, considering his infirm State of Health. He was a constant Preacher; of a most holy and exemplary Life, but withal, of great modesty. It is hard, says Mr. Eachard, to say, which was most remarkable, his exemplary Piety and Charity, his polite Literature, or his humility and modesty in refusing preferments. He maintained a correspondence with Salmasius, Hornbeck, and other learned Foreigners, and was in high esteem both at home and in the Low Countries, where he had travelled. He died of age, and a complication of Infirmities, July 27th, 1654, in the Eightieth year of his Age.

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1654.

Mr. William Strong was educated in Katherine Hall, Cambridge, of which he was Fellow. He was afterwards Rector of More Chrichel in Dorsetshire, where he continued till he was forced to fly from the Cavaliers; he then came to London and was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines, and Minister of St. Dunstan's in the West. After some time he became Preacher at Westminster Abbey, where he died suddenly, in the vigor of Life, and was buried in the Abbey Church, July 4th, 1654. His Funeral Sermon was preached by Mr. Ob. Sedgwick, who says, that he was so plain in heart, so deep in judgment, so painful in study, so exact in preaching; and in a Word, so fit for all the parts of the ministerial Service, that he did not know his equal. But after the Restoration his Bones were dug up, and removed to St. Margaret's Church-Yard, with those of other eminent Presbyterian Divines. He published several Sermons, and Theological Treatises in his Life-time; and after his Death there was a Posthumous one upon the Covenants, in the Preface to which Mr. Theophilus Gale says, that the Author was a wonder of Nature for natural Parts, and a miracle of Grace for his deep insight into the more profound Mysteries of the Gospel. His Thoughts were sublime, but clear and penetrating, especially in interpreting difficult Texts.

Of Mr.
Strong.
Ath. Ox.
p. 218.

Mr. Andrew Pern, was educated in Cambridge, and from thence removed to Welby in Northamptonshire, where he continued a zealous, laborious, and successful Preacher for twenty seven Years. In the Year 1643, he was chosen a Member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. When he was at London he was offered several considerable Preferments, but refused them, resolving to return to his People at Welby, who honoured him as a Fa-

Of Mr.
Pern.

Oliver
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1654.

Mr. Ainsworth.

ther ; for by his awakening Sermons, and exemplary Life and Conversation, he accomplished a great Reformation of Manners in the Town. He was full of spiritual Warmth (says the Writer of his Funeral Sermon) filled with an holy Indignation against Sin, active in his Work ; and never more in his element than in the Pulpit. As his Life was holy, so his death was conformable. He blessed God that he was not afraid to die ; nay, he earnestly desired to be gone, often crying out, in his last Sickness, “ When will “ that Hour come ? one assault more and this earthen Vessel will be broken, and I shall be with God.” He died the beginning of December, 1654, before he was arrived to the age of sixty.

Of Dr.
Bolton.

Dr. Samuel Bolton was educated in Cambridge, and from thence removed to the Living of St. Martins Ludgate. Upon his coming to the City he was chosen one of the additional Members of the Assembly of Divines, being a Person of great Name and Character for Learning, and practical preaching. He was a burning and shining Light (says Mr. Clarke) an Interpreter one of a thousand, an admirable Preacher, and his Life was an excellent Commentary upon his Sermons. Upon the death of Dr. Bainbrigge he was chosen Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, which he governed with great wisdom and prudence till his Death, which happened about the 10th of October, 1654. He was buried with great solemnity in his Parish Church of Ludgate on the 16th of the same Month, very much lamented by the London Clergy of those Times.

Of Mr.
Whitaker.

Mr. Jer. Whitaker was born at Wakefield in Yorkshire, 1599, and educated in Sidney College, Cambridge, where he proceeded in Arts. He taught the Free School at Okeham in Rutlandshire seven years, and then became Minister of Stretton in the same County, where he continued thirteen years. In 1643, he was nominated one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, which brought him to London, where he was chosen to the Rectory of St. Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, in Southwark. He preached three or four Sermons every week ; two in Southwark, one at Westminster, and one at Christ Church, London. He never withdrew from any opportunity of Preaching if he was in health ; and though he preached often, his Sermons were solid and judicious. He was an universal Scholar, both in Arts and Languages ; well acquainted with the Fathers and Schoolmen, an acute disputant, and inferior to none in his Acquaintance with the holy Scriptures. He was of the Presbyterian

byterian Persuasion, and had a chief hand in composing the Defence of the Gospel Ministry, published this year by the Provincial Synod of London. He refused the Engagement, and lamented the Wars between England, Scotland, and Holland. No Man was more beloved by the Presbyterian Ministers of London than Mr. Whitaker. When he was seized with the violent and tormenting pain of the Stone about the beginning of November, many days of Prayer and Fasting were kept for his Recovery, but the Distemper was incurable. He bore his pains with uncommon patience, fearing nothing more than to dishonour God by unreasonable complaints. When his Distemper was most violent he would desire his Friends to withdraw, that they might not be affected with his roarings. At length Nature being quite spent, he chearfully resigned his Soul into the Hands of his Redeemer, about the fifty fifth year of his age. His Funeral Sermon was preached by Mr. Calamy, who gave him a large and deserved Encomium.

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Protector.
1654.

Mr. Richard Vines, of whom mention has been made already, was born at Blazon in Leicestershire, educated in Magdalen College, Cambridge, where he commenced M. A. He was first School-Master at Hinckley, then Minister of Weddington in Warwickshire. At the beginning of the civil War he was driven from his Parish, and forced to take shelter in Coventry. When the Assembly of Divines was called he was chosen one of their Number; and, as Fuller says, was the Champion of their Party. While he was at London he became Minister of St. Clements Danes; afterwards he removed to Watton in Hartfordshire, and was chosen Master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, but resigned that, and his Living at St. Lawrence Jewry, on account of the Engagement. He was a Son of Thunder, and therefore compared to Luther; but moderate and charitable to them that differed from him in judgment. The Parliament employed him in all their Treaties with the King; and his Majesty, tho' of a different Judgment, valued him for his ingenuity, seldom speaking to him without touching his Hat, which Mr. Vines returned with most respectful Language and Gestures. He was an admirable Scholar; holy and pious in his conversation, and indefatigable in his Labours, which wasted his Strength, and brought him into a Consumption, when he had lived but about fifty six years. He was buried in his own Parish Church, Feb. 7th, 1655, his Funeral Sermon being preached by Dr. Jacomb, who gave him his just commendation.

Mr. Rich.
Vines.
Fuller's
Worthies,
p. 134.

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Protector.
1655.

He was a perfect Master of the Greek Tongue, a good Philologist, and an admirable Disputant. He was a thorough Calvinist, and a bold honest Man without pride or flattery. Mr. Newcomen calls him "Disputator acutissimus, concionator felicissimus, Theologus eximius. Many Funeral Poems and Elegies were made upon his Death.

The Protec-
tor appoints
Major Ge-
nerals.

The Protector having dissolved his second Parliament without confirming their Acts, was obliged still to rely on the Military Arm; this, together with the insurrections in several parts of the Country, induced him for his greater security to canton the Nation into eleven Districts, and place over them Major Generals, whose Commission was to inspect the behaviour of the inferior Commissioners within their Districts; to commit to prison all suspected persons; to take care of collecting the publick taxes; and to sequester such as did not pay their decimation. They were to enquire after all private Assemblies of suspicious persons, and after such as bought up Arms; after Vagabonds and idle persons; after such as lived at an higher rate than they could afford; after such as frequented Taverns and Gaming Houses, and after scandalous and unlearned Ministers and School-masters; and there was no appeal from them but to the Protector and his Council. They were ordered to list a Body of Reserves both Horse and Foot at Half-pay, who were to be called together upon any sudden Emergency, and to attend so many days at their own expence, but if they were detained longer to have full pay; by which means the Protector had a second Army in view if any disaster should befall the first; but these Officers became so severe and arbitrary, that his Highness found it necessary after some time to reduce their power, and when Affairs were a little more settled to dissolve them.

Enters into
an Alli-
ance with
France.

Having provided for the security of his Government at home, the Protector concluded an alliance with France, Octob. 23d, in which it is remarkable, that Lewis XIVth, is not allowed to stile himself King of France, but King of the French, his Highness claiming the Protectorship of that Kingdom among his other Titles; and which is more surprizing, the Name of Oliver stands in the Treaty before that of the French King. At the same Time he sent Admiral Blake with a Fleet into the Mediterranean, who spread the Terror of the English Name over all Italy, even to Rome itself; Processions being made, and the Host exposed for forty four Hours, to avert the judgments of Heaven, and preserve the patrimony of the Church.

And sends
Ad. Blake
into the
Mediterra-
nean.

But

But Blake's Commission was only to demand sixty thousand pounds of the Duke of Tuscany, for damages sustained by the English Merchants while he harboured Prince Rupert, which he paid immediately. The Admiral released all the English Slaves on the Coast of Barbary to the Number of four hundred, and obtained Satisfaction for the Ships taken by the Pirates of Algiers, Tunis, &c. Upon the whole, he brought home sixteen Ships laden with booty, which sailed up the River Thames to the Port of London, as a grateful Spectacle of triumph to the People.

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1655.

While Blake was in the Mediterranean, Admiral Pen and Venables with thirty Men of War, and some Land Forces, sailed to the West Indies, with a design to surprize the Town of Hispaniola; but miscarrying in the attempt they re-imbarked and took possession of the Island of Jamaica, which is in possession of the Crown of Great Britain to this Day.

Jamaica
taken from
the Spaniards.

The Protector did not commission Blake to assault the Spanish Coasts in the Mediterranean, because there was no open rupture between the two Nations in Europe; but the West Indies not being included in the Treaty, he thought himself at liberty in those Parts; which occasioned a declaration of War, on the part of Spain, with all the English Dominions; upon which Blake was ordered to cruise upon the Spanish Coasts, and to wait for the return of the Plate Fleet, of which he gave a very good account the next Summer.

To support these additional expences the Protector, by Advice of his Council, raised some extraordinary Taxes before the Parliament met, which he knew to be illegal, and did not pretend to justify on any other Foot than "the absolute necessity of the publick Safety; the distracted condition of the Nation; that it was impracticable in the present Juncture to call a Parliament, or to proceed in the ordinary course of Law; and that in extraordinary Cases, wherein all was at stake, some extraordinary Methods were allowable." How far this reasoning will excuse the Protector, or vindicate his conduct, must be left with the Reader. But 'tis agreed on all hands, that in things that did not affect the very Being of his Government he never interposed, but let the Laws have their free Course. He had a zeal for Trade and Commerce beyond all his Predecessors, and appointed a standing Committee of Merchants for promoting it, which met, for the first time, in the Painted Chamber, Nov. 27th, 1655, and continued to his death.

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Proceedings
of the provincial Af-
sembly.

The Provincial Assembly of London finding their attempts to establish their Discipline ineffectual, employed themselves this year in promoting the religious education of Youth; for which purpose they published an Exhortation to Catechising; with the following Directions for the more orderly carrying it on.

1. " That the Ministers on some Lord's Day prove in
" their Sermons, the necessity and usefulness of such a
" Work, and exhort all Parents, and Masters of Families,
" to prepare their Children and Servants for it, by catechising them at home, that they may more readily
" make their Answers in publick.
 2. " That the Catechism to be used be the Lesser Catechism of the Assembly of Divines. This Catechism excelling all others in this respect, that every answer is a
" perfect Proposition without the Question.
 3. " That the Persons to be catechised be Children and
" Servants, that have not been admitted to the Lord's
" Supper by the Eldership.
 4. " That the time of catechising be on the Lord's
" Day in the Afternoon, before the Sermon, to the end
" that the whole Congregation may receive benefit thereby.
 5. " That the Catechism may be explained briefly, at
" the first going over, that the People may in a short time
" have a notion of the whole Body of Divinity.
 6. " That the Parish be desired at the common charge,
" to provide Catechisms for the poorer Sort, who cannot
" well provide for themselves, and that the distribution of
" them be referred to the respective Ministers.
 7. " 'Tis desired, that an account in Writing, what
" progress is made in the Premises may be returned from
" the Classes to the Provincial Assembly within Forty Days
" after the Receipt hereof.
- " Signed in the Name, and by the appointment of the
" Assembly,

Edmund Calamy, Moderator.
William Harrison, } Scribes.
William Blackmore, }

These Instructions were sent to the several Classes of London; and by their Example, the associated Ministers in the several Counties of England published the like Exhortations to their Brethren.

The

The Occasion of this Proceeding was the Publishing two Catechisms of Mr. John Biddle a Socinian, one called a Scripture Catechism; and the other, A Brief Scripture Catechism, for the Use of Children. Complaints of which being made to the last Parliament, they were ordered to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman, and the Author to be imprisoned in the Gate-House. Mr. Biddle had been in Custody for his Opinions before the late King's Death. While he was there he had publish'd twelve Questions or Arguments against the Deity of the Holy Spirit, in Quarto 1647. which was answered by Mr. Pool, and the Book ordered to be burnt. Next Year, being still in Prison, he published Seven Articles against the Deity of Christ, with the Testimonies of several of the Fathers on this Head; upon which some Zealots in the Assembly moved, that he might be put to Death as an Heretick; but he went on, and being set at Liberty in the Year 1651. he composed and published the Catechisms above-mentioned, in which he maintains, “ (1.) That God is confined to a certain place. “ (2.) That he has a bodily Shape. (3.) That he has Passions. (4.) That he is neither Omnipotent nor Unchangeable. (5.) That we are not to believe three Persons in the Godhead. (6.) That Jesus Christ has not the nature of God, but only a Divine Lordship. (7.) That he was not a Priest while upon Earth, nor did reconcile men to God. And, (8.) That there is no Deity in the Holy Ghost.” These propositions were condemned by the Parliament, and the Author committed to the Gate-House. But as soon as the Protector had dissolved his Parliament he gave him his Liberty.

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Protector.
1655.

Account of
Mr. Biddle
the Socinian.

After this, being of a restless Spirit, he challenged Mr. Griffin, a Baptist Preacher, to dispute with him in St. Paul's Cathedral, on this Question, “ Whether Jesus Christ be the most High, or Almighty God?” This occasioning new Disturbances, the Council committed him to Newgate, but the Protector thought it best to send him out of the Way, and accordingly transported him to Scilly, and allowed him one Hundred Crowns a Year for his Maintenance. Here he remained till the Year 1658. When the noise being over, he was set at Liberty; his Catechisms having been answered by Dr. Owen, in a learned and elaborate Treatise, entitled *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*, &c.

After the Protector's Death Biddle set up a private Conventicle in London, which continued till the Restoration, when the Church being restored to its coercive Power, he

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1655

he was apprehended while a Preaching, and committed to Prison, where he died, in September, 1662. and was buried in the burying ground in Old Bedlam. He had such a prodigious memory (says Wood) that he could repeat all St. Paul's Epistles in Greek, and was reckoned by those of his Persuasion a sober man, and so devout, that he seldom prayed without lying prostrate on the ground.

A severe Ordinance, against the old sequester'd Clergy.
Hughes's exact Abridgement of publick Acts and Ordinances,
4to. p 597.

Though it was well known by this, as well as other examples, that the Protector was against all acts of severity on the account of Religion, yet such was the turbulent behaviour of the Loyalists, who threaten'd an Assassination, published the most daring libels against the Government, and were actually in arms, that he thought it necessary to crush them, and therefore an Order was published November 24. "That no Persons after Jan. 1. 1655:6. shall keep in their houses or families as Chaplains or School-Masters, for the education of their children, any sequester'd or ejected Minister, Fellow of a College, or School-Master, nor permit their children to be taught by such. That no such persons shall keep School either publickly or privately, nor preach in any publick place, or private meeting, of any others than those of his own family; nor shall administer Baptism, or the Lord's Supper, or marry any persons, or use the Book of Common Prayer, or the Forms of Prayer therein contained, on pain of being prosecuted, according to the Orders lately published by his Highness and Council, for securing the Peace of the Commonwealth. "Nevertheless his Highness declares, that towards such of the said persons as have since their ejection or sequestration, given, or hereafter shall give, a real Testimony of their godliness, and good affection to the present Government, so much tendernefs shall be used as may consist with the safety and good of the Nation."

This was a severe and terrible Order upon the Episcopalians, and unjustifiable in it self; but the Title of the Act, which is an Ordinance for securing the Peace of the Commonwealth, as well as the last Clause, shews it was made for the Safety of the Government against a number of men that were undermining it, and was published chiefly in Terrorem, for no person was prosecuted upon it; nor did the Parliament, that met next year, confirm it, which made it absolutely void.

Protector is willing to dispense with the Ordinance.

Dr. Gauden presented a Petitionary Remonstrance to the Protector against this Order; and Archbishop Usher was desired to use his Interest with his Highness in

in behalf of the Episcopal Clergy; upon which (says the Writer of the Archbishop's Life) the Protector promised either to recal his Declaration, or to prevent its being put in Execution, "provided the Clergy were inoffensive in their Language and Sermons, and stood clear in meddling with Matters of State." His HIGHNESS accordingly laid the Matter before his Council, who were of Opinion, that it was not safe for him to recal his Declaration, and give open Liberty to Men who were declared Enemies to his Government, but that he should suspend the Execution of it as far as their Behaviour should deserve; so that here was no great Reason of Complaint, for notwithstanding this Ordinance the sober Episcopal Clergy preached publicly in the Churches, at London and in the Country, as Dr. Hall, afterwards Bishop of Chester, Dr. Ball, Dr. Wild, Dr. Hardy, Dr. Griffith, Dr. Pearson, Bishop of Chester, and others. Remarkable are the Words of Bishop Kennet to this Purpose; "It is certain," says his Lordship, that the Protector was for Liberty, and the utmost Latitude to all Parties, so far as consisted with the Peace and Safety of his Person and Government, and therefore he was never jealous of any Cause or Sect on the Account of Heresy or Falshood, but on his wiser Accounts of political Peace and Quiet; and even the Prejudice he had against the Episcopal Party was more for their being Royalists, than for being of the good old Church. Dr. Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely, kept a Conventicle in London, in as open a Manner as the Dissenters did against the Toleration; and so did several other Episcopal Divines."

Oliver
Protector.
1655.

Conf. Plea,
Part IV.
p. 410.
Compl. Hist.
p. 223.

For the same Reasons his Highness girt the Laws close upon the Papists, not upon account of their Religion, but because they were Enemies to his Government; for in the Month of May a Proclamation was published for the better executing the Laws against Jesuits and Priests, and for the Conviction of Popish Recusants; the Reason of which the Protector gives in his Declaration of Octob. 31st. published with the Advice of his Council, in these Words; "Because it was not only commonly observed, but there remains with us somewhat of Proof, that Jesuits have been found among discontented Parties of this Nation, who are observed to quarrel, and fall out with every Form of Administration in Church and State." The Protector gave Notice of the like kind to the Republicans, Fifth Monarchy Men, Levellers, and to the Presbyterians, that they

Reasons of
his Severity
against the
Papists.

Compl. Hist.
p. 255.
in Marg.

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Protector.
1655.

He is for en-
couraging
the Jews,

they should stand upon the same Foot with the Royalists, in case of any future Delinquencies.

Such was the Protector's Latitude, that he was for indulging the Jews, who petitioned for Liberty of their Religion, and for carrying on a Trade in London. Manasseh Ben Israel, one of their chief Rabbi's with some others, came from Amsterdam to Whitehall for this Purpose, whom the Protector treated with Respect, and summoned an Assembly of Divines, Lawyers, and Merchants, to consult upon the Affair: The Divines were to consider it as a Case of Conscience; the Lawyers to report how far it was consistent with the Laws of England; and the Merchants, whether it was for the Advantage of Trade and Commerce. Bishop Burnet apprehends, that the Protector designed the Jews for Spies in the several Nations of Europe; however, he was of Opinion, that their Admission under certain Limitations might be for the Advantage of Commerce; and told the Divines, that since there was a Promise in holy Scripture of the Conversion of the Jews, he did not know but the Preaching of the Christian Religion, as it was then in England, without Idolatry or Superstition, might conduce to it. But the Assembly not agreeing in their Opinions, the Affair was dropt, and the Petitioners return'd to Holland, where Manasseh Ben Israel writ a handsome Letter, now before me, which he calls, "An Answer to certain Questions propounded by a noble and learned Gentleman, touching the Reproaches cast upon the Nation of the Jews, wherein all Objections are candidly and fully stated." The famous Mr. Prynne and Mr. Dury a Presbyterian Minister, writ fiercely against the Admission of the Jews; but other Divines whom the Protector consulted, were for admitting them with some Limitations. I shall report their Resolution on this Point in their own Language.

Question, "Whether the Jews, at their Desire, may be admitted into this Nation to traffick and dwell among us, as Providence shall give Occasion?"

The Answer of those that were against it, was, that they could not think it lawful, for the following Reasons.

1. "Because the Motives on which Manasseh Ben Israel, in his Book lately printed, desires their Admission into this Commonwealth, are such, as we conceive, to be very sinful.

2. "The Danger of seducing the People of this Nation, by their Admission, is very great.

3. "Their

Arguments
for and a-
gainst it.

3. " Their having Synagogues, or any publick Meetings for the exercise of their Religion, is not only evil in itself, but likewise very scandalous to other Christian Churches.

4. " Their Customs and Practices concerning Marriage and Divorce are unlawful, and will be of very evil example amongst us.

5. " The Principles of not making Conscience of Oaths made, and Injuries done to Christians in Life, Chastity, Goods, or good Name, have been very notoriously charg'd upon them by valuable Testimony.

6. " Great Prejudice is like to arise to the Natives of this Commonwealth in matters of Trade, which, besides other Dangers here mentioned, we find very commonly suggested by the Inhabitants of the City of London."

Other Divines were of Opinion, That the Civil Magistrate might tolerate them under the following Limitations.

1. " That they be not admitted to have any publick Judicatories Civil or Ecclesiastical.

2. " That they be not permitted to speak, or do any Thing to the Defamation, or Dishonour of the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, or of the Christian Religion.

3. " That they be not permitted to do any Work, or any thing to the open Prophanation of the Lord's Day, or Christian Sabbath.

4. " That they be not permitted to have any Christians dwell with them as their Servants.

5. " That they have no publick Office nor Trust in this Commonwealth.

6. " That they be not allow'd to print any thing in our Language against the Christian Religion.

7. " That so far as may be, they be not suffered to discourage any of their own from using any proper Means, or applying themselves to any who may convince them of their Error, and turn them to Christianity. And that some severe penalty be impos'd upon them who shall apostatize from Christianity to Judaism."

Mr. Archdeacon Eachard says, " The Jews offered the Protector two hundred thousand pounds provided they might have St. Paul's Cathedral for a Settlement." And he adds the following malicious Reflection, That " the Money made his Highness look upon it as the Cause of God, but that both the Clergy and Laity so declaimed against

Oliver
Protector.
1655.

Remarks,
p. 716.

Oliver
Protector.
1655.

“ against them, that the religious Juggle would not take
“ place.” This the Archdeacon himself could not be-
lieve, as being quite out of Character, for he knew that
the Protector did not enrich his Family, nor value Money,
but for the publick Service. He concludes, That “ the
“ Jews could never be permitted to live long in a well set-
“ tled Monarchy.” What then does he call the Monar-
chy of England? Where the Jews have been indulged the
Exercise of their Religion, without doing any Damage to
the Religion or Commerce of the Nation for above sixty
years.

He assists the
Protestants
in the Val-
leys.

The Protector's Zeal for the Reformed Religion made
him the Refuge of persecuted Protestants in all Parts of the
World. The Duke of Savoy, at the instance of his Dut-
chess, sister to the Queen of England, determined to ob-
lige his Reformed Subjects in the Valleys of Piedmont to
embrace the Roman Catholick Religion or depart the Coun-
try. For this purpose he quartered an Army upon them,
which eat up their Substance. The Protestants making
some little Resistance to the Rudeness of the Soldiers,
the Duke gave Orders, that all the Protestant Families in
the Valley of Lucern should go into banishment, which
some obeyed, whilst the rest sent Deputies to the Court of
Turin, to implore mercy; but the Pope, and the Princes
of Italy, advised the Duke to improve the present Oppor-
tunity for extirpating the Reformed, and making all his
Subjects of one Religion. The Duke accordingly sent ex-
press Orders to his General to drive them all out of
the Country, with their Wives and Children, and to put to
Death such as should remain. This was executed with
great Severity, April 20. 1655. Those who escaped the
Sword fled into the Mountains, from whence, being ready
to perish with hunger and cold, they sent their Agents to
the Lord Protector of England, and other Protestant Pow-
ers for Relief. It was the beginning of May when his
Highness was first made acquainted with their Distress, when
he appointed a general Fast, and charitable Contributions
throughout all England for their present Assistance; and
such was the Compassion of the People, that the Collecti-
on amounted to thirty seven thousand and ninety seven
pounds, seven shillings and three pence. About thirty thou-
sand pounds was remitted to their Deputies at several Pay-
ments, in this and the next year; but the Confusions which
followed upon the Protector's death prevented the clearing
the whole Account till the Convention Parliament at the

Resto-

Oliver
Protector.
1655.

Restoration, who ordered the remaining seven thousand pounds to be paid. The Protector applied to the Protestant Kings of Sweden and Denmark; to the States of Holland, the Cantons of Switzerland, and the Reformed Churches of Germany and France; and by his powerful influence procured large contributions from those parts. He writ to the King of France, and to Cardinal Mazarine; and being glad of an Opportunity to strike Terror into the Roman Catholick Powers, he sent Samuel Moreland, Esq; with a Letter to the Duke of Savoy, in which, having represented the Cruelty and Injustice of his Behaviour towards the Protestants in the Valleys, he tells him, " That he " was pierced with grief at the news of the sufferings of " the Vaudois, being united to them not only by the common ties of humanity, but by the profession of the same " Faith, which obliged him to regard them as his Brethren; " and he should think himself wanting in his Duty to God, " to Charity, and to his Religion, if he should be satisfied " with pitying them only (whose miserable Condition was " enough to raise Compassion in the most barbarous Minds;) " unless he also exerted himself to the utmost of his Ability " to deliver them out of it." This awaken'd the Popish Powers, inasmuch that Mazarine writ in the most pressing language to the Court of Turin, to give the Protector immediate Satisfaction; with which the Dutchess reproached him, because he had made no Terms for the English Papists; but his Eminence replied, " We must leave to God " the Care of defending the Catholicks, whose Cause is " most just; but that of the Hereticks needs for its support the clemency of princes." Upon this the Persecution immediately ceased; the Duke recalled his armies out of the Valleys, and restored their Goods; the poor people returned to their houses, and recovered all their antient rights and privileges. But to strike some further terror into the Pope, and the little Princes of Italy, the Protector gave out, that for as much as he was satisfied they had been the promoters of this persecution, that he would keep it in mind, and lay hold of the first opportunity to send his Fleet into the Mediterranean, to visit Civita Vecchia, and other parts of the Ecclesiastical Territories; and that the sound of his cannon should be heard in Rome itself. He declared publicly that he would not suffer the Protestant Faith to be insulted in any part of the world; and therefore procured Liberty to those of Bohemia and France; nor was there

Burnet, p.
76.

Oliver
Protector.
1655.

Original of
the Society
for the Sons
of the Cler-
gy.

there any Potentate in Europe so hardy as to risk his displeasure by denying his requests.

The Charitable Society for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen, since known by the Name of the "Corporation for the Sons of the Clergy," had its beginning this year, the first Sermon being preached by the Reverend Mr. George Hall, Son of the famous Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, then Minister of Aldersgate, but afterwards Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Bishop of Chester. The Sermon was entitled, "God's appearing for the Tribe of Levi, improved in a Sermon preached at St. Paul's, Novemb. 8. 1655. to the Sons of Ministers then solemnly assembled, from Numb. xvii. 8. The Rod of Aaron budded, and bloomed Blossoms, and yielded Almonds." The Preacher's Design was to enforce the necessity and Usefulness of a settled Ministry; and though there were some passages that discovered him to be a Prelatist, the main part of the Sermon breaths Moderation; "Let those ill-invented Terms (says he) whereby we have been distinguished from each other, be swallowed up in that name which will lead us Hand in Hand to Heaven, the Name of Christians. If my Stomach, or any of yours, rise against the Name of brotherly Communion, which may consist with our several Principles retain'd, not differing in Substantials, God take down that Stomach, and make us see how much we are concerned to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace——Why should some, in the Height of their Zeal for Liturgy, suppose there can be no Service of God but where that is used? Why should others, again, think their Piety concern'd and trespass'd upon, if I prefer, and think fit to use a set Form? There must be Abatements and Allowances of each other; a coming down from our Puntilio's, or we shall never give a good Account to God——" From this time Sermons have been preached annually, and large Contributions made for the Widows and Children of Clergymen. In the Reign of King Charles II. they became a Body Corporate; and their present Grandeur is sufficiently known to the whole Nation.

Death of
Abp. Usher.

On the 21st of March, this year, died the most reverend and learned Archbishop Usher, born in Dublin, 1580, and educated in Trinity College. He proceeded M. A. in the year 1600. and next year was ordain'd Deacon and Priest by his uncle Henry Usher, then Archbishop of Armagh. In the year 1620. he was made Bishop of Meath, and four years after

after Archbishop of Armagh; in which Station he continued till the Dissolution of the Hierarchy by the Civil Wars. In his younger Years he was a Calvinist, but in his advanced Age he embraced the middle Way between Calvin and Arminius. He was one of the most moderate Prelates of his Age, and allowed of the Ordinations of foreign Protestants; which none but he and Bishop Davenant, and one or two more among the Bishops of those Times, would admit. The Archbishop having lost all his Revenues by the Irish Rebellion, the King conferr'd upon him the Bishoprick of Carlisle in Commendam. In 1643. he was nominated one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, but did not appear among them. As long as the King was at Oxford he continued with him, but when the War was over he returned to London and lived privately, without any Molestation. He assisted at the Treaty of the Isle of Wight, but could do no Service, the contending Parties being then at too great a Distance to be reconciled. A little before the King's Death the Archbishop was chosen Preacher to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's-Inn, with whom he continued seven Years, preaching constantly, all Term Time, till his Eyes failing, he quitted the Place about a Year and a half before his Death, and retired with the Countess of Peterborough to her House at Rygate. The Protector had a high Esteem for this excellent Prelate, and consulted him about proper Measures for advancing the Protestant Interest at home and abroad: He allowed him a Pension, and promised him a Lease of part of the Lands of his Archbishoprick in Ireland for Twenty one Years; but his Death prevented the Execution of the Design. About the Middle of Feb. the Archbishop went down to Rygate, and on the 20th of March was taken ill of a Pleurisy, of which he died the next Day, in the Seventy sixth Year of his Age, having been Fifty five Years a Preacher, Four Years Bishop of Meath, and Thirty one Years Archbishop of Armagh. The Archbishop was one of the most learned Men of his Age; he had a penetrating Judgment, a tenacious Memory; and withal was a most pious, humble, and modest Christian. His Body was of the smaller Size, his Complexion sanguine, but his Presence always commanded Reverence. The Protector did him the Honour of a publick Funeral, and buried him at his own Expence, in King Henry VII's Chapel.

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Protector.
1655.

Mr. Stephen Marshall, B. D. was born at God-Manchester in Huntingdonshire, and was educated in Cambridge, and afterwards beneficed at Finchingfield in Essex; where he

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gained such Reputation by his Preaching, that he was often called to preach before the Long Parliament, who consulted him in all Affairs relating to Religion. He was one of the Assembly of Divines, and employed in most, if not all the Treaties between the King and Parliament. Mr. Eachard, according to his usual Candor, calls him, "A famous Incendiary, and Assistant to the Parliamentarians, their Trumpet in their Fast, their Confessor in their Sickness, their Counsellor in their Assemblies, their Chaplain in their Treaties, and their Champion in their Disputations;" and then adds, "This great Shimei being taken with a desperate Sickness departed the World mad and raving." A notorious Falshood! for he was a Person of sober and moderate Principles, insomuch that Mr. Baxter used to say, That if all the Bishops had been of the Spirit and Temper of Archbishop Usher, the Presbyterians of the Temper of Mr. Marshall, and the Independants like Mr. Jer. Burroughs, the Divisions of the Church would have been easily compromised. When he was taken ill, and obliged to retire into the Country for the Air, the Oxford Mercury said he was distracted, and in his Rage constantly cried out, That he was damned for adhering to the Parliament in their War against the King. But he lived to confute the Calumny, and published a Treatise, to prove the Lawfulness of defensive Arms in Cases of Necessity. He was an admired Preacher, and far from running into the Extremes of the Times. In the Decline of his Life he retired from the City, and spent the two last Years of his Life in Ipswich. The Reverend Mr. G. Firmin, in a Preface to one of Mr. Marshall's Posthumous Sermons, writes, that he had left few such Labourers as himself behind him; that he was a Christian by Practice as well as Profession; that he lived by Faith, and died by Faith, and was an Example to the Believers in Word, in Conversation, in Charity, in Faith, and Purity. That when he and others were talking with Mr. Marshall about his Death, he replied, "I cannot say, as he, I have not so lived that I should now be afraid to die; but this I can say, I have so learned Christ, that I am not afraid to die." He enjoyed the full Use of his Understanding to the last; but lost the Use of his Hands and Appetite, in so much that he could eat nothing for some Months before he died. Mr. Fuller says, That he performed his Exercise for Batchelor of Divinity with general Applause; that he was a good Preacher, but so supple, that he break not a Joint in all the Alteration of the Times; and although some suspected him of deserting his Presbyterian Principles, yet upon his Death-

Death-Bed he gave them full Satisfaction that he had not. His Remains were solemnly buried in Westminster-Abbey, but were dug up again at the Restoration.

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Protector.
1656.

The Protector having as yet no better than a Military Title to his high Dignity resolved to obtain a more legal One as soon as the Times would admit. He had now cut his Way through a great many Difficulties, and the Success of his Arms this Summer having raised his Reputation to an uncommon Pitch of Greatness, he resolved to summon a new Parliament to meet at Westminster, Sept. 17. to confirm his Title to the Protectorship; and the Republicans being his most dangerous Enemies, the Protector sent for Sir H. Vane and Major General Ludlow, to give Security not to act against the present Government. He asked Ludlow what made him uneasy? or, What he would have? Ludlow answer'd, He would have the Nation governed by its own Consent. I am, said the Protector, as much for a Government by Consent as any Man; but where shall we find that Consent? Among the Prelatical, Presbyterian, Independant, Anabaptist, or Levelling Parties? The Other replied, among those of all Sorts who have acted with Fidelity and Affection to the Publick. The Protector finding that he was for throwing all Things back into Confusion, told him, That all Men now enjoyed as much Liberty and Protection as they could desire, and that he was resolved to keep the Nation from being embroued again in Blood. "I desire not, says he, to put any more Hardships upon you than upon myself; nor do I aim at any Thing by this Proceeding but the publick Quiet and Security. As to my own Circumstances in the World, I have not much improved them, as these Gentlemen (pointing to his Council) well know." But Ludlow, Sir Henry Vane, and Colonel Rich, persisting in their Refusal to give Security, were taken into Custody. Bishop Burnet says, That others solicited him to restore the young King, and that the Earl of Orrery told him, he might make his own Terms; but that Cromwel replied, "That the Son could never forgive his Father's Blood; and that he was so debauched he would undo every Thing." It was therefore resolved to set him aside, and proceed upon the present Plan.

Protector
calls a new
Parliament.
Life of
Cromwel.
p. 349.

When the Parliament met according to Appointment, the Reverend Dr. Owen preached before them, his Text was Isa. xiv. 32. "What shall one then answer the Messengers of the Nation? That the Lord hath founded Zion, and the Poor of his People shall trust in it."

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Protector.
1656.

They are
obliged to
recognize
the Govern-
ment.
Whitt.
p. 640.

From the Abbey the Protector went with the Members to the Painted Chamber, where he made a Speech, and then dismissed them to their House; but to prevent their entering into Debates about his Title, a Guard was placed at the Door, with a Paper of Recognition for each Member to subscribe, wherein they promise, "Not to act any Thing prejudicial to the Government as it was established under a Protector." Upon their subscribing this, if they were under no other Disqualification they had a Certificate of their Return, and of their being approved by his Highness and Council. This last was certainly inconsistent with the Freedom of Parliaments; for if the Crown has a Negative upon the Return of the Members, they are Tools of the Crown, and not Representatives of the People; because, though they are legally chosen, and returned by the proper Officer, a superior Tribunal may set them aside. Besides, if the Parliament was to give a Sanction to the new Government, the Recognition was absurd, because it obliged them to consent to that which they had no liberty to debate. It must therefore be allowed, that Cromwel's Protectorship was built only upon the Authority of the Council of Officers: This being one of those Fundamentals which his Highness would not suffer any of his Parliaments to debate. But 'tis highly probable that these Stretches of Power might be absolutely necessary at this Time, to hold the Government together, and that without them the several Parties would have fallen to Pieces, and involved the Nation in Confusion and a new War. The Parliament in their humble Petition and Advice guarded against the Exclusion of their Members for the future, except by a Vore of the House, which the Protector freely consented to, so that this was only a temporary Expedient, and not to be made a Precedent of; but at present almost one Hundred Members refused to subscribe, and were therefore excluded. These presented a Petition to the sitting Members for Redress, but were answer'd, That the Protector had promised to relieve them, if they could shew Cause of Complaint. But instead of this, they appealed to the People in a severe Remonstrance, charging his Highness with invading their fundamental Rights and Liberties, and preventing the free Meeting of the Representatives of the People in Parliament. To which it was answered, That if they would not so much as own the Protector, they had no Colour or Pretence to call themselves Members of Parliament.

The

The sitting Members having chosen Sir Thomas Widdrington their Speaker, approved of the War with Spain, and raised Taxes to support his Highness in the Prosecution of it. They renounced and disannulled the Title of Charles Stuart; and pass'd an Act, making it High Treason to compass or imagine the Death of the Lord Protector. They reviewed the Orders and Ordinances of the Protector, and his Council, in the Intervals of Parliament, and confirmed most of them. They abrogated the Authority and Power of the Major Generals, conceiving it inconsistent with the Laws of England, and Liberties of the People. These and some other Acts hereafter mentioned, were presented to his Highness, Nov. 27. for Confirmation; and as he was pleased to confirm them all, he told them, "That as it had been the Custom of the Chief Governors to acknowledge the Care and Kindness of the Commons upon such Occasions, so he did very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their Kindness therein." But the Parliament continued sitting till next Year, when we shall meet with more important Transactions.

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Protector.
1656.

Their Acts.

The Act for Security of the Protector's Person was no sooner passed but a Plot was discovered against his Life. Miles Syndercomb, a Leveller, a bold resolute Man, having been disbanded in Scotland, combined with one Cecil, and another of the Protector's Life-Guard, to assassinate him as he was going to Hampton-Court; but being disappointed once and again by some unexpected Accidents, the other Conspirators discovered the Plot. Syndercomb put himself on his Trial, and was condemned on the Statute 25th of Edward III. the Chief Justice Glynne declaring, that by the Word King in the Statute any chief Magistrate was understood. But Syndercomb prevented the Execution, for the very Morning he was to suffer he was found dead in his Bed; whereupon his Body was tied to a Horse's Tail, and dragged naked to the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, and then buried with a Stake driven through it. However, a Day of publick Thanksgiving was appointed for the Protector's Deliverance, Feb. 20. when his Highness gave the Speaker, and Members of Parliament, a splendid Entertainment at the Banqueting House.

Synder-
comb's
Plot.

The War with Spain this Summer was attended with vast Success, for no sooner had the King of Spain seized the Effects of the English Merchants in his Country, but the Protector ordered his Admirals, Blake and Montague, to block

Spanish
Plate Fleet
taken.

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Protector.
1656.



up the Harbour of Cadiz, and look out for the Plate Fleet, which Captain Stayner, who was left with seven Men of War upon the Coast, while the Admirals were gone to Portugal for fresh Water, discovered, consisting of eight Men of War making directly for Cadiz; Stayner bore up to them with all the Sail he could make, and engaged them within four Leagues of their Port; the Spanish Admiral run his Ship ashore with six hundred Thousand Pieces of Eight; but the Vice-Admiral, with twelve hundred Thousand Pieces of Eight; and another Galleon were fired and sunk; the Rear-Admiral, with two Millions of Plate in her, was taken; and upon the Whole, six of the eight Ships were destroyed; the Plate, to the Value of two Millions, was brought to Portsmouth, and conveyed in Carts to London, and carried through the City to the Tower to be coined. Admiral Blake, with the rest of the Fleet, rode out all the Winter upon the Coast of Spain, and destroyed another Fleet of much greater Value the next Summer.

History of
the Quakers
continued.

After the Discovery of Syndercomb's Plot, the Prelatists, Presbyterians, and Levellers, were pretty quiet, but the Quakers began to be very troublesome. The Reader has been informed under the Year 1650. that George Fox travell'd the Countries, declaiming in the Market Places, and in Churches, against all ordained Ministers, and placing the Whole of Religion in an inward Light, and an extraordinary Impulse of the Holy Spirit. In the Year 1652 the Quakers set up separate Assemblies in Lancashire, and the adjacent Parts. In 1654. they set up the first separate Meeting of the People called Quakers in the House of Robert Dring, in Watlin Street, London. These unwary People, by their interrupting publick Worship, and refusing to pay any Respect to the Magistrate, exposed themselves very often to Sufferings. One of them, in a Letter to the Protector, says, "That
" though there are no penal Laws in force obliging Men to
" comply with the established Religion, yet the Quakers
" are exposed upon other Accounts; they are fined and im-
" prisoned for refusing to take an Oath; for not paying
" their Tithes; for disturbing the publick Assemblies,
" and meeting in the Streets, and Places of publick Re-
" sort; some of them have been whipp'd for Vagabonds,
" and for their plain Speeches to the Magistrate."
But the Quakers were so far from being discouraged, that they opened a publick Meeting under favour of the Toleration, at the Bull and Mouth Inn, in Aldersgate Street, where

where Women as well as Men spake as they were moved ; and when none were moved there was no speaking at all. The Novelty of this Assembly drew great Numbers of People thither out of curiosity ; nor did any one give them Disturbance, as long as they continued quiet within themselves ; but in several Places, where they had no Business, the extravagance of their Speakers was insufferable ; one of them interrupted the Minister in White-chapel Church, and disturbed the whole Assembly. A Female, contrary to the modesty of her Sex, came into Whitehall Chapel stark naked, in the midst of publick Worship, the Lord Protector himself being present. Another came into the Parliament House with a Trenchard in her Hand, which she broke in pieces, saying, “ Thus shall ye be broke in Pieces.” Thomas Adams having complained to the Protector of the Imprisonment of some Friends in the Country, and not finding Redress, he took off his Cap and tore it in pieces, saying, “ So shall thy Government be torn from thee and thy House.” Several pretending an extraordinary Message from Heaven, went about the Streets of London denouncing the Judgments of God against the Protector and his Council. One came to the Door of the Parliament House with a drawn Sword, and flashed divers, saying, “ He was inspired by the Holy Spirit to kill every Man that sat in the House.” Others in their prophetick Raptures denounced Judgments on the whole Nation, and frequently disturbed the publick Assemblies where the chief Magistrate himself was present. Many opened their Shops on the Lord’s Day, in defiance of the Laws, and were so very obstinate and intractable, that it was impossible to keep the Peace without some marks of Severity.

But the most extravagant Quaker that appeared at this Time was James Naylor, formerly an Officer in Major General Lambert’s Troop in Scotland, a Man of good natural Parts, and an admired Speaker among these People ; some of whom had such a Veneration for him, that they stiled him in blasphemous Language, the “ everlasting Son of Righteousness ; the Prince of Peace ; the only begotten Son of God ; the fairest among ten Thousand.” Some of the Friends kissed his Feet in the Prison at Exeter, and after his Release went before him into the City of Bristol after the manner of our Saviour’s Entrance into Jerusalem : One walked bareheaded ; another of the Women led his Horse ; others spread their Scarves and Handkerchiefs before him in they Way, crying continually as they went on, “ Holy, Holy, “ Holy,

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Protector
1656.

Their Ex-
travagancies.
Sewel’s
Hist. p. 401.

Whitl. p.
592.

Of James
Naylor.

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“ Holy, is the Lord God of Hosts ; Hosanna in the Highest ;
“ Holy, Holy, is the Lord God of Israel.” Upon this the
Magistrates of Bristol caused him to be apprehended, and sent
up to the Parliament, who appointed a Committee to examine
Witnesses against him, upon a Charge of Blasphemy ;
(1.) For admitting Religious Worship to be paid to him.
And, (2.) For assuming the Names and incommunicable
Titles and Attributes of our blessed Saviour, as the Name
JESUS, “ the fairest among ten Thousand, the only begotten
“ Son of God, the Prophet of the most High, the King of
“ Israel, the everlasting Son of Righteousness, the Prince of
“ Peace.” All which he confessed, but alledged in his own
Defence, that these Honours were not paid to him, but to
Christ who dwelt in him.

The Committee asked him, Why he came in so extraordinary
a manner into Bristol ? To which he replied, That “ he
“ might not refuse any Honours which others who were
“ moved by the Lord gave him.” Being further asked,
Whether he had reproved the Persons who gave him those
Titles and Attributes ? He answered, “ If they had it from
“ the Lord, what had I to do to reprove them ? If the
“ Father has moved them to give these Honours to Christ, I
“ may not deny them ; if they have given them to any other
“ but to Christ I disown them.” He concluded his Defence
thus ; “ I do abhor that any Honours due to God should be
“ given to me as I am a Creature ; but it pleased the Lord
“ to set me up as a sign of the coming of the righteous One,
“ and what has been done to me passing through the Town,
“ I was commanded by the Power of the Lord to suffer to
“ be done to the outward Man, as a Sign ; but I abhor any
“ Honour as a Creature.”

From the Committee he was brought to the Bar of the
House, where the Report being read, he confessed it ; upon
which the House voted him guilty of Blasphemy, and ordered
him to be set in the Pillory two Hours at Westminster, and
two Hours at the Old Exchange ; that he should be whip’d
through the Streets from Westminster to the Old Exchange ;
that his Tongue should be bored through with an hot Iron,
and his Forehead stigmatized with the Letter B. he was af-
terwards to be sent to Bristol, and to ride through the City
with his Face to the Horse’s Tail, and to be whip’d the next
Market Day after he came thither. Last of all, he was to be
committed to Bridewell in London, to be restrained from Com-
pany, and to be put to hard Labour till he should be released by
Parliament ;

Parliament ; during which Time he was to be debarr'd from Pen, Ink, and Paper, and to have no Sustenance but what he got by his daily Labour. A Sentence much too severe for such a simple obstinate Creature.

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December 18. James Naylor stood in the Pillory in the Palace Yard, Westminster, and was whip'd to the Old Exchange ; the remainder of his Sentence being respited for a Week, in which time the Reverend Mr. Caryl, Manton, Nye, Griffith, and Reynolds, went to him, in order to bring him to some acknowledgment of his Crime, but not being able to reclaim him, the remainder of his Sentence was executed December 27. when some of his Followers licked his Wounds, and paid him other Honours both ridiculous and superstitious. He was afterwards sent to Bristol, and whip'd from the middle of Thomas Street, over the Bridge to the middle of Broadstreet. From Bristol he was brought back to Bridewell. London, where he continued sullen for three Days, and would not work, but then begg'd for Victuals, and was content to labour.

His Suffer-
ings-

At length, after two Years Imprisonment, he recanted his Errors so far as to acknowledge, That the Honours he received at his Entrance into Bristol were wrong ; " and all those " ranting, wild Spirits which gathered about me (says he) at " that Time of Darkness, with all their wild Acts, and " wicked Works against the Honour of God, and his pure " Spirit, and People, I renounce. And whereas I gave Advantage, through want of Judgment, to that evil Spirit, I " take shame to my self." After the Protector's Death James Naylor was released out of Prison, and writ several Things in defence of the Quakers, who owned him as a Friend, notwithstanding his extravagant Behaviour ; but he did not long survive his Enlargement, for retiring into Huntingdonshire, he died there towards the latter End of the Year 1660. about the forty fourth Year of his Age. Mr. Whitlock observes very justly, That many thought he was too furiously prosecuted by some rigid Men.

Other Extravagancies of this People are recorded by our Historians about this Time. The Protector was continually teased with their Importunities ; they waited for him on the Road, and watched about his Palace, till they got an Opportunity to speak to him. George Fox, and others, writ Letters filled with Denunciations of Divine Judgments, unless he would pull down the Remains of Antichrist, by which they understood Church Ministers, and Church Maintenance. But the Protector paid them no regard.

As

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Protector.
1656.

Ordinance
for better
Observation of the
Sabbath.
Scobel,
P. 438.

As new Inroads were made upon the Ordinances for Observation of the Sabbath, the Parliament took care to amend them. This Year they ordained, that “ the Sabbath should
“ be deemed to extend from Twelve of the Clock on Saturday Night to Twelve of the Clock on Lord’s Day Night;
“ and within that compass of Time they prohibited all Kinds
“ of Business and Diversions, except Works of Necessity
“ and Mercy. No Election of Magistrates is to be on the
“ Lord’s Day, no holding of Courts, or return of Writs,
“ but if, according to their Charters, they fall upon the Lord’s
“ Day, they are to be deferr’d to Monday. It is further
“ enacted, That all Persons not having a reasonable Excuse,
“ to be allowed by a Justice of Peace, shall resort to some
“ Church or Chapel, where the true Worship of God is
“ performed, or to some Meeting Place of Christians not
“ differing in Matters of Faith from the publick Profession of
“ the Nation, on Penalty of two Shillings six Pence for every
“ Offence. It is further ordained, That no Minister
“ shall be molested, or disturbed in the Discharge of his Office
“ on the Lord’s Day, or any other Day, when he is
“ performing his Duty, or in going, or coming from the
“ Place of publick Worship. Nor shall any wilful Disturbance
“ be given to the Congregation, on Penalty of five
“ Pounds, or being sent to the Workhouse for six Months,
“ provided the Information be within one Month after the
“ Offence is committed.” This Ordinance to be read in
every Church or Chapel of this Nation annually, the first
Lord’s Day in every March.

Against
Papists.

The Oath of Abjuration, for discovering Popish Recusants, not being effectual, it was now further ordained, “ That all
“ Justices of Peace at the Quarter Sessions should charge the
“ Grand Juries to present all Persons whom they suspected
“ to be popishly affected; and that every such Person should
“ appear at the next Quarter Sessions, and take and subscribe
“ the following Oath of Abjuration, on Penalty of being adjudged
“ Popish Recusants convict to all Intents and Purposes
“ whatsoever.

Their Oath.
Scobel,
P. 444.

“ I A. B. do abjure and renounce the Pope’s Supremacy
“ and Authority over the Catholick Church in general,
“ and over my self in particular. And I do believe the
“ Church of Rome is not the true Church; and that
“ there is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of
“ the Lord’s Supper, or in the Elements of Bread,
“ and

“ and Wine after Consecration thereof, by any person
 “ whatsoever. And I do also believe, that there is not any
 “ Purgatory; and that the consecrated Hosts, Crucifixes,
 “ or Images, ought not to be worshipped; neither that any
 “ Worship is due unto them. And I also believe, that Sal-
 “ vation cannot be merited by Works. And I do sincerely
 “ testify and declare, that the Pope, neither of himself,
 “ nor by any authority of the Church, or See of Rome, or
 “ by any other means with any other, hath any power or
 “ authority to depose the chief Magistrate of these Nations;
 “ or to dispose of any of the Countries or Territories there-
 “ unto belonging; or to authorize any foreign Prince or
 “ State to invade or annoy him, or them; or to discharge
 “ any of the people of those Nations from their Obedi-
 “ ence to the chief Magistrate; or to give Licence or
 “ Leave to any of the said People to bear Arms, raise tu-
 “ mults, or to offer any Violence or Hurt to the Person of
 “ the said chief Magistrate, or to the State or Government
 “ of these Nations, or to any of the People thereof. And
 “ I do further swear, that I do from my heart abhor, de-
 “ test and abjure, this damnable Doctrine and Position,
 “ that Princes, Rulers and Governors, which be excom-
 “ municated, deprived by the Pope, may, by virtue of
 “ excommunication or deprivation, be killed, murdered,
 “ or deposed from their Rule or Government; or any out-
 “ rage or violence done to them by the people that are un-
 “ der them; or by any other whatsoever upon such pre-
 “ tence. And I do further swear, that I do believe that
 “ the Pope, or Bishop of Rome, hath no authority, pow-
 “ er, or jurisdiction whatsoever, within England, Scotland,
 “ and Ireland, or any, or either of them, or the domini-
 “ ons or territories thereunto belonging, or any, or ei-
 “ ther of them. And all Doctrines in affirmation of the
 “ same points I do abjure and renounce, without any equi-
 “ vocation, mental reservation, or secret evasion whatso-
 “ ever, taking the words by me spoken according to the
 “ common and usual meaning of them. And I do believe
 “ no power derived from the Pope or Church of Rome, or
 “ any other person, can absolve me from this mine Oath.
 “ And I do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the
 “ contrary. So help me God.”

Upon refusal of this oath the Protector and his Successors
 might by Process in the Exchequer seize upon two thirds of
 heir Estates both real and personal, for the use of the Pub-
 lick,

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Protector.
1656.

lick, during the time of their recusancy; but after their decease it was to return to the right heir, provided they took the above-mentioned oath. It was further ordained, “ That no Subject of this Commonwealth shall at any time “ be present at Mass, in the House of any foreign Ambassador, or Agent; or at any other place, on penalty “ of one hundred pounds, and imprisonment for six months, “ half to the Protector, and half to the Informer.” How far these Severities were necessary or justifiable I leave with the judgment of the Reader.

Protector
assists the
Protestants
of Nismes.

The Protector had an opportunity this year of appearing for the Protestants of France, as he had done last year for those of the Valleys; there happened a quarrel between the Burghers of Nismes, who were mostly Hugonots, and the Magistrates and Bishop of the City; the Intendant of the Province being informed of it repaired thither to prevent an insurrection; but the Burghers standing in their own defence raised a tumult, of which the Intendant sent an account to Court. The Burghers being quickly sensible of their folly submitted, and begged pardon; but the Court laying hold of the opportunity, resolved to ruin them. Upon which they dispatched a Messenger privately to Cromwel, and begged his interposition. The Protector having heard the whole account, bid the Messenger stay and refresh himself, and before he could return to Paris his business should be done. Accordingly an Express was immediately dispatched with a Letter to the King of France, under cover of the following to Cardinal Mazarine.

To his Eminence the Lord Cardinal Mazarine.

“ **H**A V I N G thought necessary to dispatch this Gentleman to the King with the enclosed Letter, I “ commanded him to salute your Eminence on my part; “ and have charged him to communicate to you certain “ affairs which I have entrusted him with: I therefore pray “ your Highness to give credit to what he shall say, having “ an entire confidence in him.

Whitehall, Dec.
28th, 1656.

Your Eminence's most Affectionate,
O. Cromwel, Protector of the
Commonwealth of England,
&c.

The

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The Protector added the following Postscript with his own Hand; "I have been informed of the tumult at Nismes, I recommend to your Highness the interest of the Reformed." And in his instructions to his Ambassador Lockhart he commanded him to insist peremptorily, that the tumult at Nismes be forgiven, or else to leave the Court immediately. Mazarine complained of this usage, as too high and imperious; but his Eminence stood in too much awe of the Protector to quarrel with him, and therefore sent orders to the Intendant to make up the matter as well as he could. Mr. Welwood says, the Cardinal would change countenance whenever he heard the Name of the Protector, insomuch that it became a Proverb in France, that Mazarine was not so much afraid of the Devil as of O. Cromwel. Such was the Terror of this great Man's Name not only in France, but in all the Courts of Europe!

This year died the Right Reverend, and Pious Dr. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, whose practical Works have been in great esteem among the Dissenters. He was born at Ashby de la Zouch in Leicestershire, and educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge. When he left the University he travelled with Sir Edmund Bacon to the Spaw in Germany. Upon his return he was taken into the Service of Prince Henry, and preferred to the Rectory of Waltham in Essex, where he continued twenty two years. King James sent him to the Synod of Dort with other English Divines, where he preached a Latin Sermon; but was forced to retire to England before the Synod broke up, on the account of his health. Some time after his return he was preferred to the Bishoprick of Exeter, and from thence translated to Norwich. At the beginning of the Troubles between the King and Parliament the Bishop published several Treatises in favour of Diocesan Episcopacy, which were answered by Smectymnus, as has been related. He was afterwards imprisoned in the Tower with the rest of the protesting Bishops; upon his release he retired to Norwich, but the Revenues of his Bishoprick were soon sequestered, together with his own personal and real estate, and he was forced to be content with the fifths. The Soldiers used him severely, turning him out of his Palace, and threatening to sell his Books, if a friend had not given bond for the money, at which they were appraised. The

The Death
of Dr. Hall.
Bp. of Nor-
wich.

Bishop

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Protector.
1656.

Fuller's
Worthies,
Book II. p.
130.

Of Mr.
Capel.
Fuller's
Worthies,
p. 260.

Bishop complained very justly of this usage, in a Pamphlet entitled "Hard Measure." At length the Parliament, to make him some amends, voted him 40 l. per Annum; and when the War was over, in the year 1647, they took off the Sequestration from his estate, and the Bishop lived peaceably upon it afterwards, spending his time in Acts of charity, meditation, and solitude. He was a learned and pious Man, and of great humility and goodness in conversation; but his being the tool of Archbishop Laud in supporting the divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy, did him no service with the Parliament. Mr. Fuller says, he was frequently called our English Seneca, for the pureness, plainness, and fulness of his Style. He was more happy in his practical than polemical Writings. There is one remarkable passage in his Will, which is this, after having desired a private Funeral, he adds, "I do not hold God's " House a meet Repository for the dead Bodies of the " greatest Saints." In his last Sickness he was afflicted with violent Pains of the Stone and Strangury, which he bore with wonderful patience, till death put an end to all his troubles, Sept. 8th, 1656, in the eighty second year of his age.

Towards the latter end of the year died the Reverend Mr. Richard Capel, born at Gloucester 1584, and educated in Magdalen College, Oxon, where he proceeded M. A. His Eminency in the University (says the Oxford Historian) was great; he had divers learned Men for his Pupils, who were afterwards famous in the Church, as Accepted Frewen, Archbishop of York, William Pemble, and others. He left the University for the Rectory of Eastington in his own Country, where he became famous for his painful and practical Preaching, as well as for his exemplary Life. When the Book of Sports came out, 1633, he refused to read it, but resigned his Rectory, and turned Physician. In 1641, he closed with the Parliament, and was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines, but declined sitting among them, chusing to reside at his Living at Pitchcomb, near Stroud, where he was in great reputation as a Physician and Divine, preaching gratis to his Congregation. He published several valuable Treatises, and among others a celebrated one, "Of Temptations, " their Nature, Danger, and Cure." He was a good old Puritan, of the stamp of Mr. Dod, Cleaver, and Hilderham; and died at Pitchcomb in Gloucestershire, Sept. 21, 1656, aged seventy two years.

The

The Parliament, which met Sept. 17th, continued sitting to the next year, having before them an affair of the greatest consequence, which was confirming the Government under Cromwel as Lord Protector, or changing it for the Title of King. Colonel Jephson, one of the Members for Ireland, moved, that the Protector might have the Crown with the Title of King, and was seconded by Alderman Pack, Member for the City of London; but the Republicans in the House opposed it with great vehemence; however, upon putting the question, it was carried for a King; most of the Lawyers, as Serjeant Glyn, Maynard, Fountain, St. John, and others, being on that Side. April 4th, a Petition was presented to the Protector, recommending the Title and Office of a King, as best fitted to the Laws and Temper of the People of England; and upon his desiring time to consider of it, a Committee was appointed to give him satisfaction in any difficulties that might arise, who urged, “ that the Name of Protector was unknown to our English Constitution——That his Highness had already the Office and Power of a King, and therefore the Dispute was only about a Name——That his Person would never be secure till he assumed it, because the Laws did not take notice of him as chief Magistrate, and Juries were backward to find Persons guilty of Treason where there was no King——They urged the advantages of a mixed Monarchy, and insisted on the Safety and Security of himself and his Friends——That by the Laws of Edw. IV. and Henry VII. whatever was done by a King in possession, with the consent of a House of Lords and Commons, was valid, and all that served under him were exempt from punishment—— That without this Title all the Grants and Sales that had been made were null and void; and all that had collected the publick Moneys were accountable——In short, that the inclinations of the Nation were for a King—— That his not accepting the Office would occasion the changing many ancient Laws, Customs, and Formalities—— That there would be no lasting Settlement till things reverted to this Channel—— To all which they added, that it was the advice and opinion of the Representatives of the three Nations; and since the Parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, advised and desired him to accept the Title, he ought not in reason or equity to decline it”.

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Protector.
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Debates
about the
Title of
King.
Whitt. p.
646.

The

Oliver
Protector
1657.

The Protec-
tor's
Reasons for
declining it.
Burnet. p.
68, 70.

The Protector attended to these Arguments, and would no doubt have complied, if he could have relied upon the Army; but the chief Officers remonstrated strongly against it, and many of his old Friends, among whom was his own Son-in-Law Fleetwood, threaten'd to lay down their Commissions. All the Republicans declaimed loudly against his accepting the Crown, and presented a Petition to the House against it, drawn up by Dr. Owen, and presented by Lieutenant General Mason: They said, "they had pull'd down Monarchy with the Monarch, and should they now build it up?—They had appealed to God in the late War, who had answered in their Favour, and should they now distrust him?—They had voted to be true to the Commonwealth without King or King-ship, and should they break their vows, and go back to Egypt for security?—They thought it rather their happiness to be under a legal danger, which might make them more cautious and diligent—Some said, if they must have a King, why not the legal one—" Upon these grounds they stood out, and rejected with scorn all Limitations of the Prerogative under a kingly Government. So that whatever might be the Protector's Inclination, he judged it most prudent to decline the Crown for the present; and accordingly, May 8. he sent for the House, and acquainted them, that "as the circumstances of Affairs then stood, he could not undertake the Government with the Title of King."

Remarks.
Whitt.
p. 646.

Some have been of opinion, that the Protector's great Genius forsook him in this Affair; but it is impossible, at this distance of time, to judge of the strength of the Reasons that determin'd him the other Way. Had he assumed the Title of King the Army would have revolted; the Cavaliers would have joined the Republicans to have pulled him down from the Throne, the whole Nation would in all probability have been thrown into confusion, and himself have been the Sacrifice. The Protector had made large advances in Power already, and he might apprehend it not worth while at present to risk the whole for the sake of a Name; though I make no question, but if he had lived to see his Government established, and the Spirits of the People calmed, he would in a proper time have accepted of the Stile and Title of King, as well as the Office. Nay, Mr. Welwood says, That a Crown was actually made, and brought to Whitehall for that Purpose.

Upon

Upon Cromwel's declining the Title of King the Parliament concluded upon an humble Petition and Advice, which was presented to the Protector May 25, containing, among others, the following Articles.—“ That his Highness would exercise the Office of Chief Magistrate of this nation under the Title of Lord Protector; and that during Life he would declare his Successor—That for the future he would be pleased to call Parliaments, consisting of two Houses, to meet once in three years, and oftener, if there be occasion—That the antient Liberties of Parliament may be preserved; and that none who are chosen may be excluded but by the Judgment and Consent of the House of which they are Members—That no Papist, no person that has borne Arms against the Parliament, unless he has since given proof of his good affection to the Commonwealth; no Clergyman, no Atheist, or openly prophane person, be qualified to be chosen Member of Parliament—That the other House of Parliament be not more than seventy, nor less than forty, of which twenty one to make a House — That they may not vote by proxy—That as any of them die no new ones be admitted but by Consent of the House itself, but the nomination to be in the Protector; and that they may not proceed in any criminal causes but by Impeachment of the Commons—That no Laws be abrogated, suspended, or repealed, but by Act of Parliament; and that no person be compelled to contribute to any Gift, Loans, Benevolences, or Taxes, without Consent of Parliament—That the number of his Highness's Council be not more than twenty one, of which seven to be a Quorum; and that no Privy Counsellor be removed but by consent of Parliament; though in the intervals of Parliament they may be suspended—That the Chancellor, or Keeper of the Great Seal, the Commissioners of the Treasury, and other chief Officers of State, may be approved by both Houses of Parliament—

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Protector.
1657.
Parliament's
Petition and
Advice.
Whitl.
Memoirs.
p. 678.

The Article relating to Religion was in these Words; “ That the Protestant Christian Religion contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and no other, be asserted and held forth, as the publick Profession of this Nation; and that a Confession of Faith, to be agreed upon by your Highness and this present Parliament, be asserted, and recommended to the People of the Nation; and that none shall be permitted by appro-

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“ brious words or writing to revile or reproach the said Con-
 “ fession. That such who profess Faith in God the Father,
 “ and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God ; and
 “ in the Holy Ghost, God co-equal and co-eternal with the
 “ Father and the Son, One God, blessed for ever, and do
 “ acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New
 “ Testament to be the revealed Will and Word of God,
 “ tho’ in other things they may differ in Word and Doc-
 “ trine, or Discipline, from the publick Profession held forth,
 “ shall not be compelled by penalties, or restraints, from
 “ their Profession, but shall be protected from all Injuries
 “ and Molestations in the profession of their Faith, and ex-
 “ ercise of their Religion, while they abuse not this liber-
 “ ty to the civil injury of others, or the disturbance of the
 “ publick Peace ; provided this Liberty do not extend to
 “ Popery or Prelacy, or to the countenance of such who
 “ publish horrid Blatphemies ; or who practise or hold
 “ forth licentiousness or prophaneness, under the profession
 “ of Christ ; and those Ministers, or publick Preachers,
 “ who agree with the publick Profession aforesaid in mat-
 “ ters of Faith, tho’ they differ in matters of Worship or
 “ Discipline, shall not only have protection in the way of
 “ their Churches or Worship, but shall be deemed equally
 “ fit and capable (being otherwise qualified) of any Trust,
 “ Promotion, or Employment in this Nation, with those
 “ who agree with the publick Profession of Faith, only they
 “ shall not be capable of receiving the publick Maintenance
 “ appointed for the Ministry. And all Ministers shall re-
 “ main disqualified from holding any civil Employment, ac-
 “ cording to the Act for disabling all persons in holy Or-
 “ ders to exercise any temporal Jurisdiction and Authority,
 “ which is hereby confirmed.”

The Protec-
tor's new
Title.

The Protector having consented to these, and some other Articles to the number of eighteen, an oath was appointed to be taken by all Privy Counsellors, and Members of Parliament for the future, “ To maintain the Protestant Reli-
 “ gion ; to be faithful to the Lord Protector ; and to pre-
 “ serve the Rights and Liberties of the People ;” and a few days after Oliver Cromwel was proclaimed a second Time Lord Protector in the Cities of London and Westminster ; this being esteemed a new, and more parliamentary Title ; and if the House had been full and free it might have been so, but the Council’s assuming a Power to approve or disapprove of the Members after they were returned ;

returned; their forbidding them to debate the fundamentals of the new Government, and obliging them to sign a Recognition of it before they entered the House, looks like a force, or taking the Election out of their hands. But as lame and imperfect as the Protector's Title may seem to be, it was as good as that of the Roman Emperors, or the original Claims of many of the Royal Houses of Europe; and in the present disjointed State of the English Nation, not only necessary, but it may be the best thing that could be done; for if the Protectorship had been set aside, there was hardly a Man in the House who would have ventured to vote in the King; an absolute Commonwealth could not have been supported, and therefore the Government must have been dissolved.

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This being the last settlement of Government in the Protector's Time, the Reader will observe, that the four fundamental Articles already mentioned, (viz.) That the Government be in a single person and a Parliament. (2.) That Parliaments be not perpetual. (3.) The Militia. And, (4.) Liberty of Conscience in matters of Religion, were not suffer'd to be examined or altered, but were supposed as the Basis upon which the new Government was to be built—That tho' Oliver's Title to the Government had the Sanction and Confirmation of the present Parliament, it was derived originally from the choice of the Council of Officers, and was never suffered to be debated in the House afterwards—That the Humble Petition and Advice approaches nearer the old legal Constitution, by appointing two Houses of Parliament, and would, no doubt, in time, have been converted into it—That the regulations it makes in the Constitution are for the most part reasonable—That the Presbyterians were still left in possession of all the Ecclesiastical Revenues of the Kingdom, tho' an open and free Liberty was granted to all Christians, but Papists and Prelatists, who were excepted for Reasons of State; and the penal Laws made against the latter were dropt by the Parliament's not confirming them. Remarkable are the words of the Lord Commissioner Fiennes, at the opening of the Second Session of this Parliament, in which he “warns
“the Houses of the Rock on which many had split, which
“was a Spirit of imposing upon Men's Consciences in things
“wherein God leaves them a latitude, and would have them
“free. The Prelates and their adherents; nay, and their
“master and supporter, with all his posterity, have split upon it. The bloody rebels in Ireland, who would endure

Remarks.
p. 93.

Oliver
Protector.
1657.

“ no Religion but their own, have split upon it ; and we
 “ doubt not but the Prince of those satanical Spirits will in
 “ due time split upon it, and be brought to the ground with
 “ his bloody Inquisition. But as God is no Respector of
 “ persons, so he is no Respector of Forms, but in what
 “ Form soever the Spirit of Imposition appears, he will tes-
 “ fy against it. If Men, tho’ otherwise good, will turn Ce-
 “ remony into Substance, and make the Kingdom of Christ
 “ consist in circumstances, in discipline and forms ; and if
 “ they carry their animosities to such an height, that if one
 “ says Sibboleth instead of Shibboleth, it shall be accounted
 “ ground enough to cut his Throat : If they shall account
 “ such Devils, or the Seed of the Serpent, that are not
 “ within such a circle, or of such an opinion, in vain do they
 “ protest against the persecution of God’s People, when
 “ they make the definition of God’s People so narrow, that
 “ their persecution is as broad as any other, and usually
 “ more fierce, because edged with a sharp temper of Spirit.
 “ Blessed therefore be God, who in Mercy to us and them,
 “ has placed the Power in such hands as make it their busi-
 “ ness to preserve peace, and hinder Men from biting and
 “ devouring one another—It is good to hold forth a publick
 “ profession of the Truth, but not so as to exclude those
 “ that can’t come up to it in all points from the privilege
 “ that belongs to them as Christians, much less from the
 “ privilege that belongs to them as Men.”

Protector’s
second In-
stalment.

His Highness having now a more parliamentary Title, it was thought proper that he should have a more solemn Inauguration, which was accordingly appointed to be on June 26, in Westminster Hall, which was adorned and beautified for this purpose as for a Coronation. At the upper end there was an ascent of two degrees covered with Carpets, in the midst of which there was a rich Canopy, and under it a Chair of State. Before the Canopy there was a Table and Chair for the Speaker, and on each side seats for the Members of Parliament, for the Judges, for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London. The Protector was conducted from the House of Lords with all the State and Grandeur of a King, and being seated under the Canopy of State, the Speaker of the Parliament, the Earl of Warwick, and Commissioner Whitlock, vested him with a purple Velvet Robe lined with Ermin : They delivered into one of his hands a Bible richly gilt, and embossed with Gold ; and into the other a Scepter of massy Gold ; and, Lastly, they girt him with a rich Sword ; after this they administer’d an Oath

Oath to the Protector, to govern according to Law. The Solemnity concluded with a short Prayer pronounced by Dr. Manton; and then the Herald having proclaimed his Highness's Titles, the People shouted with loud Acclamations, Long live the Lord Protector, &c. and the Day concluded with Feastings, and all other Kinds of Rejoicing.

Oliver
Protector.
1657.

The Protector having waded through all these Difficulties to the Supreme Government of these Nations, appeared on a sudden like a Comet or blazing Star, raised up by Providence to exalt this Nation to a distinguish'd Pitch of Glory, and to strike Terror into the rest of Europe. His Management, for the little Time he survived, was the Admiration of all Mankind; for tho' he would never suffer his Title to the supreme Government to be disputed, yet his greatest Enemies have confessed, that in all other Cases distributive Justice was restored to its antient Splendor. The Judges did their Duty according to Equity, without Covetousness or Bribery; the Laws had their full and free Course without Impediment or Delay; Men's Manners were wonderfully reformed, and the Protector's Court was under an exact Discipline. Trade flourished, and the Arts of Peace were cultivated throughout the whole Nation; the publick Money was managed with Frugality, and to the best Advantage; the Army and Navy were well paid, and served accordingly. As the Protector proceeded with great Steadiness and Resolution against the Enemies of his Government, he was no less generous and bountiful to those of all Parties who submitted to it; for as he would not declare himself of any particular Sect, he gave out that "it was his only Wish, that all would gather into one Sheepfold, under one Shepherd, Jesus Christ, and love one another." He respected the Clergy in their Places, but confined them to their spiritual Function. Nor was he jealous of any that did not meddle in Politicks, and endeavour to raise Disturbances in the State: Even the Prejudice he had against the Episcopal Party (says Bishop Kennet) was more for their being Royalists than being of the Church of England. But when one Party of the Clergy began to lift up their Heads above their Brethren, or to act out of their Sphere, he always found Means to take them down. He had a watchful Eye over the Royalists and Republicans, who were always plotting against his Person and Government; but his erecting a House of Lords, or Upper House, so quickly after Instalment, roused the Malecontents, and had like to have subverted his Government in the Infancy of it.

His Grandeur and wife Administration. Eachard, p. 719. Compl. Hist, p. 223.

Oliver
Protector.
1657.

Protector's
Treaty with
France.
Burnet,
p. 73.

The Protector was in high Reputation abroad, and carried Victory with his Armies and Navies where-ever they appeared. There had been a Negotiation with France concerning an Alliance against Spain, begun at London 1655. but not concluded till March 13. 1657. by which the Protector obliged himself to join six Thousand Men with the French Army, and to furnish fifty Men of War to conquer the maritime Towns belonging to Spain in the Low Countries, on this Condition, that Dunkirk and Mardyke should be put into his Hands, and the Family of the Stuarts depart the Territories of France. That which determined him to join with France rather than Spain, was the numerous Parties that were against him at home; for if the young King, assisted by France, should have made a Descent upon England with an Army of the French Protestants, it might have been of fatal Consequence to his infant Government; whereas the Spaniards were at a Distance, and having no Protestant Subjects, were less to be feared. Upon the Conclusion of this Treaty King Charles enter'd into an Alliance with the Spaniard, who allowed him a small Pension, and promised him the Command of six Thousand Men as soon as he was possessed of any Sea-port in England. In Consequence of this Treaty most of the Royalists went into the Spanish Service. But the Protector's six Thousand Men in Flanders behaved with undaunted Bravery, and took St. Venant, Mardyke, and some other Places, from the Spaniards this Summer.

Admiral
Blake de-
stroys the
Spanish
Galleons.

Admiral Blake was no less successful at Sea, for having received Advice of the Return of the Spanish West India Fleet, he sailed to the Canaries with Twenty five Men of War, and on the 20th of April arrived at the Bay of Sancta Cruz, in the Island of Tenariff, where the Galleons, to the Number of sixteen, richly laden, lay close under a strong Castle, defended by seven Forts mounted with Cannon; the Admiral finding it impossible to make them a Prize, had the good Fortune to burn and destroy them all, only with the Loss of one Ship, and one Hundred and sixty Men. When the News of this Success arrived in England a Day of Thanksgiving was appointed, and a rich Present ordered the Admiral upon his Return; but this great Sea-Officer having been three Years out at Sea, died as he was entering Plymouth Sound, Aug. 17. in the Sixty seventh Year of his Age. He was of the antient Family of the Blakes of Planchfield, Somersetshire, and was educated in Wadham College, Oxford. He was small of Stature, but the bravest and

His Death
and Cha-
racter.
Eachard,
p. 725.

and boldest Sailor that England ever bred, and consulted the Honour of his Country beyond all his Predecessors. When some of his Men being ashore at Malaga refused to do Honour to the Host as it passed by, one of the Priests raised the Mob upon them. Upon which Blake sent a Trumpet to the Viceroy to demand the Priest, who saying he had no Authority to deliver him up, the Admiral answered, that if he did not send him aboard in three Hours he would burn the Town about their Ears; upon which he came and begged Pardon; the Admiral, after a severe Reprimand, told him that if he had complained to him of his Sailors he would have punished them, but he would have all the World know, that an Englishman was only to be punished by an Englishman, and so dismissed him, being satisfied that he had struck Terror into the Priest, and had him at his Mercy. When Oliver read this Passage of Blake's Letter in Council, he said, "He hoped to make the Name of an English Man as great as ever that of a Roman had been." The Admiral kept an exact Discipline in the Fleet, and taught his Men to despise Castles on Shore, as well as Ships at Sea. Valour seldom missed its Reward with him, nor Cowardice its Punishment. He had a noble publick Spirit, for after all his Services for the Honour of his Country, and Opportunities of getting immense Riches from the Spaniards, he died not five Hundred Pounds richer than his Father left him. His Body was brought by Water to Greenwich, and buried in a most magnificent Manner, in a Vault made on purpose in King Henry Seventh's Chapel, at the publick Expence; but at the Restoration, his Body was taken out of the Grave, and flung with others into a common Pit; and his Brother, being a Dissenter, suffered so many Hardships for Religion in King Charles the Second's Reign, that he was obliged to sell the little Estate the Admiral left him, and transport himself and Children to Carolina.

Oliver
Protector.
1657.

Burnet,
P 81.

By the Second Article of the Humble Advice, which appoints all future Parliaments to consist of two Houses, the Form of the present Government began to change in favour of the antient Constitution. The Protector, pursuant to the Powers given him, made several Promotions of Knights and Lords, in the Months of December issued out Writs, by Advice of his Council to divers Lords and Gentlemen, to sit as Members of the other House, at the next Session of Parliament, Jan. 20. His Intention was to have this House considered as a House of Peers, tho' he declined giving it that Name till a more favourable Conjunction. Some declined

Protector
constitutes
an upper
House of
Parliament.

Oliver
Protector.
1657.

the Honour, and chose to sit in the Lower House, but between Fifty and Sixty appeared, among whom were seven or eight of the antient Peers, divers Knights and Gentlemen of good Families, and some few chief Officers of the Army. They met in the House of Lords, whether his Highness came at the time of their meeting, and according to antient custom, sent the Usher of the Black Rod to bring up the commons, to whom he made a short Speech from the Throne, beginning with the usual Form, My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees, &c. and then as our Kings used to do, he referr'd them to the Lord Commissioner Fiennes, who tir'd them with a long and perplexed Harangue before they enter'd upon Business.

Bad Consequences of it.

This hasty Resolution of the Protector and his council had like to have subverted the Infant Government, for many of the Protector's best Friends being called out of the Lower House to the Upper, the Balance of power among the Commons was changed; whereas if he had deferr'd the Settling of the Upper House till the present Parliament had been dissolved, they would have gone through their Business without interruption; but the Lower House was now in a Plante, some being disappointed in their Expectations, and others envied for their Advancement, insomuch that as soon as they returned to their House, they call'd for the third Article of the Humble Advice, which says that no "Members legally chosen shall be excluded from performing their Duty, but by consent of the House of which they are Members;" and then to strengthen their Party, they ordered all those who had been excluded last Sessions, because they would not recognize the new Government to return to their places; which was no sooner done but they began to call in question the Authority and Jurisdiction of the other House, tho' themselves had advised it, and tho' there was almost the same Reason for their being an Upper, as for the others being a Lower House; but these Gentlemen were determined to erect an absolute Commonwealth on the Ruins of the present Family. Many degrading Speeches were made in the Lower House against the Persons that sat in the Upper, who were no less resolute in defending their Honours and Characters; so that there was no prospect of an Agreement till the Protector himself appeared, and having sent for them to Whitehall, spoke with such an Accent in Favour of the Other House, that they returned and acknowledged it; but then they went on to re-examine the Validity of the whole Instrument of Government as being

ing made when many Members were excluded. Upon which the Protector being out of all Patience, went to the House and dissolved them after they had sat about fifteen Days.

The Protector's Speech upon this Occasion will give the Reader the best Idea of the state of the Nation, which was to this Purpose; "I had comfortable expectations that God would make the meeting of this Parliament a Blessing, for the Improvement of Mercy, Truth, Righteousness and Peace. I was drawn into this Office of Protector by your Petition and Advice, there is not a Man living that can say I sought it, but after I was petitioned and advised to take the Government upon me I expected that the same Men that made the Frame should make it good to me——I told you at a conference, that I would not accept the Government unless there might be some Persons to interpose between me and the House of Commons, and it was granted I should name another House, which I did, of Men of your own Rank and Quality, who will shake Hands with you while you love the Interest of England and Religion——Again I would not have accepted the Government unless mutual Oaths were taken to make good what was agreed upon in the Petition and Advice; and God knows, I took the Oath upon the Condition expressed, and thought we had now been upon a foundation and Bottom, otherwise we must necessarily have been in Confusion. I do not say what the meaning of the Oath was to you; that were to go against my own Principles, but God will judge between us; but if there had been any intention in you of a Settlement, you would have settled on this Basis. "But there have been contrivances in the Army against this Settlement by your Consent. I speak not this to the Gentlemen, or Lords (pointing to his right Hand) whatsoever you will call them, of the other House, but to you; You advised me to accept of this Office, and now you dispute the thing that was taken for granted, and are in Danger of running the Nation back into more Confusion within these fifteen Days you have sat, than it has been since the rising of the last Session, from an immoderate Design of restoring a Commonwealth, that some People might be the Men that might rule all, and they are endeavouring to engage the Army in the Design; which is hardly consistent with the Oath you have taken to the present Government. Has that Man been true to the Nation, whosoever he is, that has taken an Oath,

Oliver
Protector
1657.

Protector's
Speech at
the Dissolu-
tion of the
Parliament.
Rapin,
p. 337.

Oliver
Protector.
1657.

“ Oath, thus to prevaricate? These things are not according to truth, pretend what you will, but tend to play the King of Scots Game, which I think myself bound before God to do what I can to prevent. There are preparations of Force to invade us; the King of Scots has an Army at the Water-side ready to be shipped for England. I have it from those who have been Eye-Witnesses of it; and while this is doing there are endeavours of some not far from this Place, to stir up the People of this town into tumulting, what if I had said Rebellion, and I hope to make it appear to be no better, if God assist me. You have not only endeavoured to pervert the Army while you have been sitting, but some of you have been lifting Persons by commission from Charles Stuart to join with any Insurrection that may be made, and what is like to be the end of this but Blood and Confusion! Now if this be the Case, I think it high Time to put an end to your sitting, and I do accordingly dissolve this Parliament; and let God judge between me and you.”

He purges
the Army.

The Protector being now convinced, that the disturbances in Parliament arose from the chief Officers of the Army, who clog'd his Affairs in order to introduce a Commonwealth Government, resolved to clear his Hands of them at once; Harrison and Ludlow were laid aside; Fleetwood was recall'd from his Government in Ireland; Major General Lambert was ordered to surrender his Commission; and the rest were obliged to take an Oath not to oppose the present Government. By such Methods he went on purging the Army and Navy; and if he had lived a little longer would have had none in Power but such as were thoroughly attached to his Person and Government. It was observed after this that all things succeeded at home and abroad according to his wish; and that his power and greatness were better established than ever, tho' there were a few Malecontents that were so hardy as to attempt some little Disturbances; but the Disasters that befel the protector's Family soon after broke the Firmness of his constitution, and hastned his End.

And projects
an Union of
the whole re-
formed In-
terest
Burn. p. 77

It was his Highness's Ambition, not only to set himself at the Head of the Protestant Interest, but to strengthen the whole Body, and unite the several Members, so that it might rival in greatness and power the Church of Rome itself. Bishop Burnet informs us, That he had projected a Sort of general council, to be set up in opposition to the congregation De Propaganda Fide at Rome; it was to consist of seven Councillors, and four Secretaries for different Provinces;

Provinces; the first was for France, Switzerland, and the Valleys; the second for the Palatinate, and other Calvinists; the third for Germany, for the North, and for Turkey; the fourth for the East and West Indies. The Secretaries were to have five Hundred Pounds a year each, and to hold a Correspondence every where, to acquaint themselves with the State of Religion all over the World, that so all good Designs for the Welfare of the whole, and of the several Parts, might by their means be protected and assisted. They were to have a Fund of ten Thousand Pounds a Year, and to be further supplied as Occasion should require. Chelsea College was to be fitted up for them. This was a noble Project (says the Bishop) and must have been attended with extraordinary effects under the protection of a power which was formidable and terrible to all Nations to whom it was known.

About the Beginning of this Year Dr. Bryan Walton afterwards Bishop of Chester, published the Biblia Polyglotta, in six Volumes in Folio, wherein the sacred Text is printed in the vulgar Latin, Hebrew, Greek, Syriack, Chaldee, Samaritan, Arabick, Æthiophick, and Persick Languages, each having its peculiar Latin Translation, with an Apparatus for the better understanding those Tongues. This laborious performance, by the Assistance of several that engaged in it, was compleated in about four Years, and was reckon'd the most absolute Edition of the Bible that the World had ever seen. Several learned Persons, both Puritans and others, assisted in correcting the Press, and in collating the Copies. Many noblemen, and Gentlemen of Quality, contributed to the expence of printing this Work without which it could not have seen the Light. After the Restoration the Doctor presented King Charles II. with the six Volumes, which his Majesty received very graciously, and rewarded the Author with the Bishoprick of Chester.

The learned Dr. Owen made some remarks on the Prolegomena of this Work; but after an high Commendation of the Performance in general, complains that the Author had weakened the certainty of the sacred Text, (1.) By main taining that the Points or Vowels of the Hebrew Language were of novel Intention. (2.) By producing a great Number of various Readings from antient Copies of little Moment. (3.) By his own critical Remarks and Amendments not supported by antient Authorities. The Doctor maintains on the other Hand, the antiquity of the Hebrew Points, and their absolute Necessity to fix the determinate Sense of Scripture; that the various readings are of little Consequence,

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1657.

Consequence, and that conjectural Amendments ought not to be admitted without the Authority of antient Copies. The Doctor writes with great Modesty, but the validity of his Arguments must be left with the learned Reader.

Protector
resigns his
Chancellor-
ship.

On the third of July the Protector resign'd his Chancellorship of Oxford, and upon the eighteenth Day of the same Month his eldest Son Richard was chosen his Successor, and installed at Whitehall on the twenty ninth. About six weeks after, the new Chancellor dismissed Dr. Owen, who had been Vice-Chancellor of the University about five Years, and appointed Dr. John Conant, Rector of Exeter College, to succeed him. This Gentleman, says the Oxford Historian, was a good Latinist, and Grecian, a profound Theologist, a learned, pious, and meek Divine, and an excellent Preacher. He had been one of the Assembly of Divines, and was elected Rector of this College upon the Death of Dr. Hakewell, in June 1649. In the latter end of the year 1654, he became King's professor of Divinity in the Room of Dr. Hoyle. He continued in the Vice-chancellorship two Years with due commendation, keeping a severe discipline in his College, as did all the Heads of Colleges in these times. He was ejected out of every thing in 1662. for Non-conformity; but some time after being persuaded to comply with the Establishment, he became Vicar of all Saints in Northampton, Archdeacon of Norwich, and Prebendary of Worcester; which places he held till his Death, which did not happen till 1693.

And ap-
points his
Son Henry
Lieut. of
Ireland.

Nov. 24. His Highness sign'd a Commission, appointing his younger Son Henry to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with a Power of conferring the Honour of Knighthood. Henry was a wise and discreet Governor, and by his prudent Behaviour kept the Irish in Awe, and brought the Nation into a flourishing Condition. Upon the Accession of Richard to the Protectorship he advised him to abide by the Parliament, and to have watchful Eye over the Army, whom he suspected to be designing mischief (as appears by his Letters now before me.) Nay, he offered to come over to his Assistance, but was forbid till it was too late. When Richard was deposed his Brother Henry laid down his Charge, and came over to England, and lived privately upon a little Estate of his own in Northamptonshire till his Death. While he was in Ireland he behaved with such a generous Impartiality as gained him the Esteem even of the Royalists themselves; and after his Retirement King Charles II. did him once the Honour of a Visit; He had a Son who was bred to Arms, and died in the Service of the Crown about the Year 1711.

and

and left behind him several Sons, who are yet living in the City of London, and are the only descendants of the Protector Cromwel, the Posterity of Richard being extinct.

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Protector.
1657.

The Royal Society, which has been the Ornament of the English Nation, by the vast Improvements it has made in natural and experimental Philosophy, was formed at Oxford in these times, which some have represented as covered with Ignorance, Barbarism, and Pedantry; The words of Bishop Sprat, their Historian, are these, " It was some space after the end of the civil Wars at Oxford, in Dr. Wilkins's Lodgings, in Wadham College, which was then the place of Resort for virtuous and learned Men, That the first meetings were made which laid the Foundation of all that followed. The University had, at that time, many Members of its own, who had begun a free way of reasoning, and was also frequented by some Gentlemen of philosophical Minds, whom the misfortunes of the Kingdom, and the Security and ease of a Retirement among Gownsmen had drawn thither—The principal, and most constant of them were, Dr. Seth Ward, Mr. Boyle, Dr. Wilkins, Sir William Petty, Mr. Matthew Wren, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Goddard, Dr. Willis, Dr. Bathurst, Dr. Christopher Wren, and Mr. Rook; besides several others who joined them on occasions.—Their meetings were as frequent as their occasions would permit; their proceedings were upon some particular trials in Chymistry or Mechanicks, which they communicated to each other. They continued without any great Interruption till the Death of the Protector, when their meetings were transferr'd to London." Here they began to enlarge their Design, and formed the Platform of a Philosophical College, to enquire into the works of nature: They set up a Correspondence with learned Foreigners, and admitted such into their Numbers without distinction of Names or Parties in Religion; and were at length incorporated by royal Patent, or charter in the Year 1663.

Original of
the Royal
Society.

p. 53. 57.

This Year died Mr John Langley, the noted Master of St. Paul's School, London; he was born at Bandbury in Oxfordshire, about the Year 1612. he commenc'd M. A. and was Prebendary of Gloucester, where he kept a School for twenty years. In the year 1640. he succeeded Dr. Gill, chief Master of St. Paul's School, where he educated many who were afterwards serviceable in Church and State. He was an universal Scholar, and excellent Linguist, Grammarian, Historian, Cosmographer, a most judicious Divine, and so great an Antiquarian (says the Oxford Historian) that his

Death of
Mr. Lang-
ley.

Delight

Oliver
Protector.
1657.

Delight and Acquaintance in Antiquity deserves greater commendation than can be given in a few Lines. He was esteemed by learned Men, and particularly by Mr. Selden; but was not regarded by the Clergy because he was a Puritan, and a witness against Archbishop Laud at his Trial. He was a member of the assembly of divines, and died at his House next adjoining to St. Paul's School, Sept. 13. 1657. Dr. Reynolds preached his Funeral Sermon, and gave him a very high encomium.

Of Mr.
Sedgwick

Mr Obadiah Sedgwick was born at Marlborough in the Year 1600. and educated in Magdalen College Oxford, where he took the Degrees in Arts, and was afterwards Chaplain to Sir Horatio Vere, with whom he travell'd into the Low Countries. After his Return he became Reader of the Sentences 1629. and was afterwards chosen Preacher to the inhabitants of St. Mildred Breadstreet, London; but being driven from thence by the Severity of the Governors of the Church he retired to Coggeshall in Essex, where he continued till the breaking out of the Civil Wars. In 1643. he was chosen a member of the assembly of Divines. In 1646. he became Preacher at St. Paul's Covent Garden: He often preached before the Parliament, and was esteemed an Orthodox, as well as an admired preacher. In the year 1653. he was appointed one of the Triers, and the Year after one of the commissioners for ejecting scandalous Ministers; but finding his Health declining he resigned his Preferments, and retir'd to his native Town of Marlborough, where he died the beginning of January, 1657.

Of Mr. Cor-
bet.
Wood's
Fasti.

Mr. Edward Corbet was born in Shropshire, and educated in Merton College, Oxford, where he took the Degrees in Arts, and was made Probationer Fellow of his College. In 1638 he was one of the Proctors of the University; but being a puritan Divine was denied the Rectory of Chatham by Archbishop Laud, then in the Tower; upon which an Ordinance of Parliament then came out, May 17. 1643. appointing him Rector of Chatham. He was a Member of the Assembly of Divines, a Witness against the Archbishop at his Trial; one of the preachers appointed to reconcile the Oxford Scholars to the Parliament; and afterwards one of the Visitors, Orator, and Canon of Christ Church, in the Room of Dr. Hammond, which he soon after quitted, and became Rector of Great Haseley in Oxfordshire, where he continued to his Death. He was a very considerable Divine, a valuable Preacher, and a Person of great Conscience and Honesty.

Of Mr.
Cranford.
Wood's Ath.
Ox.
p. 211.

Mr. James Cranford was born in Coventry, and some time Master of the Free-School there: He was educa-
ted

ted in Baliol College, Oxford, where he took the Degrees in Arts, and was at length Rector of St. Christopher's le Stocks, near the Old Exchange, London. He was an exact Linguist, well acquainted with the Fathers and Schoolmen as well as with the modern Divines; a zealous Presbyterian, and a laborious Preacher. Mr. Fuller adds, That he was a subtle Disputant, orthodox in Judgment, and a person of great Humility, Charity, and Moderation towards all Men. In the Beginning of the Civil wars he was appointed Licenser of the Press in London, which gave him an Occasion to write several Epistles before Books, besides some Treatises that he published of his own. He died April 27. 1657. aged about Fifty five Years.

Oliver
Protector.
1657.

Fuller's
Worthies,
Book III.
p. 128.

The Protector's Arms were no less successful this Summer, than last, for in the Month of June, Marshal Turenne in conjunction with the English Forces, laid siege to Dunkirk, then in Possession of the Spaniards, which brought on a Battle between the two Armies: The Spanish Forces consisted of 30000 Men, but Major General Morgan, who covered the Siege, attacked the right Wing of the Spanish Army which came to relieve it with 6000 English, who routed the whole Army, which was followed with the Surrender of the Town, June 25. The French look'd on, and said, 'They never saw a more glorious Action in their lives. Cardinal Mazarine intended to keep this important place in French Hands, contrary to the late treaty; of which his Highness being informed, acquainted the Ambassador; but his Excellency denying any such intended Breach of Contract, the Protector pulled out of his Pocket a Copy of the Cardinal's private Order, and desired him to let his Eminence know, that if the Keys of Dunkirk were not delivered to Lockhart within an Hour after it was taken, he would come in Person, and demand them at the Gates of Paris; and the Cardinal had too great a Dread of the Name of Cromwel to deny any thing he required. By this conquest the Protector gained immortal Glory, because it gave the English a Settlement on the Continent, and made them Masters of both Sides of the Channel. How basely it was sold by Lord Clarendon to the French will be seen hereafter.

1658.

Dunkirk delivered to the English.

The enthusiastick Republicans, or Fifth Monarchy Men, having failed of their Design in Parliament, agreed, to the Number of three Hundred, to attempt a Revolution of Government by Force, and having killed the Protector, to proclaim King Jesus; but Secretary Thurloe, who never spared cost to gain Intelligence, had a Spy among them,

Plot of the
Fifth Monarchy Men.
Comp. Hist
p. 223.
Eachard.
p. 730.

who

Oliver
Protector.
1658.

who discovered their Intrigues, and seized their Arms and Ammunition in Shoreditch, with their Standard, containing a Lion Couchant, alluding to the Lion of the Tribe of Judah, with this Motto, Who will Rouse him up. The chief of the Conspirators, as Venner, Gray, Hopkins, &c. were imprisoned in the Gate-House till the Protector's Death, with their Accomplices, Major General Harrison, Colonel Rich, Colonel Danvers, and others, after which they created new Disturbances, which hastned their own Destruction, soon after the King's Restoration.

And of the
Cavaliers.

But the most formidable Conspiracy against the Government was a new one of the Cavaliers, with which the Protector acquainted the Lord Mayor and Common Council of the City in a Speech, wherein he informed them that the Marquis of Ormond had been privately in London three Weeks to promote the King's Affairs, who lay ready on the coast with an Army of eight thousand Men, and twenty two ships; that there was a Design to seize the Tower; and that several ill affected Persons were endeavouring to put themselves in Arms for that purpose; he therefore desired them to put the City into a posture of Defence, professing a more passionate Regard for their Safety than his own. The Citizens returned his Highness Thanks, and in an Address promised to defend his Person and Government with their Lives and Fortunes. The like Addresses came from several of the Regiments at home, and from the English Army in Flanders. This was the plot the Protector mentioned in his Speech to the Parliament, and was discovered by one Stapley, whose Father had been one of the King's Judges. Immediately after the Dissolution of the Parliament three of the conspirators were apprehended, and tried before an High Court of Justice, according to the late Act for the Security of his Highness's person. Mr. Mordaunt, younger Son and Brother of the Earl of Peterborough, was acquitted by one Vote; but the other two, Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewet were condemned. The Doctor was indicted for holding correspondence with Charles Stuart, for publishing him to be King of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and for sending him Money. He behaved with great Boldness towards his Judges, and kept his Hat upon his Head while the charge was reading; but an Officer being sent to take it off, he saved him the Trouble. The Doctor then refused to plead three Times, disowning the Jurisdiction of the Court; but tho' they read the clause in the late Act, by which they were empowered to be his Judges, he

D. Hewet's
Trial.
Eachard.

he continued mute; upon which one of the Judges summed up the Charge, and was going to pronounce Sentence, when he offered to put himself upon his Trial, but he was told it was then too late, so judgment was given against him as a Mute. The Doctor had prepared a Plea and Demurer to the Jurisdiction and Proceedings of the Court, and Exceptions to their Judgment, drawn up in Form by Counsel, and ready to be engrossed, but was not suffer'd to have them argued. However, he had the Favour of being beheaded on Tower-Hill, June 8. 1658. being attended by Dr. Wild, Dr. Warmestry, and Dr. Barwick. His Funeral Sermon was preached the Sunday after by Mr. Nath. Hardy at St. Dionis Back Church, in Lime-street; and soon after, both the Sermon, and the Doctor's intended Defence were published, entitled, Beheaded Dr. John Hewet's Ghost crying for Justice; containing his legal Plea, Demurer, and Exceptions to the Jurisdiction of the court, &c. drawn up by his Counsel Mr. William Prynne. The Doctor was a Cambridge Divine, but lived at Oxford, and in the Army, till the End of the War, when he came to London, and was permitted to preach in the Church of St. Gregory's, London, tho' he was known to be a Malignant. After his Conviction the Lady Claypole, and Lady Falconbridge, the Protector's Daughters, interceded with their Father for his Life; but because he disputed the Authority of the Court, which struck at the very Life of his Government, the Protector would not pardon him. But he told Dr. Manton, one of his Chaplains, that if Dr. Hewet had shewn himself an ingenuous Person, and would have owned what he knew was his Share in the design against him, he would have spared his Life; but he said he would not be trifled with, and the Dr. was of so obstinate a Temper that he was resolved he should die; and the Protector convinc'd Dr. Manton before he parted, that he knew without his Confession how far he was engaged in the Plot. Three more of the conspirators were executed in other Parts of the City, but the rest were pardoned.

Oliver
Protector.
1658.

Life of Bar-
wick,
p. 175.

A little before the Protector's Death the Independants petitioned his Highness for Liberty to hold a Synod, in order to publish to the World an uniform Confession of their Faith. They were now become a considerable Body, their Churches being encreased both in City and Country, by the Addition of great Numbers of rich and substantial Persons; but they were not agreed upon any Standard of Faith or Discipline. The Presbyterians in the assembly of Divines

Confession
of Faith by
the Independ-
dants.

Oliver
Protector.
1658.

Confess.
Pref. p. 6

had urged them to this ; and their Brethren in new England had done it ten years ago ; nor were the English independents insensible of the defect ; for hitherto (say they) there have
 “ been no association of our Churches, no meetings of our
 “ Ministers to promote the common Interest ; our Churches
 “ are like so many Ships launched singly, and sailing apart
 “ and alone in the vast ocean of these tumultuous Times,
 “ exposed to every wind of Doctrine ; under no other
 “ Conduct than the Word and Spirit, and their particular
 “ elders, and principal Brethren, without Associations among themselves, or so much as holding out a common
 “ light to others, whereby to know where they were.”
 To remedy this some of their Divines, and principal Brethren in London met together, and proposed, that there might be a correspondence among their Churches in City and Country for council and mutual Edification ; and for as much as all Sects and Parties of Christians had published a confession of their Faith, they apprehended the World might reasonably expect it from them ; for these Reasons they petitioned the Protector for Liberty to assemble for this Purpose. This was opposed by some of the Court, as tending to establish a Separation between them and the Presbyterians ; nor was the Protector himself fond of it ; however, he gave way to their Importunity, and, as Mr. Eachard represents that Matter, when he was moved upon his Death-bed to discountenance their Petition, he replied, They must be satisfied, they must be satisfied, or we shall all run back into Blood again.

Their Assembly.
Calamy's
Abridg.
Vol. II.
p. 444.

But the Protector did not live to see the fruits of this Assembly, which was appointed to be at the Savoy October 12. 1658. where Ministers and messengers from above one Hundred Congregational Churches met together, of which the majority were laymen ; the rest Pastors of Churches, and some younger Divines about the Court, as the reverend and learned Mr. John Howe, at that time Chaplain to the young Protector and others. They opened their Synod with a Day of Fasting and Prayer, and after some Debate, whether they should adopt the doctrinal Articles of the Westminster Assembly for their own, with some Amendments and Additions, it was thought more advisable to draw up a new confession, but to keep as near as possible to the Method and Order of the other. A Committee of the most eminent Divines was chosen for this Work (viz.) Dr. Tho. Goodwin, Dr. Owen ; Mr. Phil.

Phil. Nye, Mr. William Bridge of Yarmouth, Mr. Jos. Caryl, and Mr. William Greenhill. While these were employed in preparing, and putting together the Articles of their Confession, the Synod heard Complaints, and gave Advice in several Cases which were brought before them, relating to Disputes or Differences in their Churches. The particular Heads of Doctrine agreed to by the Committee were presented to the Synod every Morning, and read by the Reverend Mr. George Griffith their Scribe. There were some Speeches and Debates upon Words and Phrases, but at length all acquiesced, and the Whole was soon after published in Quarto, under the Title of "A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised in the Congregational Churches in England, agreed upon, and consented unto by their Elders and Messengers in their Meeting at the Savoy, Octob. 12. 1658." Next Year it was translated into Latin by Professor Hornbeek, and published at the End of his *Epistola ad Duræum de Independentismo*. Some imputed their Unanimity to the Authority and Influence of Dr. Owen, Mr. Nye, and the rest of the elder Divines over the Younger; but they themselves in their Preface, "look upon it as a great and special Work of the Holy Ghost, that so numerous a Company of Ministers, and other principal Brethren, should so readily, speedily, and jointly give up themselves to such an whole Body of Truths as is there collected." They add further, "That this Agreement of theirs fell out without their having held any Correspondence together, or prepared Consultation, by which they might be advised of one another's Minds." which I confess is very extraordinary, considering the Confession consists of thirty three Chapters, in which are almost two hundred distinct articles of faith and discipline; and that the whole Time of the synod's Sessions, or continuance, was not above eleven or twelve Days.

Oliver.
Protector
1658.

The Savoy confession proceeds upon the plan of the Westminster Assembly, which made the work very easy; and in most places retains their very words. they tell the world in their Preface, that they fully consent to the Westminster confession for the substance of it, but have taken Liberty to add a few things in order to obviate some erroneous opinions that have been more boldly maintained of late than in former times. They have likewise varied the method in some places, and have here and there expressed themselves more clearly, as they found occasion. They have omitted all those Chapters in the Assembly's confession which relate to discipline, as the 30th and 31st,

Abstract of
their Confession.

Oliver
Protector.
1658.

with part of the 20th and 24th, relating to “ the power of
“ Synods, Councils, Church censures, Marriage and Di-
“ vorce, and the power of the civil Magistrate in matters of
“ Religion.” these (say they) were such doubtful Assertions,
and so unsuited to a confession of Faith, that the English
Parliament would never ratify them, there being nothing
that tends more to heighten dissensions among Brethren,
than to place these doubtful speculations under so high a title
as a Confession of Faith. After the 19th Chapter of
the Assembly’s Confession, Of the Law, the Savoy Di-
vines have added an entire Chapter, Of the Gospel, in
which what is dispersed up and down in the Assembly’s
Confession is collected, and put together. But upon the
whole, the difference between these two Confessions, in
points of Doctrine is so very small, that the modern Inde-
pendants have in a manner laid aside the Use of it in their
Families, and agreed with the Presbyterians in the Use of
the Assembly’s Catechism.

At the end of the Savoy Confession there is a Chapter of
Discipline, entitled, “ Of the Institution of Churches, and the
“ order appointed in them by Jesus Christ;” in which they
assert,

Of their
Discipline.
Independen-
cy of
Churches.

“ That every particular Society of visible professors agree-
“ ing to walk together in the Faith and order of the Gospel
“ is a compleat Church, and has full power within it self to
“ elect and ordain all Church Officers, to exclude all Offen-
“ ders, and to do all other acts relating to the edification and
“ well-being of the Church.

Ordination
of Pastors,
&c.

“ That the way of ordaining Officers, that is, Pastors,
“ Teachers, or Elders, is after their Election, by the suffrage
“ of the Church, to set them apart with Fasting and Prayer,
“ and Imposition of the Hands of the eldership of the Church,
“ tho’, if there be no Imposition of Hands, they are
“ nevertheless rightly constituted Ministers of Christ; but
“ they do not allow that ordination to the work of the
“ Ministry, tho’ it be by persons rightly ordained, does
“ convey any Office-Power, without a previous Election of
“ the Church.

Their limi-
ted Juris-
diction.

“ That no Persons may administer the Sacrament but such
“ as are ordained and appointed thereunto, nor are the Pas-
“ tors of one Church obliged to administer the Sacraments to
“ any other, than to the members of that Church to whom
“ they stand related in that Capacity. Nor may any Person
“ be added to the Church, as a private Member, but by the
consent

“ consent of the Church, after a confession of his Faith, declared
“ by himself, or otherwise manifested.

Oliver
Protector.
1658.

“ They disallow the Power of all stated Synods, Presby-
“ ries, Convocations, and Assemblies of Divines over parti-
“ cular Churches, but admit, that in cases of difficulty, or
“ difference relating to Doctrine or order, Churches may meet
“ together by their messengers in Synods or Councils, to consi-
“ der and give advice, but without exercising any Jurisdiction.

Of Synods
and Coun-
cils

“ And lastly, they agree, that Churches consisting of
“ persons sound in the Faith, and of good conversation,
“ ought not to refuse Communion with each other, tho’ they
“ walk not in all things according to the same rule of
“ Church Order; and if they judge other Churches to be
“ true Churches tho’ less pure, they may receive to
“ occasional Communion such Members of those Churches as
“ are credibly testified to be godly, and to live without
“ offence.

And of Oc-
casional
Communi-
on.

“ These Opinions (say they) may appear new to a great
“ many People, because they have not been openly and
“ publickly professed in the English Nation, but we are able
“ to trace the footsteps of an independant Congregational
“ way, in the antientest practice of the Church, and in the
“ writings of the soundest Protestant Divines.” They add,
“ That their Principles do not in the least interfere with the
“ Authority of the Civil Magistrate, nor do they concern
“ themselves upon any occasions with him, any further than to
“ implore his protection, for the preservation of the Peace and
“ Liberty of their Churches.” They glory in this, that
ever since they appeared in the World, they have distin-
guish’d themselves in the cause of Christian Liberty. “ We
“ have always, say they, maintained this Principle, That a-
“ mong all Christian States and Churches there ought to be a
“ Forbearance, and mutual Indulgence to Christians of
“ all Persuasions, that keep to, and hold fast the neces-
“ sary Foundations of Faith and Holiness. This Principle
“ we have maintained for the sake of others, when we
“ our selves had no need of it.” They conclude with
thankfulness to their present Governors, for permitting those
who could not comply with the presbyterian Establishment,
to enjoy the Liberty of their Consciences, and equal en-
couragement, and protection with others; and that this Li-
berty is established by a Law, as long as they disturb not the
publick Peace. This should engage us (say they) to pro-
mote the honour and prosperity of such a government; to

Their Sentiments of
Liberty.

Oliver
Protector.
1658.

be peaceably disposed one towards another, and to love as Brethren, so far as the Differences between Presbyterians and Independants are Differences between Fellow-Servants, and that neither of them have Authority from God or Man, to impose their Opinions upon one another.

Remarks
Life. p. 104.

Mr. Baxter, otherwise a very peaceable and candid Divine, loses all Temper when he speaks of this Assembly: He finds fault with their Definition of Justification, and makes these remarks; "They thought it not enough expressly to contradict St. James, and to say unlimitedly, that we are justified by the Righteousness of Christ only, and not by any works, but they contradicted St. Paul also, who says, that Faith is imputed for Righteousness; and not only so, but they asserted, that we have no other righteousness but that of Christ. A Doctrine abhorred by all the Reformed and christian Churches, and which (says he) would be an utter shame of the Protestant Name, if what such men held and did, were imputable to sober Protestants." But is it possible that Mr. Baxter could believe, that the Savoy Divines denied the necessity of sanctification, or personal Holiness? when they have a whole chapter in their confession upon sanctification, another upon repentance and good works, and a third upon the moral Law, which they declare does forever bind all Men to obedience, both Justified and Unjustified. When Mr. Baxter asked some honest Men who joined them, whether they subscribed the confession? They said no; he then enquired, why they did not contradict this? to which they answer'd, because the meaning was, that they had no other Righteousness but that of Christ to be justified by; which is certainly the Doctrine of the Westminster Assembly. What does Mr. Baxter reply to this? why nothing, but adds very uncharitably, "That the independant confessions are like such oaths as speak one thing and mean another; so much could two Men, [Dr. Owen and Goodwin] do with many honest tractable young Men, who had more Zeal for separating strictness, than Judgment to understand the word of God, the interest of the Churches and of themselves." And yet there were in that Assembly many Divines of as great Age and Learning as himself; their design was not to undervalue the Westminster Confession, but rather to answer the desires of that Assembly, by publishing to the World such a Declaration of their faith and discipline as they had demanded. And the confession was so far from raising any new Divisions, that Mr. Philip Henry observes upon

upon the Death of Cromwel, that there was a great change in the tempers of good people throughout the Nation, and a mighty tendency to Peace and Unity, as if they were by consent weary of their long clashings. However, the Independants lost their best friend in the Protector, who was not only their patron upon the Principle of Liberty, but a Balance to the Presbyterian pretences to Church Power.

Oliver
Protector.
1658.

The Hierarchy of the Church of England was now at a very low ebb, and in danger of being lost beyond recovery; for if the Bishops, who were now very antient, had all died off, before others were consecrated, the line of succession must have failed; for the Church of Rome was so far from supporting it, that they published a treatise this year, of the nature of the catholick faith, and of Heresy; in which they endeavour to invalidate the English ordinations, and revived the story of the Nags-Head Club; for the truth of which they appealed to Dr. Moreton, the antient Bishop of Durham, who in a solemn Speech made in full Parliament (say they) declared in express Words, that our first Bishops after the reformation had been consecrated in a Tavern; and that this was so far from being doubted, that it was a fact most notorious to all the world, adding, that the rest of the Bishops present rather approved, than in the least opposed what he had said. The Bishop, then in the ninety fourth year of his age, being advised of this calumny, sent for a publick notary from London, and in the presence of proper witnesses, made a solemn protestation of the falshood of this story, and signed it in due form, July 17. 1658, he then sent his chaplain, Dr. Barwick, to all the lords spiritual and temporal then alive, who had sat in that Parliament, desiring, that if they believed him undeservedly aspersed, they would attest it by subscribing their names; which was done by six Bishops, and fourteen temporal Lords, and by the several Clerks and Registers of the House. the Bishop died soon after, but his protestation, with the Proofs, was afterwards published by Dr. Bramhal, Bishop of Derry, in a Treatise entitled, "The consecration and succession of Protestant Bishops justified; the Bishop of Duresme vindicated; and the fable of the ordination of the Nags-Head Club clearly confuted." This awakened the Clergy to enter upon measures for the continuance of a Succession of Bishops, tho' they could not be regularly chosen, lest the validity of the episcopal Ministry should cease; of which we shall hear more under the next Year.

Danger of
the Hierarchy.

Oliver
Protector.
1658.

Address of
the Anabap-
tists.

Lord Clarendon mentions an Address of the Anabaptists to the King, who being disappointed in their expectations of a Commonwealth, threw themselves at his Majesty's feet, offering their assistance to pull down the present Government. In their address they say, "they took up arms in the late war for liberty and reformation, but assure his majesty that they were so far from entertaining any Thoughts of casting off their allegiance, or extirpating the Royal Family, that they had not the least intent to abridge him of his just Prerogatives, but only the restraining those excesses of Government, which were nothing but the excrescencies of a wanton power, and were rather a burden, than an ornament to the royal diadem." They then go on to declaim against the protector, calling him, that "Grand Impostor, that loathsome hypocrite, that detestable traitor, the prodigy of Nature, the Opprobrium of Mankind, a Landskip of iniquity, a Sink of Sin, a Compendium of Baseness." And then begging pardon for their former offences, they promise to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for his majesty's restoration, provided his majesty would be so gracious, as to restore the remains of the long Parliament; to ratify the treaty of the Isle of Wight; to establish liberty of conscience; to take away tithes, and provide some other maintenance for the national Clergy; and to pass an act of oblivion, for all who had been in arms against his Father and himself, except those who should adhere to that ungodly tyrant who calls himself Protector. His Lordship adds, that the messenger that brought these propositions asking the sum of two Thousand Pounds to carry on the project, his Majesty dismissed him with civil expressions, telling him, he had no designs to trouble any man for his opinion. However if there had been such an address from the body of the Anabaptists, 'tis a little strange that after the restoration it was not remember'd to their advantage. But his Lordship seems to have had no great acquaintance with these men, when he says, they always pretended a just esteem and value for all men who faithfully adhered to the King, whereas they were of all the sects most zealous for a commonwealth, and were enemies to the Protector for no other reason, but because he was for government by a single person. In truth, this whole affair seems no more than an artifice to get a little money out of the poor King's purse.

The Pro-
tector's
Sickness and
Death.

The Protector's Health was now declining, through his advanced Age, and excessive Toils and Fatigues. The restless Spirits of the Royalists and Republicans put him upon his Guard, insomuch that he usually wore under his
Cloths

Cloths a piece of Armour, or a coat of Mail. The loss of his beloved Daughter Claypole, who died this Summer had also a very sensible Influence on his Health. About the middle of August he was seized with a slow Fever, which turned to a tertian Ague; but the Distemper appeared so favourable for a time, that he walked abroad in the Gardens at Hampton Court. Ludlow says, the Protector had a Humour in his Leg, which he desired the Physicians to disperse, by which means it was thrown into his Blood: At length his pulse began to intermit, and he was advised to keep his Bed; but his Ague Fits growing stronger, it was thought proper to remove him to Whitehall, where he began to be light-headed; upon which his Physicians declared his Life in Danger, and the Council being summoned to desire him to nominate his Successor, he appointed his eldest Son Richard. In the Intervals of his Fits he behaved with great Devotion and Piety, but manifested no Remorse for his publick Actions; he declared in general, that he designed the Good of the Nation, and to preserve it from Anarchy and a new War. He once asked Dr. Goodwin, who attended at his Bed-side, and is said to have expressed an unbecoming Assurance to Almighty God in Prayer of his recovery, Whether a Man could fall from Grace? Which the Doctor answering in the Negative, the Protector replied, Then I am safe, for I am sure I was once in a State of Grace. About twelve Hours before he died he lay very quiet, when Major Butler, being in his Chamber, says he heard him make his last Prayer to this purpose; " Lord I am a poor foolish Creature; this People would fain have me live; they think it best for them, and that it will redound much to thy Glory, and all the Stir is about this. Others would fain have me die; Lord pardon them, and pardon thy foolish People, forgive their Sins, and do not forsake them, but love and bless, and give them Rest, and bring them to a Consistency, and give me Rest, for Jesus Christ's sake, to whom with thee, and thy Holy Spirit, be all Honour and Glory, now and for ever. Amen." The Protector died, Sept. 3. 1658. about three in the Afternoon, the day on which he had triumphed in the Battles of Marston-Moor, Dunbar, and Worcester, when he had lived Fifty nine Years, four Months, and eight Days; four Years and eight Months after he had been declared Protector by the Instrument of Government; and one year and three Months after his Confirmation by the Humble Petition and Advice. As he had lived most Part of his

Oliver
Protector.
1658.

Baxter's
Life. p. 98.

Oliver
Protector.
1658.

his Life in a Storm, his Death was attended with one of the greatest Hurricanes that had been known for many years. Some have said, that next Night after his Death his Body was wrapped up in Lead and buried in Naseby Field, according to his Desire. Others, more probably, that it was interr'd privately in a Vault in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel, sometime before the publick Funeral, which was performed Nov. 23. with all imaginable Grandeur and military Pomp, from Somerset House, where he had lain in State, to the Abbey Church in Westminster, where a fine Mausoleum was erected for him, on which his Effigies was placed, and exhibited to the View of all Spectators for a time; but after the King's Restoration his Coffin was taken out of the Vault, and drawn upon a Sledge to Tyburn, where it was hanged up till Sunset, and then buried under the Gallows.

His Character.

Thus died the Mighty Oliver Cromwel, the greatest Soldier and Statesman of his Age, after he had undergone excessive Fatigues and Labours in a long Course of warlike Actions, and escaped innumerable Dangers from the Plots and Conspiracies of domestick Enemies. Few Historians have spoken of him with Temper, tho' no other Genius, it may be, could have held the Reins, or steered the Commonwealth, through so many tempestuous Storms and Hurricanes, as the Factions of these times had raised in the Nation. He was born in Huntingtonshire, April 25. 1599. and descended of the Family of Williams, of Glamorgan in Wales, which assumed the Name of Cromwel by marrying with a Daughter of Cromwel, Earl of Essex, in the Reign of King Henry VIII. He was educated in Cambridge, and from thence became a Student of Lincoln's Inn, being a wild and extravagant Youth till about the thirty fifth year of his Age, when he quitted his irregular Life, and became remarkably sober. In the year 1640, he was chosen Member of Parliament for the Town of Cambridge, and sat two years undistinguished in the House, as a meer Country Gentleman, appearing (says Sir Philip Warwick) in a plain Cloth Suit of Clothes made by a country Taylor, his Linen not very clean, his Band unfashionable, his Hat without an Hatband, and his Sword close by his Side; his Countenance was swoln and reddish, his Voice hoarse and untunable, but his Elocution was full of Fervour and Warmth, and he was well heard in the House. His person somewhat exceeded the middle Stature, but was well proportioned, and of a becoming Fatness. He had a masculine countenance, a sparkling

sparkling Eye, a manly stern Look, a strong Constitution, and was an Enemy to ease and excess; the Motto upon his Coat of Arms was, *Pax quæritur Bello.*

Oliver
Protector.
1658.

Upon the Breaking out of the Civil War he took Arms for the Parliament, and tho' he was forty three years of age before he drew a Sword, he soon became Colonel of a Regiment of chosen men, who declared they fought not for Gain, but for the cause of Religion and Liberty. He always went to Prayer before Battle, and returned solemn Thanks for his Success afterwards. He took great Care to promote an exact Discipline in the Army, and would not have pardoned his own Brother (says my Author) if he had found him plundering the Country People. The Army had not an Officer that faced Danger with greater Intrepidity, nor that more eagerly sought Occasions to distinguish his personal Valour. He had a great presence of Mind in the Heat of Action, and taught his Soldiers to fight in a more desperate Manner than usual, not allowing them to discharge their Musquets till they were so near the Enemy as to be sure of doing Execution. His reputation rose so fast that he quickly became Major General, then Lieutenant General under Fairfax, and at last his Successor. His Troops believed themselves invincible under his Conduct; he never lost a Battle where he had the chief Command. The Victory at Marston Moor was chiefly ascribed to his Valour. The Reduction of Ireland in less than a year made him the terror of his Enemies; and the Battles of Dunbar and Worcester compleated his martial Glory.

As a Soldier
Carrington
Life of
Cromwell.
p. 243.
Welw.
Memoirs.
p. 104.

How far his usurping the Protectorship of the three Nations, without the previous consent of Parliament, was necessary, or criminal, has been consider'd already; but if we view him as a Statesman, he was an able Politician, a bold and resolute Governor; and tho' he had more numerous and powerful Enemies than any Man of the Age, he was never intimidated, but had a peculiar Art of keeping men quiet, and giving them by turns hopes of his Favour. He had a wonderful Knowledge of Mankind, and an inimitable Art of diving into their very Hearts. If there was a Man in England that excell'd in any Faculty or Science, he would find him out, and reward him according to his Merit. In nothing was his good understanding better discovered (says Bishop Burnet) than in seeking out able and worthy men for all employments, which gave a general Satisfaction. By these Methods, in the Space of four or five years, he carried the Reputation and Glory of the English Nation as

As a State
Man.

high

Oliver
Protector.
1658.

high as it was capable of being raised. He was equally dreaded by France, Spain, and the United Provinces, who condescended to servile Compliances to obtain his Friendship; Charles Gustavus, King of Sweden, thought himself honoured by his Alliance; and Cardinal Mazarine said, 'That nothing but the King of France's having the Small Pox could have hindered him from coming over to England, that he might have the Honour of waiting on one of the greatest men that ever was.'

His publick
Character.

The Protector had an absolute command of his Passions, and knew how to behave in character upon all Occasions; tho' in private Life he would be jocular and merry with his Inferiors; yet no Prince kept greater state upon publick Occasions. His Ambassadors in foreign Courts had all the Respects paid them that our Kings ever had. All Europe trembled at his very Name! And tho' he could converse with no Foreigners but in broken Latin, yet no man had better Intelligence in all foreign Courts, nor understood the interests of the several Princes better than himself. He had Spies in the Courts of Spain and France, and was so happy as to fix upon persons who never failed him. Mr. Algernon Sydney, who was not inclined to think or speak well of Kings, commended him to Bishop Burnet, as one that had just Notions of publick Liberty; and tho' he made some severe and cruel Laws against the Episcopal Clergy, it was not for their Religion, but because they were open and declared Enemies to his Person and Government.

His Reli-
gion.

The Protector was a Protestant, but affected to go under no Denomination or Party: He had chaplains of all Persuasions; and tho' he was by Principle an Independant, he look'd upon all reformed Churches as part of the catholick Church; and without aiming to establish any Thing by Force or Violence, he witnessed, on all Occasions, an extream Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and a just Regard for Liberty of conscience.

And moral
Character
Carrington,
p. 248.

As to his moral character, his greatest Enemies have not charged him with any publick Vices. Dr. Welwood admits, that he was not addicted to Swearing, Gluttony, Drunkenness, Gaming, Avarice, or the Love of Women, but kept close to his Marriage Bed. Nor is he chargeable with Covetousness, for it has been computed (says the Writer of his Life) that he distributed forty thousand Pounds a year out of his Privy Purse to charitable Uses. He promoted virtuous Men, and was inflexible in his Punishment of ill Actions. His Court was regulated according to a most strict

strict Discipline (says Mr. Eachard) where every Vice was banished or severely punished. He maintained a constant Appearance of Piety, and was regular in his private and publick Devotions: He retired constantly every Day to read the Scriptures and Prayer; and some who watched him narrowly have reported, that after he had read and expounded a Chapter, he prostrated himself with his Face to the Ground, and with Tears he poured out his Soul to God for a Quarter of an Hour. He was a strict observer of the Sabbath, and an encourager of Goodness and Austerity of Life. Mr. Baxter admits, that “ he kept as much Honesty and God-
“ linefs as his Cause and Interest would allow; that he had
“ a Zeal for Religion, meant honestly in the main, and
“ was pious in the main course of his Life, till Prosperity
“ corrupted him.”

Oliver
Protector
1658.

But with all these good Qualities 'tis certain, the Protector or was a strong Enthusiast, and did not take up his Religion upon rational or solid Principles, which led him into sundry mistakes, not justifiable by reason or Scripture. One of his principles was called a Particular Faith; that is, if any Thing was strongly impressed upon his mind in Prayer, he apprehended it came immediately from God, and was a Rule of Action; but if there were no Impressions, but a Flatness in his Devotions, it was a denial. Upon this Maxim he is said to suffer the late King to be put to Death in an arbitrary and illegal Manner. Another Maxim was, that “ in extraordinary cases something extraordinary, or be-
“ yond the common Rules of Justice, may be done; that
“ the moral Laws, which are binding in ordinary Cases,
“ may then be dispensed with; and that Private Justice
“ must give way to Publick Necessity. Which was the
Protector's governing Principle in all his unwarrantable stretches of Power. A third principle by which the Protector was misled, was, his determining the Goodness of a Cause by the Success. An appeal to the sword was with him an appeal to God; and as victory inclined, God owned or discountenanced the cause——'Tis impossible that a Man's conduct could be uniform or rational that was directed by such imaginary Principles.

His Enth-
siasm.

It has been further objected to the Protector's character, that he was notoriously guilty of “ Hypocrisy and Dissimu-
“ lation both to God and Man; that he mocked God by
“ the pretence of Piety and Devotion, and by long Pray-
“ ers full of hypocritical Zeal.” But who can penetrate into the Heart, to see whether the outward actions flow
from

Objections
against him
considered.
Dissimula-
tion.

Oliver
Protector.
1658.

from an inward principle? With regard to men 'tis certain the Protector knew how to address their Passions, and talk to them in their own way; and if in his Devotions he utter'd with his Mouth what his Heart never meant, no one can vindicate him: But men are not slightly to be arraign'd (says Rapin) for the inward motions of their Heart, which pass all human Knowledge—Besides, 'tis not easy to conceive the watchful Eyes that were upon him, and the vast Difficulties he had to contend with. Queen Elizabeth's Dissimulation has been extolled for the very same Reason that the Protector's is condemned: If therefore such a conduct was necessary to govern the several Parties, there is nothing greatly Blame-worthy in it (says the same Author) unless it was a Crime in him not to put it into the power of his Enemies to destroy him with the greater ease.

Ambition.

Ambition, and Thirst of Glory, might sometimes lead the Protector aside, for he imagined himself to be a second Phineas, raised up by Providence to be the Scourge of Idolatry and Superstition, and in climbing up to the Pinnacle of supreme power did not always keep within the Bounds of Law and Equity: To this some have ascribed his assuming the Protectorship, and putting himself at the Head of the three Kingdoms; tho' others are of Opinion, it was owing to hard Necessity and Self-preservation. I will not venture to decide in this Case; for possibly there might be a Mixture of both. When he was in possession of the sovereign power, no Man ever used it to greater publick Advantage, for he had a due Veneration for the laws of his country in all Things wherein the Life of his Jurisdiction was not concerned: And tho' he kept a standing Army, they were under an exact discipline, and very little Burden to the People.

Cruelty.

The Charge of Cruelty, which is brought against him, for having put some Men to death for conspiring against his person and Government, deserves no Confutation, unless they would have had him sit still till some Conspiracy or other had succeeded. Cruelty was not in his Nature; he was not for unnecessary effusion of Blood. Lord Clarendon assures us, that when a general Massacre of the Royalists was proposed by the Officers in Council, he warmly opposed and prevented it.

p. 102.

Dr. Welwood compares the Protector to an unusual Meteor, which with its surprizing Influences over-awed not only three Kingdoms, but the most powerful Princes and States

States about us. A great man he was (says he) and posterity might have paid a just homage to his memory, if he had not embroiled his hands in the blood of his prince, and trampled upon the liberties of his Country.

Oliver
Protector.
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Upon the whole, it is not to be wonder'd, that the Character of this great man has been transmitted down to posterity with some disadvantage, by the several factions of Royalists, Presbyterians, and Republicans, because each were disappointed, and enraged to see the supreme power wrested from them; but his management is a convincing proof of his great abilities: He was at the Helm in the most stormy and tempestuous season that England ever saw; but by his consummate Wisdom and Valour he disconcerted the measures and designs of his Enemies, and preserved both himself and the Common-wealth from shipwreck. I shall only observe further, with Rapin, that the Confusions that prevailed in England after the death of Cromwel, clearly evidenced the Necessity of this Usurpation, at least till the constitution could be restored. After his Death his great Achievements were celebrated in verse by the greatest Wits of the Age, as Dr. Sprat afterwards Bishop of Rochester, Waller, Dryden, and others, who in their Panegyrics outdid every thing, which till that time had been seen in the English Language.

Sum of his
Character

Four Divines of the Assembly died this Year: Dr. John Harris, Son of Richard Harris of Buckinghamshire, born in the Parsonage House of Hardwick in the same County, educated in Wickham School, near Winchester, and in the year 1606. admitted perpetual Fellow of new College. He was so admirable a Grecian, and eloquent a Preacher, that Sir Henry Saville called him a second St. Chrysostom. In 1619. he was chosen Greek Professor of the University. He was afterwards Prebendary of Winchester, Rector of Meonstoke in Hampshire, and in the year 1630. Warden of Wickham College, near Winchester; in all which places he behaved with great reputation. In the beginning of the civil Wars he took part with the Parliament, was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines, took the Covenant, and other Oaths, and kept his Wardenship to his Death; he published several learned works; and died at Winchester, August 11. 1658. aged seventy years.

Death of Dr.
John Harris.

Mr. Sydrach Symphon, a meek and quiet Divine, of the Independant persuasion, was educated in Cambridge, but forced to fly his Country for Non-Conformity in the times of Archbishop Laud. He was one of the dissenting Brethren

Of Mr. Sy-
darch Symp-
son.

Oliver
Protector.
1658.

ren in the assembly, and behaved with great temper and moderation. Bishop Kennet says, he was silenced for some time from Preaching, because he differed in Judgment from the Assembly in points of Church discipline, but was restored to his Liberty, October 28. 1646. He afterwards gathered a Congregation in London, after the manner of the Independants, which met in Ab-Church, near Cannon Street. Upon the resignation of Mr. Vines in the year 1650. for refusing the Engagement, he was by the visitors made master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. He was a Divine of considerable Learning, and of great piety and devotion. In his last Sickness he was under some Darkness, and melancholy apprehensions; upon which account some of his Friends and Brethren assembled in his own House, to assist him with their Prayers; and in the evening, when they took their Leave, he thanked them, and said, He was now satisfied in his Soul; and lifting up his Hands towards Heaven, said, He is come, He is come. And that Night he died.

Of Dr. Rob.
Harris.

Dr. Robert Harris was Born at Broad Campden in Gloucestershire, 1578. and educated in Magdalen College Oxon. he preached for some time about Oxford, and settled afterwards at Hanwel, in the place of famous Mr. Dod, then suspended for Non-Conformity; here he continued till the Breaking out of the civil Wars, when by the King's Soldiers he was driven to London. He was appointed one of the Assembly of Divines, and Minister of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. In the year 1646. he was one of the six Preachers to the University at Oxford, and next year one of their Visitors, when he was created D. D. and made President of Trinity College, and Rector of Garlington near Oxford, which is always annexed to it. Here he continued till his Death, governing his College with a paternal Affection, being revered by the Students as a Father. The Inscription over his Grave gives him a great Character; but the Royalists charge him, and I believe justly, with being a notorious Pluralist. He died Decemer 11. 1658. in the eightieth year of his Age.

Of Mr.
William
Carter.

Mr. William Carter was educated in Cambridge, and afterwards a very popular Preacher in London. He was a good Scholar, of great Seriousness, and tho' but a young Man, appointed one of the Assembly of Divines. After some time he joined the Independants, and became one of the Dissenting Brethren in the Assembly. He had Offers of many Livings but refused them, being dissatisfied with the Parochial Discipline of those Times; nevertheless he

was indefatigable in his Ministry, preaching twice every Lord's Day to two large congregations in the city, besides Lectures on the week Days ; This wasted his Strength, and put an End to his Life about Midsummer, 1658. in the Fifty third Year of his Age. His Family were afterwards great Sufferers by the purchase of Bishops Lands.

C H A P. IV.

The Inter-Regnum from the Death of OLIVER CROMWEL to the Restoration of King CHARLES II. and the Re-Establishment of the Church of England.

UPON the Death of the Protector all the discontented Spirits that had been subdued by his Administration resumed their courage, and within the Compass of one year reviv'd all the confusions of the last Ten. RICHARD CROMWEL being proclaimed Protector upon his Father's Decease, received numberless Addresses from all Parts, congratulating his Accession to the dignity of Protector, with Assurances of Lives and Fortunes chearfully devoted to support his Title. He was a young Gentleman of a calm and peaceable Temper, but had by no means the capacity or courage of his Father, and was therefore unfit to be at the Helm in such boisterous Times. He was highly caress'd by the Presbyterians, tho' he set out upon the principles of a general Toleration, as appears by his Declaration of Nov. 25. entitled, " A Proclamation for the better Encouraging of godly Ministers and others ;" and for their enjoying their Dues and Liberties according to Law, without being molested with Indictments for not using the Common-prayer Book.

Inter-
Regnum.
1659.

Richard
Protector.

The young Protector summoned a Parliament to meet on the 27th of Jan. 1658-9. The Elections were not according to the Method practised by his Father, but according to the old Constitution, because it was apprehended that the smaller Boroughs might be more easily influenced, than Cities and Counties ; but it was ill judged to break in upon the Instrument of Government, by which he held his Protectorship. The Parliament met according to appointment but did little Business, the Lower House not being willing to own the Upper. The Army was divided into two grand

Summones
a Parlia-
ment.

Inter-
Regnum.
1659.

Wallingford
House Party

Factions; the Wallingford House Party, which was for a Commonwealth; and the Presbyterian, which with the Majority of the Parliament, was for the Protector. The Wallingford House party, of which Fleetwood and Desborough were the Head, invited Dr. Owen and Dr. Manton to their consultations. Dr. Owen went to Prayer before they enter'd on Business, but Dr. Manton being late before he came, heard a loud Voice from within, saying, He must down, and He shall down. Manton knew the Voice to be Dr. Owen's, and understood him to mean the deposing of Richard, and therefore would not go in. But the Writer of Dr. Owen's Life discredits this Story; tho', in my Opinion, 'tis very probable, for the Doctor inclined to a Commonwealth Government; He sided with the Army, and drew up their Address against Oliver's being King; upon which he declined in the Protector's Favour, and as soon as Richard became Chancellor of Oxford he turn'd him out of the Vice-Chancellorship. The Cabinet Council at Wallingford House having gained over several to their party, prevailed with Richard to consent to their erecting a General Council of Officers, though he could not but know they designed his Ruin, being all Republicans; and therefore, instead of supporting the Protector, they presented a Remonstrance, complaining of the Advancement of dissatisfied persons, and that the good old Cause was ridicul'd. Richard, sensible of his fatal Mistake, by the Advice of Lord Broghill, dissolved the Council, and then the Parliament voted they should meet no more; but the Officers bid him defiance, and like a Company of sovereign Dictators armed with power, sent the Protector a preremptory Message to dissolve the Parliament, telling him that it was impossible for him to keep both the Parliament and Army at his Devotion, but that he might chose which he would prefer; if he dissolved the Parliament he might depend upon the Army, but if he refused, they would quickly pull him out of Whitehall. Upon this the timorous Gentleman being in Distress, and destitute of his Father's Courage, submitted to part with the only Men who could support him.

Richard de-
posed by the
Army.

After the dissolution of the Parliament Richard became a Cypher in the Government; Lord Broghil, afterwards Earl of Orrery, advised him to the last to support the Parliament and declare against the Council of Officers; and if he had allowed the Captain of his Guard at the same Time to have secured Fleetwood and Desborough, as he undertook

undertook to do, with the hazard of his Life, he might have been establish'd; but the poor-spirited Protector told him, that he was afraid of Blood; upon which the Captain, Lord Howard, made his peace with the King. The Officers at Wallingford House having gained this point, published a Declaration about twelve Days after, without so much as asking the Protector's Leave, inviting the Remains of the Long Parliament to resume the Government, who immediately declared their Resolutions for a Commonwealth without a single person, or House of Peers. Thus was the Grandeur of Cromwel's Family destroy'd by the pride and resentment of some of its own Branches: Fleetwood had married the Widow of Ireton, one of Oliver's Daughters, and being disappointed of the Protectorship by his last Will, was determined that no single Person should be his Superior. Desborough, who had married Oliver's Sister, joined in the fatal conspiracy. Lambert, whom Oliver had dismissed the Army, was called from his Retirement to take his place among the Council of Officers. These, with Sir H. Vane, and one or two more behind the curtain, subverted the Government, and were the Springs of all the Confusions of this year, as is evident by the letters of Mr. Henry Cromwel, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, now before me, who saw farther in their Intrigues at that distance, than the Protector who was upon the spot. I shall take the Liberty to transcribe some passages out of them.

Inter-
Regnum
1659.

Rump Par-
liament re-
stored.

Upon the surprizing News of Oliver's Death, he writes to his Brother, Sept. 18. 1658 —“ I am so astonished
“ at the News of my dear Father's Sickness and Death, that
“ I know not what to say or write on so sad and grievous an
“ Occasion; but the happy News of leaving your Highness
“ his Successor gives some Relief, not only on account of
“ the publick, but of our poor Family, which the good-
“ ness of God has preserved from the contempt of our Ene-
“ mies. I may say without Vanity, that your Highness has
“ been proclaimed here with as great Joy, and general Sa-
“ tisfaction (I believe) as in the best affected places of Eng-
“ land; and I make no doubt of the dutiful Compliance of
“ the Army. Now that the God of your late Father and
“ mine, and your Highness's predecessor, would support
“ you, and pour down a double portion of the same Spirit
“ that was so eminently in him, and would enable you to
“ walk in his Steps, and do worthily for his Name—take

H. Crom-
wel's Let-
ters from
Ireland. MS.
penes me.

Inter-
Regnum.
1659.

“ and continually preserve you in so doing, is the Prayer
“ of ”

Yours, &c.

H. C.

In another Letter of the same Date, sent by an express Messenger, he writes, that “ he had caused a very dutiful Address to be sent to the Army, which had been already signed by several of the Field Officers, and when perfected, should be sent to him as a witness against any single Officer that should hereafter warp from his Obedience ; so that I may and do assure your Highness of the active Subjection of this Army to your Government, and will answer for it with my Life——”

In his Letter of October 20, 1658. he says, “ If the Account be true which I have received of the State of Affairs in England, I confess ’tis no more than I look’d for, only I had some hopes it might have been prevented by keeping all Officers at their respective Charges ; but as things now stand, I doubt the flood is so strong you can neither stem it, nor come to an Anchor, but must be content to go adrift and expect the Ebb. I thought those whom my Father had raised from nothing would not so soon have forgot him, and endeavour to destroy his Family before he is in his Grave. Why do I say, I thought, when I know Ambition, and Affectation of Empire never had any Bounds. I cannot think these Men will ever rest till they are in the saddle ; and we have of late years been so used to changes, that it will be but a nine Day’s wonder ; and yet I fear there is no Remedy, but what must be used gradually and Pedetentim. Sometimes I think of a Parliament, but am doubtful whether sober Men will venture to embark themselves, when things are in so high a distraction ; or if they would, whether the Army can be restrained from forcing Elections.—I am almost afraid to come over to your Highness, lest I should be kept there, and so your Highness lose this Army, which, for ought I know, is the only stay you have, tho’ I cannot but earnestly desire it. I also think it dangerous to write freely to you, for I make no Question but all the Letters will be opened that pass between us, unless they come by a trusty Messenger. I pray God help you, and bless your Councils.”

I remain yours, &c.

H. C.

In

In a Letter of the same Date to his Brother-in-law Fleetwood, he writes.

Inter-
Regnum.
1699.

Dear Brother,

“ I Received your Account of the Petition of the Officers ;
 “ but pray give me leave to expostulate with you ; how
 “ came these two or three Hundred Officers together ? If
 “ they came of their own Heads, their being absent from
 “ their Charge without licence would have shewn in their
 “ Face when they petitioned for a due Observance of mar-
 “ tial Discipline. If they were called together, were they
 “ not also taught what to say and do ? If they were called,
 “ was it with his Highness’s Privity ? If they met without
 “ leave in so great a Number, were they told their Error ?
 “ I shall not meddle with the Matter of their Petition ; but,
 “ Dear Brother, I must tell you, I hear that dirt was thrown
 “ upon his late Highness at that great Meeting : That they
 “ were exhorted to stand up for that good old Cause which
 “ had long lain asleep——I thought my Father had pur-
 “ sued it to the last. He died, praying for those that desi-
 “ red to trample on his Dust. Let us not render Evil for
 “ Good, and make his Memory stink before he is under
 “ Ground. Let us remember his last Legacy, and for his
 “ sake render his Successor considerable, and not make him
 “ vile, a thing of nought, and a by-word. Whither do
 “ these Things tend ? What a Hurly-Burly is there ? One
 “ Hundred Independant Ministers called together ; a Coun-
 “ cil, as you call it, of two or three Hundred Officers
 “ of a Judgment. Remember what has always befallen
 “ imposing Spirits. Will not the Loins of an imposing Inde-
 “ pendent, or Anabaptist, be as heavy as the Loins of an
 “ imposing Prelate, or Presbyter ; And is it a dangerous
 “ Opinion that Dominion is founded in Grace, when it is
 “ held by the Church of Rome, and a sound principle
 “ when it is held by the Fifth Monarchy Men. Dear Bro-
 “ ther, Let us not fall into the Sins of other Men lest we
 “ partake of their plagues. Let it be so carried, that all
 “ the People of God, tho’ under different Forms ; yea,
 “ even those whom you count without, may enjoy their
 “ birth-right and civil Liberty ; and that no one Party may
 “ tread upon the Neck of another. It does not become
 “ the Magistrate to descend into Parties ; but can the
 “ Things you do tend to this End ? Can these things be
 “ done, and the World not think his Highness a Knave or

Letter to L.
G Fleet.
wood.

Inter-
Regnum.
1659.

“ a Fool, or oppressed with mutinous Spirits? Dear
“ Brother, my Spirit is sorely oppressed with the
“ consideration of the miserable State of the inno-
“ cent People of these Nations; What have these Sheep
“ done that their Blood should be the price of our Lust
“ and Ambition? Let me beg you to remember, how his
“ late Highness loved you; how he honoured you with the
“ highest Trust, by leaving the Sword in your Hand, which
“ must defend or destroy us, And his declaring your High-
“ ness his Successor, shews that he left it there to preserve
“ him and his Reputation. O Brother! Use it to curb ex-
“ travagant Spirits, and Busy-bodies, but let not the Na-
“ tions be governed by it. Let us take heed of arbitrary
“ Power; let us be governed by the known Laws of the
“ Land; and let all things be kept in their proper Chan-
“ nels; and let the Army be so governed, that the World
“ may never hear of them unless there be occasion to fight.
“ And truly, Brother, you must pardon me, if I say God
“ and Man may require this Duty at your Hand, and lay
“ all Miscarriages of the Army, in point of Discipline, at
“ your Doors. You see I deal freely and plainly with you
“ as becomes your Friend, and a good Subject. And the
“ great God, in whose presence I speak, knows that I do it
“ not to reproach you, but out of my tender Affection and
“ Faithfulness to you. And you may rest assured, that
“ you shall always find me,”

Your true Friend and loving Brother,

H. C.

In another Letter to Lord Broghil, afterwards Earl of Or-
rery, with whom he maintained an intimate Correspondence,
“ He complains of his being forbid to come over into Eng-
“ land; and that the clause in his new commission was left
“ out; namely, the power of appointing a Deputy, or
“ Juries, in order to prevent his coming over to England,
“ which he hopes his Highness will permit, their being
“ much more cause to press it now than ever.” “ I find
“ (says he in a Letter to the Protector) that my Enemies
“ have sentenced me to an honourable Banishment; I am
“ not conscious of any Crime which might deserve it;
“ but if they can denounce Judgment upon my Innocence,
“ they will easily be able to make me criminal. They
“ have already begot a Doubt among my Friends, whe-
“ ther all be right; but I will rather submit to any Suf-
“ fering”

“ erings with a good Name, than be the greatest Man up-
“ on Earth without it”——In a letter to Secretary
Thurloe he writes, “ that since he was not allowed to
“ leave Ireland he could do no more than sit still and look
“ on. The Elections for Parliament are like to be good
“ here (says he) tho’ I could wish the Writs had come so
“ timely that the Members might have been there before
“ they had been excluded by a Vote, which tis said, will
“ be the first thing brought upon the Stage——” From
these and some other of his Letters, ’tis natural to conclude,
that Lieutenant General Fleetwood was at the Head of
the Councils that deposed Richard, which might be owing
either to his Commonwealth Principles, or to his Disap-
pointment of the Protectorship. However, when he found
he could not keep the Army within Bounds, who were for
new changes, he retired from publick Business and spent
the remainder of his Life privately among his Friends at
Stoke-Newington, where he died soon after the Revolution,
being more remarkable for Piety and Devotion than for
Courage or deep Penetration in Politicks.

To return; after the Rump Parliament had sat about a Petition of
the Army.
Week, the Officers petitioned, “ 1. That the Laws might
“ have their free course. 2. That all publick Debts
“ unsatisfied might be paid. 3. That all who profess
“ Faith in the Holy Trinity, and acknowledge the Holy
“ Scriptures to be the revealed Will of God, may have
“ Protection and Encouragement in the Profession of their
“ Religion, while they give no Disturbance to the State,
“ except Papists, Prelatists, and Persons who teach licen-
“ tious Doctrines. 4. That the two Universities, and all
“ Schools of Learning, may be countenanced. 5. That
“ those who took part with the King in the late Wars, or
“ are notoriously disaffected to the Parliament’s Cause,
“ may be removed from all places of Trust. 6. That
“ the Protector’s Debts be paid, and an Allowance of ten
“ Thousand Pounds per Ann. be allowed to Richard and
“ his Heirs for ever. 7. That there may be a representa-
“ tive of the People, consisting of one House, successively
“ chosen by the People; and that the Government of the
“ Nation may be placed in such a representative Body,
“ with a select Senate co-ordinate in Power; and that the
“ Administration of all executive Power of Government
“ may be in a council of State, consisting of a convenient
“ Number of Persons eminent for Godliness, and who are
“ in Principle for the present Cause.”

Inter-
Regnum.
1659.

Richard re-
signs the
Protector-
ship.

The Parliament thanked the Officers for their Petition, but postponed the Affair relating to Richard till he should acquiesce in the change of Government. The Protector having parted with the Parliament, who were his chief Support, had not the Courage and Resolution to strike a bold Stroke for three Kingdoms, but tamely submitted to resign his high Dignity, by a Writing under his Hand, after he had enjoyed it but eight Months. How little the Soul of Oliver was in his Son Richard may be seen by this conduct! His Brother Henry, who was at the Head of an Army in Ireland, offered to come immediately to his Assistance, but was forbid, and the timorous young Gentleman returned to a private Life with more seeming Satisfaction than when he was advanced to the Sovereignty. Upon his quitting Whitehall, and the other Royal Palaces, the Parliament voted him a Maintenance, but refused to concern themselves with his Fathers Debts, the payment of which swept away the greatest part of his Estate, which was far from being large, considering the high Performers his Father had enjoy'd for several Years. This was a further contempt thrown upon the Protector's memory; former Obligations were forgotten, and a new council of State being chosen, the Nation seemed to return peaceably to a Commonwealth Government.

Presbyterians for restoring the King

The Presbyterians would have been content with Richard's Government; but seeing no Likelihood of restoring the Covenant, or coming into Power, by the Rump Parliament, which was chiefly made up of Enthusiasts, and declared Enemies to Monarchy, they enter'd into a kind of Confederacy with the Royalists to restore the King and the Old Constitution. The particulars of this Union (says Rapin) are not known, because the Historians who write of it being all Royalists, have not thought fit to do so much Honour to the Presbyterians. But it is generally agreed, that from this Time the Presbyterians appeared no longer among the King's Enemies, but very much promoted his Restoration. Upon the Foundation of this Union an Insurrection was formed in several Parts of the Country but was discovered by Sir Richard Willis, a Correspondent of Secretary Thurloe's, so that only Sir George Booth, a Presbyterian, had an opportunity of appearing about Chester, at the Head of five or six Hundred Men, declaring for a free Parliament, without mentioning the King; but he and Sir Thomas Middleton, who joined him, were defeated by Lambert, and taken Prisoners. The King and Duke

Insurrection
of Sir
G. Booth.

Duke of York came to Calais to be in Readiness, but upon the Miscarriage, they retired, and his Majesty in despair determined to rely upon the Roman Catholick Powers for the future. Several of the Presbyterian Ministers appeared in this Insurrection, as the Reverend Mr. Newcomb of Manchester, Mr. Eaton of Walton, and Mr. Finch, Chaplain to Sir George Booth, all ejected by the Act of Uniformity.

Inter-
Regnum.
1659.

The Parliament to secure their Commonwealth Government, first appointed an Oath of Abjuration, whereby they renounced Allegiance to Charles Stuart, and the whole race of King James, and promised Fidelity to the Commonwealth without a single person or House of Peers. They then attempted the Reduction of the Army, which had set them up, depending upon the Assurances General Monk had given them from Scotland, of his Army's entire Submission to their Orders; but the English Officers, instead of submitting, stood in their own Defence, and presented another Petition to the House, desiring their former Address from Wallingford House might not lie asleep, but that Fleetwood, whom they had chosen for their General, might be confirmed in his high Station. The House demurred upon the Petition, and seeing there was like to be a new Contest for Dominion, endeavoured to divide the Officers, by cashiering some, and paying others their Arrears. Upon this the Officers presented a third Petition to the same purpose; but the Parliament being out of all Patience told them their complaints were without just Grounds, and cashiered Nine of the Chiefs, among whom were Lieutenant General Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Berry, Kelsey, Cobbet, and others of the first Rank; by which Things were brought to this Crisis, that the Army must submit to the Parliament, or boldly dissolve them. The discarded Officers resolved on the latter, for which purpose, October 13. Lambert with his Forces secured all the Avenues to the Parliament House, and as the Speaker passed by Whitehall he rid up to his Coach, and having told him there was nothing to be done at Westminster, commanded Major Creed to conduct him back to his House. At the same time all the Members were stop'd in their Passage, and prevented from taking their Seats in Parliament, Fleetwood having placed a strong Guard at the Door of the Parliament House for that purpose. Thus the remains of the long Parliament, after they had sat five Months and six Days, having no Army to stand by them,

Parliament
attempt to
reduce the
Army.

And are
turned out

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them, were turned out of their House a second Time, by a Company of Head-strong Officers, who knew how to pull down, but could not agree upon any Form of Government to set up in its place.

Committee
of Safety.

There being now a perfect Anarchy, the Officers who were Masters of the Nation, first appointed a Council of Ten of their own Body to take care of the Publick, and having restored their General Officers, they concluded upon a select number of Men to assume the Administration, under the title of a Committee of Safety, which consisted of Twenty three Persons, who had the same Authority and Power that the late Council of State had, to manage all publick Affairs, till they could agree upon a new Settlement. The People of England were highly disgusted with these Changes, but there was no Parliament nor King to fly to; many of the Gentry therefore from several parts sent Letters to General Monk in Scotland, inviting him to march his Army into England to obtain a free Parliament, and promising him all necessary Assistance.

G. Monk
marches into
England for
a free Parlia-
ment.

The Committee of Safety being aware of this, attempted an Accommodation with Monk by Clarges, his Brother-in-law, but without Success, for they had not sat above a Fortnight before they received Letters from Scotland, full of Reproaches for their late Violation of Faith to the Parliament, and of the General's Resolution to march his Army into England to restore them. Upon this Lambert was sent immediately to the Frontiers, who quartering his Soldiers about Newcastle, put a stop to Monk's March for about a Month. In the mean time the General, in order to gain Time, sent Commissioners to London, to come to Terms with the Committee of Safety, who were so supple, that a Treaty was concluded November 15. but when it was brought to Monk he pretended his Commissioners had exceeded their Instructions, and refused to ratify it. The Council of State therefore, which sat before the Rump Parliament was interrupted, taking advantage of this, resolved to gain over Monk to their Party, and being assembled privately, sent him a Commission, constituting him General of the Armies of England, Scotland and Ireland, which was the very thing he desired.

The Army
restores the
Parliament.

The General having secured Scotland, and put Garrisons into the fortified Places, marched to the Borders with no more than five Thousand Men; but while Lambert was encamped about Newcastle to oppose his Progress, it appeared that the Nation was sick of the Frenzies of the Officers, and willing

willing to prefer any Government to the present Anarchy ; Portsmouth, and part of the Fleet revolted, and declared for a free Parliament, as did several detachments of the Army ; upon which Lambert retired towards London, and made way for Monk's entering England. The Committee of Safety seeing all things in confusion, and not knowing whom to trust, resigned their authority, and restored the Parliament, which met again Dec. 26. and would now have been glad to have had Monk back again in Scotland ; for this purpose they sent letters to acquaint him with their Restoration, and that now he might return to his Government in Scotland ; but the General having entered England, Jan. 2. continued his march towards London, designing a new as well as a free Parliament. When he came to York, Lord Fairfax received him into that City, and declared for a new and free Parliament ; as did the London Apprentices, and great numbers of all ranks and orders of Men both in City and Country. The Rump being suspicious that Monk had some further design, either of establishing himself after the example of Cromwel, or of restoring the King, obliged him to take the oath of Abjuration of Charles Stuart, already mentioned, and to swear, that by the Grace and Assistance of Almighty God he would be true, faithful, and constant to the Parliament and Commonwealth ; and that he would oppose the bringing in, or setting up any single person or House of Lords in this Commonwealth. They also sent Mr. Scot and Robinson to be Spies upon his conduct, who came to him at Leicester, where he received addresses from divers parts to restore the secluded Presbyterian Members of 1648, which was the first step towards the King's Restoration. Thus a few giddy Politicians at the head of an Army, through ambition, envy, lust of power ; or because they knew not what to carve out for themselves, threw the whole Kingdom back into confusion, and made way for that Restoration they were most afraid of, and which, without their own quarrels, and insulting every form of Government that had been set up, could not have been accomplished.

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But Monk
continues
his March.

When the General came to St. Albans he sent a message, to desire the Parliament to remove the Regiments quartered in the City to some distance, which they weakly complied with, and made way for Monk's Entrance with his Forces

And enters
the City.

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Forces in a sort of Triumph, February 3. 1659-60. Being conducted to the Parliament House, the Speaker gave him thanks for his great and many services; and the General having returned the compliment, acquainted the house, "that several applications had been made to him in his march from Scotland, for a full and free Parliament; for the admission of the secluded members in 1648. without any previous Oath or engagement, and that the present Parliament would determine their sitting. To all which he had replied, that they were now a free Parliament, and had voted to fill up their House in order to their being a full Parliament; but to restore the secluded Members, without a previous Oath to the present Government, is what had never been done in England; but he took the Liberty to add, that he was of opinion, that the fewer Oathes the better, provided they took care that neither the Cavaliers nor Fanaticks should have any share in the administration."

Contro-
versy be-
tween the
City and
Parlia-
ment.

Monk
pulls down
their Gates

But is re-
conciled to
them.

The Citizens of London being Presbyterian, fell in with Monk, in hopes of a better Establishment, and came to a bold resolution in Common-Council, Feb. 17. to pay no more taxes till the Parliament was filled up. Upon this the House, to shew their resentments, ordered the General to march into the City; to seize eleven of the most active Common-Council-Men, and to pull down their gates, chains, and portcullises. This was bidding them defiance at a time when they ought to have courted their Friendship. Monk having arrested the Common-Council-Men prayed the Parliament to suspend the Execution of the remaining part, but they insisting upon his compliance, he obeyed. The Citizens were enraged at this act of violence; and Monk's friends told him, that his embroiling himself with the City in this manner would inevitably be his ruin, for without their Assistance he could neither support himself, nor obtain another Parliament; People being now generally of opinion with O. Cromwel, that "the Rump Parliament was designed to be perpetual, and their Government as arbitrary as the most despotick King." Monk therefore convinced of his mistake, resolved to reconcile himself to the Magistracy of the City, in order to which, he sent his Brother Clarges to assure them of his concern for what he had done; and having summoned a Council of Officers in the Night, he sent a Letter to the Parliament, insisting upon their issuing out Writs to fill up their House, and when filled, to rise at an appointed time, and give way to a full and free Parliament. Upon reading this

this Letter the House voted him thanks, and sent to acquaint him, that they were taking measures to satisfy his request; but the General not willing to trust himself in their hands, broke up from Whitehall, and having been invited by the Lord Mayor of London, and the chief Presbyterian Ministers, marched his whole army into the City; and a Common-Council being called, he excused his late conduct, and acquainted them with the Letter he had sent to the House, assuring them, that he would now stand by them to the utmost of his power. This appeased the angry Citizens, and caused them to treat him as a friend, notwithstanding what had happen'd the day before. When the news of the reconciliation was spread through the Town, the Parliament were struck with surprize; but there was a perfect triumph among the people, the Bells rung, Bonfires were made, and numbers of rumps thrown into them, in contempt of the Parliament.

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The General being now supported by the Citizens, proceeded to restore the secluded Members of 1648. who were of the Presbyterian party; for this purpose he appointed a conference between them and some of the sitting Members, which miscarried, because the sitting Members could not undertake that the Parliament would stand to their agreement. Upon which Monk resolved to restore them immediately by force, lest the Parliament and their army should come to an accommodation, and dislodge him from the City. Accordingly he summoned the secluded Members to Whitehall, Feb. 21. and having acquainted them with his design, exhorted them to take care of the true interest of the Nation, and told them, "That the Citizens of London were for a Commonwealth, the old foundations of Monarchy being so broken that it could not be restored but upon the ruins of the People, who had engaged for the Parliament; for if the King should return (says he) he will govern by arbitrary will and power. Besides, if the Government of the State be monarchical, the Church must follow, and Prelacy be brought in, which I know the Nation cannot bear, and have sworn against; and therefore a moderate, not a rigid Presbyterian Government, with liberty of conscience, will be the most acceptable way to the Churches Settlement." He then obliged them to subscribe the following articles, "1. To settle the armies so as to preserve the peace. 2. To provide for their support, and pay their arrears. 3. To constitute a Council of State for Scotland and Ireland. And, 4. to call a new Parliament and dissolve

He restores
the secluded
Members of
1648.

K. Chr.
P. 63.

" the

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"the present." And so dismissed them, with a strong party of Guards to see them take their places in the House. This speech was very distant from what is pretended the General had in view, and seems to have been drawn up by some of the moderate Presbyterians, with whom he kept a close correspondence. And tho' he did not turn the Members out of the House, as Cromwel did, yet his discharging the Parliament guards, and placing a strong Body of his own Horse at the door, without leave of the Parliament, gave them sufficiently to understand what would be the consequence of their making opposition.

Proceedings
of Parlia-
ment.
Rapin.

The House thus enlarged became entirely Presbyterian. They ratified their vote of December 1648. (viz.) that the King's concessions at the Isle of Wight were a sufficient ground for peace——they annulled the engagement of 1649.——they put the Militia into new hands, with this Limitation, that "none should be employed in that trust but who would first declare under their hands, that they believed the War raised by both Houses of Parliament against the King was just and lawful, till such time as force and violence was used upon the Parliament in 1648."——They repealed the Oath of abjuration of Charles Stuart——They appointed a new Council of State, and declared for a free Commonwealth——For a learned and pious Ministry——For the continuance of Tithes, and for the augmentation of smaller Livings by the Tenth and First-Fruits——They resolved to encourage the two Universities, and all other Schools of Learning——And (to content the Independants) they voted, that provision should be made for a due liberty of conscience in matters of Religion, according to the word of God.

Presbytery
restored.
K. Chr.
P. 52, 75.

Thus all things seemed to return to the condition they were in at the treaty of the Isle of Wight. The Presbyterians being now again in the saddle, a day of thanksgiving was kept; after which the City Ministers petitioned for the redress of sundry grievances; as, "1. That a more effectual course be taken against Papists. 2. That the Quakers be prohibited opening their shops on the Sabbath Day. 3. That the publick Ministers may not be disturbed in their publick Services." They requested the house to establish the Assembly's Confession of Faith, Directory, and Catechisms; to appoint persons for approbation of Ministers, 'till the next Parliament shall take further order; and to call another Assembly of Divines, to be chosen by the Ministers of the severall Counties, to heal the division of the Nation.

In

In answer to these requests the House agreed to a Bill, March 2. for approbation of publick Ministers, according to the Directory, and named Mr. Manton, and several others of the Presbyterian persuasion, for that service; which passed into an act, March 14. They declared for the Assembly's Confession of Faith, except the 30th and 31st Chapters of Discipline, and appointed a Committee to prepare an act, declaring it to be the Publick Confession of Faith of the Church of England. The Act passed the house March 5. and was ordered to be printed; Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Manton and Calamy to have the care of the Presb. On the same day they ordered The Solemn League and Covenant to be re-printed, and set up in every Church in England, and read publicly by the Minister once every Year.

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Thus Presbytery was restored to all the power it had ever enjoyed; and the Ministers of that persuasion were in full possession of all the livings in England. A reform was made in the Militia; and the chief places of Profit, Trust, and Honour, were put into their hands. The Army was in disgrace; the Independants deprived of all their influence, and all things managed by the Presbyterians, supported by Monk's forces. After this the long Parliament passed an act for their own dissolution, and for calling a new Parliament to meet April 25, 1660. the Candidates for which were to declare under their hands, "That the War against the late King was just and lawful; and, all who had assisted in any War against the Parliament since January 1. 1641. they and their sons were made incapable of being elected, unless they had since manifested their good affection to the Parliament." They then appointed a new Council of State, consisting of thirty one Persons, to take care of the Government; and dissolved themselves, March 16, after they had sat, with sundry intermissions, nineteen years, four Months, and thirteen days.

Presbyterians in full Possession of the Nation.

K. Chr. P.
85.

We are now come to the dawn of the Restoration, of which General Monk has had the Reputation of being the chief instrument. This Gentleman was Son of Sir Thomas Monk, of Potheridge, in Devonshire, and served the King in the Wars for some years, but being taken Prisoner he changed sides, and acted for the Parliament. He afterwards served O. Cromwel, and was by him left Commander in chief of the Forces in Scotland, from whence he now marched into England to restore the Parliament. Lord Clarendon and Eachard, say, "He was of a reserved Nature, of deep Thoughts, and of few Words; and what he wanted in fine Elocution he had in sound Judgment. That he

Character of General Monk.

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“ he had a natural Secrecy in him, prevalent upon all his
 “ qualifications of a Soldier ; a strong body, a mind not
 “ easily disordered, an invincible courage, and a sedate and
 “ uniform contempt of death, without any frenzy of Fa-
 “ naticism, or Superstition to turn his Head.” This is the
 Language of flattery. Others have set him forth in a very
 different light ; they admit, that he was bold and venture-
 some, but had nothing of the Gentleman, nor any depth of
 Contrivance ; that he was perpetually wavering, and betray-
 ed all whom he served but Cromwel. Ludlow says, he was
 a Man of a covetous Temper, and of no Principles ; of a
 vicious Life and scandalous Conversation. Father Orleans
 says, that he was a Man of slow Understanding. And Whit-
 lock reports, that the French Ambassador said, he had nei-
 ther Sense nor Breeding. The truth is, he had a cloudy head,
 and in no action of his Life discovered a quick or enterprizing
 Genius. In the latter part of Life he was sordidly covetous
 and sunk into most of the vices of the times. No Man ever
 went beyond him in dissimulation and falsehood, as appears
 in this very affair of the King’s Restoration. He took the
 Abjuration Oath once under Oliver ; and again this very
 year, whereby he renounced the Title of Charles Stuart,
 “ and swore to be true to the Commonwealth, without a
 “ single Person or House of Lords.” And yet in his first
 message to the King by Sir John Greenville, he assures his
 Majesty, “ That his heart had been ever faithful to him,
 “ though he had not been in a condition to serve him till
 “ now.” When he came with his Army to London, he as-
 sured the Rump Parliament of his chearful obedience to all
 their commands, and desired them to be very careful that
 the Cavalier party might have no share in the Civil or Mil-
 itary Power. When he restored the secluded Members he
 promised the Parliament, to take effectual care that they
 should do no hurt. When the Commonwealths Men ex-
 pressed their fears, and asked the General, whether he
 would join with them against the King ? he replied, “ I have
 “ often declared my resolution so to do.” And taking Sir
 Arthur Haslerigge by the hand, he said, “ I do here protest
 “ to you, in the presence of all these Gentlemen, that I
 “ will oppose to the utmost, the setting up of Charles Stuart,
 “ a single person, or a House of Peers.” He then expostula-
 ted with them about their suspicions ; “ What is it I have
 “ done in bringing these Members into the House (says he)
 “ are they not the same that brought the King to the Block,
 “ though others cut off his Head, and that justly ?” And

yet

Welw. Me-
moirs, p.
117, &c.

Hist.
Stuarts, p.
459.

yet this very Man, within six months, condemned these persons to the Gallows. Nay, further, the General sent letters to all the Regiments, assuring them, “ that the Government should continue a Common-wealth, that they had “ no purpose to return to their old bondage, that is Monarchy; and if any made disturbances in favour of “ Charles Stuart, he desired they might be secured.” So that if this Gentleman was in the Secret of restoring the King from his Entrance into England, or his first coming to London, I may challenge all History to produce a scene of Hypocrisy and Dissimulation equal to his Conduct. Dr. Welwood adds, that he acted the part of a Politician much better than that of a Christian; and carried on the thread of Dissimulation with wonderful Dexterity. Bishop Burnet differs from the Doctor, and says, that “ tho’ he “ had both the praise and the reward, yet a very small share “ of the Restoration belonged to him— The Tide run so “ strong that the General only went into it dexterously “ enough to get much Fame and great Rewards--If he had “ died soon after, he might have been more justly admired; “ but he lived long enough to make it known how false a “ Judgment Men are apt to make upon outward appearance.

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Memoirs, p.
117, 120.
Burn. Hist.
p. 87, 89.

But before we relate the particulars of the Restoration, it will be proper to consider the abject State of the Church of England, and the Religion of the young King. If Cromwel had lived ten or twelve years longer, Episcopacy might have been lost beyond Recovery, for by that time the whole Bench of Bishops would have been dead, and there would have been none to consecrate or ordain for the future, unless they could have obtained a new Conveyance from the Church of Rome, or admitted the validity of Presbyterian Ordination. This was the Case in view, which induced some of the ancient Bishops to petition the King to fill up the vacant Sees with all Expedition, in which they were supported by Sir Edward Hyde, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who prevailed with his Majesty to nominate certain Clergymen for those high Preferments, and sent over a list of their Names to Dr. Barwick, to be communicated by him to the Bishops of London, Ely, Sarum, and others that were to be concerned in the Consecration. It was necessary to carry on this design with a great deal of Secrecy, lest the governing Powers should secure the Bishops, and by that means hinder the Work. It was no less difficult to provide Persons of Learning and Character who would accept the Charge, when it would expose them to Sufferings, as being contrary to the Laws in being, and when there

State of
Episcopacy,
and of the
King.

Debates
about fill-
ing the va-
cant Sees.

Difficulties
that attend
it.

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was no prospect of restoring the Church. But the greatest Difficulty of all was, how to do it in a canonical Manner, when there were no Deans and Chapters to elect, and consequently no Persons to receive a Congè d'Eslire, according to antient custom.

Sundry Ex-
pedients pro-
posed.

Several expedients were proposed for removing this difficulty. Sir Edward Hyde was of opinion, that the proceeding should be by a Mandate from the King to any three or four Bishops, by way of Collation, upon the Lapse, for the Dean and Chapter's Non-Election. But it was objected, that the supposal of a Lapse would impair the King's Pre-rogative more than the Collation would advance it, because it would presuppose a power of Election Pleno Jure in the Deans and Chapters, which they have only De facultate Regia; nor could they petition for such a License, because most of the Deans were dead, some Chapters extinguished, and all of them so disturbed, that they could not meet in the Chapter-house, where such Acts regularly are to be performed.

Life of
Barwick, p.
204.
Kennet's
Chron. p.
14, 15.

Dr. Barwick, who was in England, and corresponded with the Chancellor, proposed, that his Majesty should grant his Commission to the Bishops of each Province respectively, assembled in Provincial Council, or otherwise, as should be most convenient, to elect and consecrate fit Persons for the vacant Sees, with such dispensative Clauses as should be found necessary upon the Emergency of the Case (his Majesty signifying his Pleasure concerning the Persons, and the Sees) which Commission may bear Date before the Action, and then afterward upon Certificate, and Petition, to have his Majesty's Ratification and Confirmation of the whole Process, and the Register to be drawn up accordingly by the chief Actuary, who may take his Memorials hence, and make up the Record there.

Dr. Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, was for the Irish way, where the King has an absolute power of Nomination, and therefore no way seemed to him so safe, as consecrating the Persons nominated to void Sees in Ireland, and then removing them to others in England, which he apprehended would clearly elude all those Formalities which seemed to perplex the affair; but this was thought an ill Precedent, as it opened a Door for destroying the Privileges of the Church of England in their capitular Elections. The old Bishop of Ely was so far from wishing with Dr. Bramhall, that the Irish method might be introduced into England, that he said, if he should live to see the Church restored, he would be

a humble Suitor to his Majesty, that the privileges of the English Church, in their Elections of Bishops, might be introduced into Ireland.

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Dr. Wren Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Cosins of Peterborough, were for an expedient something like the second, to which the Court agreed, and Mr. Chancellor Hyde writ to Dr. Barwick for the Form of such a Commission as they judged proper, and urged, that it might be dispatched with all possible expedition. The Chancellor had this Affair very much at Heart, but the old Bishops were fearful lest it should be discovered, in which case they were sure to be the Sufferers. Dr. Brownrigge of Exeter, and Dr. Skinner of Oxford, declined meddling in the Affair; the rest declared their Willingness to advance the Work, but lived in hopes there might be no occasion for the hazard. The Chancellor, in one of his Letters says, "the King was much troubled that no more care was taken of the Church by those who should be the Guardians of it." He censures the slowness of the Clergy, and says, it was very indecent, that when their afflicted Mother was in extremity, any of her Sons should be timorous and fearful. Such were the Chancellor's narrow principles, who seemed to hang the Essence of Christianity, and the validity of all Church Administrations, upon the Conveyance of Ecclesiastical Power by an uninterrupted Succession from the Apostles.

The Non-jurors had the like Case in view after the Revolution, and provided for it in the best Manner they could. But is not the Christian World in a sad Condition, if a Bishop cannot be chosen or consecrated without a Royal Mandate, and the Suffrage of a Dean and Chapter, when there were no such Officers in the Church for three hundred years after the Apostles? and if the validity of all sacerdotal Ministrations must be hung upon the Line of an uninterrupted Succession from St. Peter? when Baronius, their Historian, confesses, that in a Succession of fifty Popes not one pious or virtuous Man sat in the Chair; when there had been no Popes for some years together; and at other times two or three at once; and when the same Writer admits, between twenty and thirty Schisms, one of which continued fifty years, the Popes of Avignon and Rome excommunicating each other, and yet conferring Orders upon their several Clergy. How impossible is it to trace the right Line through so much confusion; and how absurd to lay the validity or regularity of our Ministrations upon it?

Remarks.

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King ab-
jures the
Pr. Religi-
on at the
Pyrenees.

Eachard, p.
751.

Kennet, p.
238.

But with regard to the King, his concern for the regular Consecration of Protestant Bishops was a meer Farce; for if he was not a Papist before this time, 'tis certain he was reconciled to the Church of Rome this year, at the Pyrenæan Treaty concluded between France and Spain at Fontarabia, whither he had repaired incognito to engage them in his Interest. Here the King stayed twenty days, in which his Majesty, with the Earl of Bristol and Sir H. Bennet embraced the Roman Catholick Religion. The Secret of this affair was well known to Lord Clarendon, tho' he is pleased to mention it with great tendernefs. " It is
" believed, says his Lordship, by wise Men, that in that
" Treaty somewhat was agreed to the prejudice of the
" Protestant Interest; and that in a short time there would
" have been much done against it, both in France and
" Germany, if the Measures they had then taken had not
" been shortly broken, chiefly by the surprizing Revolution
" in England, which happened the next year, and also by
" the Death of the two great Favourites of the two
" Crowns, Don Lewis de Haro, and Cardinal Mazarine,
" who both died not long after it." But the Secret of the
King's Reconciliation to Popery has been more fully acknowledged of late years, by the eldest Son of Lord Clarendon, and by the Duke of Ormond, who declared to several persons of Honour, that " he himself, to his
" great surprize and concern, accidentally, in a Morning
" early, saw the King in the great Church on his Knees before the high Altar, with several Priests and Ecclesiasticks
" about him. That he was soon after confirmed in his
" Sentiments by Sir Henry Bennet and the Earl of Bristol,
" who both owned the King to be a Catholick as well as
" themselves; but it was agreed, that this Change should
" be kept as the greatest secret imaginable." There is another Story (says Bishop Kennet) which I have reason to think true: " Sir H. Bennet was soon after seen to wait on
" the King from Mass, at which sight the Lord Culpeper
" had so much indignation, that he went up to Bennet, and
" spoke to this effect; I see what you are at; is this the
" way to bring our Master home to his three Kingdoms?
" Well, Sir, if ever you and I live to see England together, I will have your Head, or you shall have mine.
" Which words struck such a terror upon Sir Harry Bennet, that he never durst set foot in England till after the
" Death of Lord Culpeper, who met with a very surprizing
" End, soon after the King's return."

But

But tho' the prime Ministers of France and Spain were now first Witnesses of his Majesty abjuring the Protestant Religion, there are strong presumptions that he was a Papist long before, even before his Brother James, if we may credit the Testimony of his Confessor, Father Huddleston. To the Proofs of this Fact already mentioned under the year 1652. I would add the Testimony of the Author of the Mystery of Iniquity, printed 1689. who writes thus; "The King's [Charles the Second's] Apostasy, is not of so late a date as the World is made commonly to believe, for tho' it was many Years concealed, and the contrary pretended and dissembled, yet it is certain he abjured the Protestant Religion soon after the Exilement of the Royal Family, and was reconciled to the Church of Rome at St. Germain in France. Nor were several of the then suffering Bishops and Clergy ignorant of this, tho' they had neither integrity nor courage to give the Nation warning of it." Bishop Burnet, in the "History of his Life and Times," confirms this Testimony from the Cardinal Minister, who sent an Advertisement of it to the Bishop himself; he says, "that before the King left Paris (which was in June 1654.) he changed his Religion, but by whose Persuasion is not yet known, only Cardinal De Retz was in the secret, and Lord Aubigny had a great hand in it. Chancellor Hyde had some suspicion of it, but would not suffer himself to believe it quite." And Sir Allen Broderick declared upon his Death-bed, that King Charles the Second made Profession of the Popish Religion at Fontainebleau, before he was sent out of France to Cologne.

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Proofs of his being a Papist before. Welw. Memoirs. p 126. Ken. Chron. p. 598.

Burnet, p. 73.

The Dutch Protestants suspected the Change, but the King denied it in the most publick Manner; for when he was at Brussels in the year 1658. he writ the following Letter to the Reverend Mr. Cawton, the Prebyterian Minister of the English Congregation at Rotterdam.

But denies it to foreign Protestants.

CHARLES REX.

"**T**RUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well.
" We have received so full a Testimony of your affection to our Person, and Zeal for our Service, that we are willing to recommend an affair to you in which we are much concerned. We do not wonder, that the malice of our Enemies should continue to lay all manner of scandals upon us, but are concerned that they should find

King's Letter to Mr. Cawton.

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“ Credit with any to make our Affection to the Protestant
“ Religion suspected, since the World cannot but take no-
“ tice of our constant and uninterrupted Profession of it in
“ all Places. — No Man has, or can more manifest his
“ Affection to, and Zeal for the Protestant Religion than
“ we have done. Now as you cannot but have much con-
“ versation with the Ministers of the Dutch Church, we
“ presume and expect that you will use your utmost dili-
“ gence and dexterity to root out those unworthy aspersi-
“ ons, so maliciously and groundlessly laid upon us by wick-
“ ed Men; and that you assure all that will give credit to
“ you, that we value ourselves so much upon that part of
“ our Title, of being Defender of the Faith, that no
“ worldly Consideration can ever prevail with us to swerve
“ from it, and the Protestant Religion in which we have
“ been bred, the Propagation whereof we shall endeavour
“ with our utmost power. Given at Brussels, Nov. 7, in
“ the 10th year of our Reign.”

K. Chron.
P. 95.

To carry on the disguise, Dr. Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, was employed to write an apologetical Letter to Dr. Trigland, the Dutch Minister at the Hague, to assert and prove the King's Stedfastness to the reformed Faith and Communion. The Letter was dated June 7, 1659. a little before the King's going to the Pyrenæan Treaty, to engage the Roman Catholick powers for his Restoration.

But to confirm the Presbyterians further, and to put an end to all suspicions of his Majesty being turned Papist, Sir Robert Murray and the Countess of Balcarres were employed to engage the most eminent reformed Ministers in France to write to their Presbyterian Brethren in England, and assure them “ of the King's Stedfastness in the Pro-
“ testant Faith,” and to excuse his not joining with the Church at Charenton. Accordingly these credulous Ministers not being acquainted with the secret, writ to their Brethren at London to the following purpose.

Fr. Mini-
sters em-
ployed to
write that
the King is
a Prote-
stant.
Mr.
Gaches's
Letter.
K. Chron.
P. 91, 92.

Monsieur Raymond Gaches, Pastor of the Reformed Church at Paris, to the Reverend Mr. Baxter, March 23, 1659-60. — “ I know what Odium has been cast upon
“ the King; some are dissatisfied in his Constancy to the
“ true Religion — I will not answer what truly may be
“ said, that it belongs not to Subjects to enquire into the
“ Prince's Religion; be he what he will, if the Right of
“ reigning belongs to him, Obedience in Civil Matters is
“ his due. But this Prince never departed from the pub-
“ lick Profession of the true Religion; nor did he disdain

to

“ to be present at our religious Assemblies at Roan and
 “ Rochel, tho’ he never graced our Church at Paris with
 “ his presence, which truly grieved us.”

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Monfieur Drelincourt, another of the French Pastors at Paris, writes March 24.—“ A report is here, that the
 “ thing which will hinder the King’s Restoration, is the
 “ opinion conceived by some, of his being turned Roman
 “ Catholick, and the fear that in time he will ruin the Pro-
 “ testant Religion. But I see no Ground for the Report,
 “ his Majesty making no profession of it, but on the con-
 “ trary has rejected all the Aids and Advantages offered
 “ him upon that Condition. Charity is not jealous, and if
 “ it forbids us to suspect on slight Grounds private Persons,
 “ how can it approve Jealousies upon Persons so sacred ! be-
 “ sides, there are in the King’s Family, and among his
 “ Domesticks, some Gentlemen of our Religion ; and
 “ my old Friends, who at several times have given me af-
 “ surances of the Piety of this Prince, and his Stability in
 “ the Profession he makes---Your Presbyterians are now en-
 “ trusted with the honour of our Churches ; if they recal
 “ this Prince without the intervening of any foreign Power
 “ they will acquire to themselves immortal Glory, and stop
 “ their Mouths for ever, who charge us falsely as Enemies
 “ to Royalty, and make appear that the Maxim, no Bishop,
 “ no King, is falsely imputed to us.”—

Mr. Dre-
 lincourt’s.

The famous Monsieur Daillè of Paris, in his Letter of March 28, writes to the same Purpose :—“ I know ’tis re-
 “ ported that the King has changed his Religion ; but who
 “ can believe a thing so contrary to all probability ? no-
 “ thing of this appears to us ; on the contrary we well
 “ know, that when he has resided in places where the ex-
 “ ercise of his Religion is not permitted, he has always
 “ had his Chaplains with him who have regularly perform-
 “ ed Divine Service. Moreover, all Paris knows the anger
 “ the King expressed at the endeavours that were used to
 “ pervert the Duke of Gloucester. And tho’ ’tis objected,
 “ that he never came to our Church at Charenton, yet as
 “ we are better informed of this than any one, we can
 “ testify, that Religion was not the cause of it, but that it
 “ was upon political, and prudential Considerations, which
 “ may be peculiar to our Church, for he has gone to Ser-
 “ mon in Caen, and some other Towns ; and in Holland
 “ he heard some Sermons from the famous Monsieur

Mr.
 Daillè’s.
 K. Chron.
 P. 34.

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1659.

" More, our present Collegue. Thus, Sir, it is more clear
" than the Day, that whatsoever has been reported till this
" time of the change of this Prince's Religion, is a meer
" calumny——"

Mr. De
L'Angle's.

Monsieur de L'Angle, Minister of the Protestant Church at Rouen, writ upon the same subject to his friend in London, more fully to evidence the King's stedfastness in the Protestant Religion. These Letters were printed, and industriously spread over the whole Kingdom.

The King himself in his Letter to the House of Commons says, " Do you desire the advancement of the
" Protestant Religion? We have by our constant Pro-
" fession and Practice given sufficient Testimony to the
" World, That neither the unkindness of those of the
" same Faith towards us, nor the Civilities and Prote-
" stations of those of a contrary Profession, could in
" the least degree startle us, or make us swerve from
" it."

Life,
Part II.
P. 216.

'Tis a surprizing reflection of Mr. Baxter upon occasion of these Letters: " These Divines, says he, knew no-
" thing of the State of affairs in England. They knew not
" those Men who were to be restored with the King.
" They pray, says he, for the success of my labours,
" when they were persuading me to put an end to my la-
" bours, by setting up those Prelates, who will silence
" me and many hundreds more. They persuade me
" to that which will separate me from my Flock, and
" then pray, that I may be a blessing to them; and yet,
" says he, I am for restoring the King, that when we
" are silenced, and our Ministry at an end, and some of us
" lie in prisons, we may there, and in that condition, have
" peace of Conscience in the discharge of our duty, and
" the exercise of Faith, Patience, and Charity in our Suf-
" ferings." Was there ever such reasoning as this! But
the reader will make his own remarks upon these extraordinary Paragraphs.

To return back to General Monk in Scotland; as long as the Army governed affairs at Westminster the General was on their side, and entertained Mr. John Collins, an Independant Minister, for his Chaplain; but upon the quarrel between the Army and Parliament, and Monk's declaring for the latter, it was apprehended he had changed sides, and would fall in with the Presbyterians; upon which Mr. Caryl and Barker were sent to Scotland, with a Letter from Dr. Owen, expressing their fears of the danger of their religious

religious Liberties upon a Revolution of Government. The General received them with all the marks of esteem; and after a few Days returned the following Answer, in a Letter directed to Dr. Owen, Mr. Greenhill, and Mr. Hook, to be communicated to the Churches in and about London.

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1659.

Hon. and dear Friends,

“ I Received yours, and am very sensible of your kind-
 “ ness expressed to the Army in Scotland, in sending
 “ such honourable and reverend Persons, whom we re-
 “ ceived with thankfulness and great joy, as the Messen-
 “ gers of the Churches, and the Ministers of Christ of
 “ these three Nations. I do promise you for myself, and
 “ the rest of the Officers here that your Interest, Liberty,
 “ and Encouragement, shall be very dear to us. And we
 “ shall take this as a renewed obligation to assert to the
 “ utmost, what we have already declared to the Churches
 “ of Jesus Christ. I doubt not, but you have received
 “ satisfaction of our inclinations to a peaceable accomoda-
 “ tion. I do hope that some differences being obviated,
 “ we shall obtain a fair composure. I do assure you, that
 “ the great things that have been upon my Heart to se-
 “ cure and provide for, are our Liberties and Freedom,
 “ as the Subjects and Servants of Jesus Christ, which we
 “ have conveyed to us in the Covenant of Grace, assured
 “ in the promises purchased by the Blood of our Saviour
 “ for us; and given as his great Legacy to his Church and
 “ People, in comparison of which we esteem all other
 “ things as dung and dross, but as they have a relation
 “ to, and dependance upon this noble end. The others
 “ are our Laws and Rights as Men, which must have
 “ their esteem in the second place; for which many Mem-
 “ bers of the Churches have been eminent instruments to
 “ labour in sweat and blood for these eighteen years last
 “ past, and our Ancestors for many hundred years be-
 “ fore; the substance of which may be reduced to a Par-
 “ liamentary Government, and the Peoples consenting to
 “ the Laws by which they are governed. That these Pri-
 “ vileges of the Nation may be so bounded, that the Church-
 “ es may have both security and settlement, is my great
 “ Desire, and of those with me. So that I hope you will
 “ own these just things, and give us that assistance that
 “ becomes the Churches of Christ in pursuance of this
 “ work.

Monk's
Letter
to the In-
dependants.

Inter-
Regnum.
1659.

“ work. And we do assure you, we shall comply as far
“ as possible, with respect had to the security and safety
“ of the Nation, and the preservation of our antient Birth-
“ rights and Liberties. And we shall pray, that we may
“ be kept from going out of God’s way in doing God’s
“ Work.

“ I do in the name of the whole Army, and myself,
“ give all our affectionate Thanks for this your Work of
“ Love ; and though we are not able to make such re-
“ turns as are in our hearts and desires to do, yet we shall
“ endeavour by all ways and means to express our care and
“ love to the Churches, and shall leave the reward to him
“ who is the God of peace, and has in special assured all
“ blessings to the Peace-Makers. I conclude with the
“ words of David, 1 Sam. xxv. 32. Blessed be the Lord
“ God of Israel, and blessed be your advice, and blessed be
“ you all. Now the Lord God be a wall of fire round a-
“ bout you, and let his Presence be in his Churches, and
“ they fill’d with his glory. I have no more, but to entreat
“ your Prayers for an happy Issue of this unhappy diffe-
“ rence ; which is the Prayer of him, who is, reverend
“ Sirs, and dear friends, your very affectionate Brother and
“ Servant,

Edinburgh, Nov. 23. 1659,

G. Monk.

Welw.
Mem.
Append.
No. XI.

In one of the General’s letters to the Parliament, written about June 1659. he declares strongly for liberty of Conscience, and an absolute Commonwealth, in language, which in another would be called the Fumes of Fanaticism. “ You are the people (says he) who have filled the World with wonder, but nothing is difficult to Faith ; and the promises of God are sure and certain. We acknowledge that we our selves have very much contributed to the Lord’s departing from our Israel, but we see God’s hour is come, and the time of the people’s deliverance, even the set time is at hand.” “ He cometh skipping over all the mountains of sin; and unworthiness, &c.” “ We humbly beseech you not to heal the wounds of the daughter of God’s people slightly, but to make so sure and lasting provision for both Christian and civil rights, as both this and future generations may have cause to rise up and call you blessed, and the blackest of designs may never be able to cast dirt in your faces any more—” He then

then desires them to encourage none but godly Ministers and Magistrates, that no yoke may be imposed upon Conscience but what is agreeable to the word of God, and that they would establish the Government in a free State or Commonwealth. Signed by General Monk and twenty-five of his chief Officers.

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Regnum.
1659.

Upon the General's coming to London he was transformed at once into a zealous Presbyterian, and thought no more of the Independant Churches; he received the Sacrament at Mr. Calamy's Church, and would suffer none to preach before him but whom he approved. He consulted the Presbyterian Ministers, and asked their advice in all important affairs. It seems these were the gentlemen that beat him out of his Commonwealth principles, if we may believe the Reverend Mr. Sharp, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews, whose words are these, in one of his letters to the Reverend Mr. Douglass in Scotland, " Sunday last, " March 11. the general sent his coach for Mr. Calamy, " Mr. Ash and me; we had a long conversation with him " in private, and convinced him, that a Commonwealth " was impracticable; and to our sense beat him off that " sconce he has hitherto maintained——We urged upon " him, that the Presbyterian Interest which he had espoused was much concerned in keeping up this House, and " settling the Government upon terms. But the subtle General replied, that in regard he had declared so lately against a House of Lords, and the continuing this House " of Commons, he could not so reputably do it." Afterwards, when some Gentlemen of quality, suspecting the King to be at the bottom, were earnest with the General, that if the King must be brought in by the next Parliament, it might be upon the terms of his late Majesty's Concessions at the Isle of Wight; the General at first recoil'd, and declar'd, he would adhere to a Commonwealth; but at last seeming to be conquer'd into a compliance, he intimated to them, " that this was the utmost line he could or " would advance in favour of the King;" and yet when this was moved in the convention Parliament by Sir Matthew Hale, the General stood up, and declared against all conditions, and threaten'd them that should encourage such a motion with all the mischiefs that might follow. Thus the credulous Presbyterians were gradually drawn into the snare, and made to believe, that Presbytery was to be the established Government of the Church of England under King Charles II.

He courts
the Presbyterians.
K. Chron.
p. 81.

K. Chron.
p. 81.

Inter-
Regnum.
16-9.

And the
Scots Kirk.
Kennet, p.
50.

Behaviour
of the In-
dependants.

The Scots were equally concerned in this affair, and much more zealous for their Discipline. The General therefore sent Letters to the Kirk, with the strongest assurances that he would take care of their Discipline. But the Scots not willing to trust him, commissioned Mr. Sharp to be their Agent, and gave him instructions to use his best endeavours, that the Kirk of Scotland might, without interruption or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and liberty of her established Judicatories, and to represent the sinfulness and offensiveness of a Toleration in that Kingdom. Sharp was to concert measures with Mr. Calamy, Ash, Manton, and Cowper; but these Gentlemen being not very zealous for the Discipline, Sharp informed his Principals, that it was feared the King would come in, and with him moderate Episcopacy, at least in England, but that the more zealous party were doing what they could to keep on foot the Covenant. To which Douglass replied, "It is best that the Presbyterian Government be settled simply, for you know that the Judgment of honest Men here is for admitting the King on no other but Covenant Terms."

The Independants and Anabaptists were in such Disgrace that their Leaders had not the honour of being consulted in this weighty affair. General Monk and the Presbyterians were united, and had force sufficient to support their claims; the Tide was with them, and the Parliament at their mercy. The Independants offered to stand by their friends in Parliament, and to raise four new Regiments from among themselves to force the General back into Scotland. Dr. Owen and Mr. Nye had frequent consultations with Mr. Whitlock and St. John; and at a private Treaty with the Officers at Wallingford House, offered to raise one hundred thousand pounds for the use of the Army, provided they would protect them in their religious Liberties, which they were apprehensive Monk and the Presbyterians designed to subvert; but those Officers had lost their credit; their measures were disconcerted and broken; one party was for a treaty, and another for the Sword, but it was too late; their old veteran Regiments were dislodged from the City, and Monk in possession. In this confusion their General Fleetwood, who had brought them into this distress retired, and left them a body without a head, after which they became insignificant, and in a few Months quite contemptible. Here ended the power of the Army, and of the Independants.

Being

Being now to take leave of this People, it may be proper to observe, that the Independants grew up in the time of the Civil Wars, and had the reputation of a wise and polittick People: They divided from the Presbyterians upon the foot of Discipline, and fought in the Parliament's quarrel, not so much for hire and reward, as from real belief that it was "the cause of God;" this inspired their Soldiers with courage, and made them face death with undaunted bravery, in so much that when the Army was new modelled, and filled up with Men of this Principle, they carried all before them. When the War was over they boldly seized the Person of the King, and treated him with honour till they found him unsteady to his promises of "a Toleration of their Religion," and then they became his most determined enemies; when they were assured afterwards by the Treaty of the Isle of Wight, that they were to be crushed between both parties, and to lose their religious Liberty, for which they had been fighting, they tore up the Government by the roots, and subverted the whole Constitution. After the King's death they assumed the chief management of publick affairs, and would not part with it on any terms, lest they should be disbanded and called to account by a parliamentary Power, and therefore they could never come to a settlement, tho' they attempted it under several forms: The first was an absolute Commonwealth, as most agreeable to their principles, but when the Commonwealth began to clip their wings, they dispossessed them, and set up their own General with the Title of Protector, who had skill enough to keep them in awe, tho' they were continually plotting against the Government. After his death they dispossessed his Son, and restored the Commonwealth. When these again attempted to disband them, they turned them out a second time, and set up themselves under the Title of a Committee of Safety; but they wanted Oliver's Head, their new General, Fleetwood, having neither courage nor policy enough to make them cement. Thus they crumbled into factions, and their wanton sporting with the supreme Power, made the Nation sick of the times, and give way to the return of the old Constitution.

The Officers were made up of Independants and Anabaptists, most of them of mean extraction, and far from being as able Statesmen as they had been fortunate Soldiers; they were brave and resolute Men, who had the cause of Religion and Liberty at heart, but they neglected the old

Inter-
Regnum.
1659.

Their Rise
and resolute
Progress
thro' the
War.

And of the
Officers of
the Army.

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old Nobility and Gentry, so that when they fell to pieces there was hardly a Gentleman of fortune or interest in his Country that would stand by them. As to their moral Character, they seem to have been Men of piety and prayer; they called God into all their Councils, but were too much governed by the false notions they had imbibed, and the enthusiastick impulses of their own minds. I don't find that they consulted any number of their Clergy, tho' many of the Independant Ministers were among the most learned and pious Preachers of the times, as Dr. Goodwin, Owen, Nye, and Greenhill, &c. some of whom had no small reputation for politicks; but their pulling down so many forms of Government, without abiding by any one, was certainly their ruin. Thus as the Army and Independants over-reached the Presbyterians in 1648. the Presbyterians, in conjunction with the Scots, blew up the Independants at this time, and next year the Episcopal party, by an artful management of the credulous Presbyterians, undermined and deceived them both.

Death of
Bishop
Brownrigge.

This year died Dr. Ralph Brownrigge, Bishop of Exeter, born at Ipswich in the year 1592. educated in Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and at length chosen Master of Katherine Hall in that University. He was also Prebendary of Durham, and Rector of Barly in Hertfordshire. In the year 1641. he was nominated to the See of Exeter, and installed June 1, 1642. but the Wars between the King and Parliament did not allow him the enjoyment of his dignity. He was nominated one of the Assembly of Divines; and was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge in the year 1644. when the Earl of Manchester visited it, and complied so far as to keep his Mastership till the next year, when he was deprived for a Sermon preached upon the Anniversary of his Majesty's Inauguration. He was no favourer of Archbishop Laud's innovations; for while he was Vice-Chancellor he sent for one of Mr. Barwick's Pu-

Life of Bar-
wick, p. 17.

pils, and said to him, "I wonder your Tutor, no ill Man in other respects, does not yet abstain from that form of worship [bowing towards the East] which he knows is disagreeable to our excellent Parliament, and not very acceptable to God himself; but be you careful to steer your course clear of the dangerous rock of every error, whether it favour of the impiety of Arminianism, or of the superstition of Popery." He was succeeded by Dr. Spurstow, and suffered in common with the rest of the Bishops; but being a Calvinist, and a person of great tem-

per

Inter-
Regnum.
1659.

per and moderation, he was permitted by the Protector Cromwel to be a Preacher at the Temple, in which employment he died, Dec. 7, 1659. about the sixty seventh year of his age. Dr. Gauden says, he was a person of great candor, sweetness, gravity, and solidity of judgment. He was consulted by Mr. Baxter, and others, in several points of controversy, and was indeed a most humble Christian, and very patient under most severe fits of the Stone, which were very acute and tedious for some time before his death.

Of Mr.
Herle.

The Reverend Mr. Charles Herle, sometime Prolocutor of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was born of honourable Parents at Prideaux Herle, near Lystwithyel in Cornwall, in the year, 1598. He was educated in Exeter College, Oxon. In the year 1618. he took the degrees in Arts, and was afterwards Rector of Winnick in Lancashire, one of the richest Livings in England, and was always esteemed a Puritan. When the Wars broke out he took part with the Parliament, was elected one of the Members of the Assembly of Divines, and upon the death of Dr. Twisse, in 1646. was appointed Prolocutor. After the King's death he retired to his Livings at Winnick, and was in very high esteem with all the Clergy in that Country. In the year 1654. he was appointed one of the assistant Commissioners for ejecting scandalous Ministers, together with Mr. Isaac Ambrose and Mr. Gee. He was a moderate Presbyterian, and left behind him some practical, and controversial writings. Mr. Fuller says, he was so much of a Christian, Scholar, and Gentleman, that he could agree in affection with those who differed from him in judgment. He died at his Parsonage at Winnick in the sixty first year of his age, and was buried in his own Church, Sept. 29, 1659.

Fuller's
Worthies,
p. 205.

The Reverend Mr. Tho. Cawton, born at Rainham in Norfolk, and educated in Queen's College, Cambridge; he was afterwards Minister of Wivenhoe in Essex, 1637. and at last of St. Bartholomew behind the Exchange. He was (says the Oxford Historian) a learned and religious Puritan, driven into exile for preaching against the murder of King Charles I. and for being in the same plot with Mr. Love, for raising Money to supply the Army of King Charles II. when he was coming into England to recover his right. He fled to Rotterdam, and became Preacher to the English Church there, where he died, Aug. 7, 1659. in the fifty fourth year of his age.

Mr. Tho.
Cawton.

The

King
Charles II.
1660.

The Resto-
ration of
King
Charles II.

The new year began with the Restoration of King Charles II. to the Throne of his Ancestors. The Long Parliament dissolved themselves March 16, and while the People were busy in choosing a new one, General Monk was courted by all parties. The Republicans endeavoured to fix him for a Commonwealth; the French Ambassador offered him the assistance of France, if he would assume the Government either as the King or Protector, which 'tis said he would have accepted, if Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper had not prevented it, by summoning him before the Council, and keeping the doors locked till he had taken away the Commissions from some of his most trusty Officers, and given them to others of the Council's nomination. But be this as it will, 'tis certain Monk had not as yet given the King any encouragement to rely upon him, though his Majesty had sent him a Letter as long ago as July 21, 1659. by an express Messenger, with the largest offers of reward.

Presbyteri-
ans in full
Power.

The Presbyterians were now in possession of the whole Power of England; the Council of State, the chief Officers of the Army and Navy, and the Governors of the chief Forts and Garrisons were theirs; their Clergy were in Possession of both Universities, and of the best Livings in the Kingdom. There was hardly a Loyalist, or professed Episcopalian, in any post of honour or trust; nor had the King any number of friends capable of promoting his Restoration, for there was a disabling clause in the Qualification Act, "that all who had been in Arms against the Long Parliament should be disqualified from serving in the next." The whole Government therefore was with the Presbyterians, who were shy of the Independants as of a body of Men more distant from the Church, and more inclined to a Commonwealth. They were no less watchful to keep out of Parliament the Republicans of all sorts, some of whom, says Burnet, run about every where like Men that were giddy or amazed, but their time was past. On the other hand they secretly courted the Episcopalians, who dispersed papers among the People, protesting their resolutions to forget all past injuries, and to bury all Rancor, Malice, and Animosities, under the foundation of his Majesty's Restoration. "We reflect (say they) upon our Sufferings as from the Hand of God, and therefore do not cherish any violent thoughts or inclinations against any persons whatsoever who have been instrumental in them; and if the indiscretion of any particular

Baxter p.
216, 218.
Hist.
Stuarts, p.
458.
K. Chr. p.
121, 144.
Baxter's
Life,
Part II.
p. 217.

“ particular Persons shall transport them to Expressions
“ contrary to this general Sense, we shall disclaim them.”

King
Charles II.
1660.

This was signed by eighteen Noblemen, and about fifty Knights and Gentlemen. Dr. Morley and some of his Brethren met privately with the Presbyterian Ministers, and made large Professions of Lenity and Moderation, but without descending to Particulars. The King and Chancellor Hyde carried on the Intrigue. The Chancellor, in one of his Letters from Breda, dated April 20, 1660, says, that
“ the King very well approved that Dr. Morley and some
“ of his Brethren, should enter into conferences, and have
“ frequent conversation with the Presbyterian Party, in or-
“ der to reduce them to such a Temper as is consistent with
“ the good of the Church ; and it may be no ill expedient
“ (says he) to assure them of present good preferments ; but
“ in my opinion you should rather endeavour to win over
“ those who being recovered, will both have reputation,
“ and desire to merit from the Church, than be over soli-
“ citous to comply with the pride and passion of those
“ who propose extravagant Things.” Such was the Spirit of the Church Party, who were decoying the others into the snare ! The Presbyterian Ministers did not want for Cautions from the Independants and others, not to be too forward in trusting their new Allies, but they would neither hear nor see, nor believe, till it was too late. They valued themselves upon their superior influence, and from an ambitious desire of grasping all the Merit and Glory of the Restoration to themselves, they would suffer none to act openly with them, but desired the Episcopal Clergy to lie still for fear of the People, and leave the conducting of this great affair to the Hands it was in.

Life of
Barwick, p.
253.

Accordingly the Presbyterian Ministers writ to their friends in the several Counties, to be careful that Men of Republican Principles might not be returned to serve in the next Parliament, so that in some Counties the Elections fell upon Men that had no Religion. And in other places the People broke through the disabling Clause. Dr. Barwick says, they paid no regard to it ; and Monk declared, that if the People made use of their natural Rights in choosing whom they thought fit, without reserve, no injury should be done them. So that when the Houses met it was evident to all wise Men it would be a Court Parliament.

Term on
which the
Scots and
English

But the Scots were more steady to the Covenant, and sent over the Reverend Mr. James Sharp, with the Earls of Crawford and Lauderdale to Holland, humbly to put his Majesty King.

King
Charles II.
1660.

K. Chron.
p. 101, 110.
lb. p. 104.

Life, p.
256.

K. Chron. p.
228.

Remarks.

Majesty in mind, that the Kirk of Scotland expected protection upon the Foot of the Presbyterian Establishment, without Indulgence to Sectaries. Their Brethren in the North of Ireland joined in an Address to the same purpose : And some of the English Presbyterians were of the same Mind ; ten of whom met the Scots Commissioners at London, and made earnest applications to the General not to restore the King but upon the Concessions made by his Father in the Isle of Wight. But this was only the Resolution of a few, the Majority (says Mr. Sharp) were for moderate Episcopacy, upon the Scheme of Archbishop Usher, and therefore willing to hearken to an Accommodation with the Church. Dr. Barwick adds, “ What the Presbyterian-
“ ans aimed at, who were now superior to the Independ-
“ ants, was, that all Matters should be settled according
“ to the Treaty of the Isle of Wight,” which gave the Court a fair opportunity of referring all Church Matters to a conciliatory Synod, the Divines of each Party to be summoned when the King should be settled on his Throne. This was the Bait that was laid for the Presbyterians, and was the ruin of their Cause. The Scots Kirk stood to their Principles, and would have bid defiance to the old Clergy, but Mr. Calamy, Manton, and Ash, informed them in the Name of the London Ministers, that the general Stream and Current being for the old Prelacy in its pomp and Height, it was in vain to hope for the establishing Presbytery, which made them lay aside the Thoughts of it, and fly to Bishop Usher’s moderate Episcopacy. Thus they were beat from their first Works.

But if the Tide was so strong against them, should they have opened the Sluices, and let in the Enemy at once, without a single Article of Capitulation ? ’Tis hard to account for this conduct of the Presbyterians without impeaching their Understandings. Indeed the Episcopal Clergy gave them good Words, assuring them, that all things should be to their Minds when the King came home ; and that their relying on the Royal Word would be a mark of Confidence which his Majesty would always remember, and would do honour to the King, who had been so long neglected. But should this have induced the Ministers to give up a Cause that had cost so much Treasure and Blood, and become humble Petitioners to those who were now almost at their Mercy ? For they could not but be sensible, that the old Constitution must return with the King ; that Diocesan Episcopacy was the only legal Establishment ; that all that

had

had been done in favour of Presbytery not having had the Royal Assent, was void in Law, therefore they and their Friends who had not Episcopal Ordination and Induction into their Livings must be looked upon as Intruders, and not legal Ministers of the Church of England.

King
Charles II.
1660.

But notwithstanding this Infatuation, and vain Confidence in the Court, and the Clergy, Mr. Eachard would set aside all their Merit, by saying, "Whatever the Presbyterians did in this Affair was principally to relieve themselves from the Oppression of the Independants, who had wrested the power out of their Hands, and not out of any affection to the King and Church." Directly contrary to his Majesty's Declaration concerning ecclesiastical Affairs, which says, "When we were in Holland we were attended with many grave and learned Ministers of the Presbyterian Persuasion, whom to our great Satisfaction and Comfort we found to be full of affection to us, of Zeal for the Peace of the Church and State, and neither Enemies (as they have been given out to be) to Episcopacy or Liturgy." Bishop Burnet acknowledges, that many of the Presbyterian Ministers, chiefly in the City of London, had gone into the Design of the Restoration in so signal a Manner, and with such Success, that they had great Merit, and a just Title to very high Preferments. Mr. Baxter gives the following Reasons of their Conduct. "The Presbyterians (says he) were influenced by the Covenant, by which, and by the Oaths of Allegiance to the King, and his Heirs, they apprehended themselves bound to do their utmost to restore the King, let the event be what it will." But then he adds, "most of them had great expectations of Favour and Respect; and because the King had taken the Covenant, they hoped he would remove Subscriptions, and leave the Common-Prayer and Ceremonies indifferent; that they might not be cast out of the Churches. Some who were less sanguine depended on such a Liberty as the Protestants had in France; but others, who were better acquainted with the Principles and Tempers of the Prelates, declared, that they expected to be silenced, imprisoned, and banished, but yet they would do their Parts to restore the King, because no foreseen ill consequence ought to hinder them from doing their Duty." Surely these were better Christians than Casuists! When the Ministers waited on his Majesty in Holland, he gave them such encouraging promises

Of their
vain Ex-
pectations
from the
Court.

p. 96, 178.

p. 216.

King
Charles II.
1660.

mises (says Mr. Baxter) as raised in some of them high expectations. When he came to Whitehall he made ten of them his Chaplains; and when he went to the House to quicken the passing the Act of Indemnity, he said, "My Lords, if you do not join with me in extinguishing this fear, which keeps the hearts of Men awake, you keep me from performing my promise, which if I had not made, neither I nor you had been now here. I pray let us not deceive those who brought, or permitted us to come together." Here is a Royal Declaration, and yet all came to nothing. The Reader will judge hereafter who were most to blame, the Episcopal Party, for breaking through so many solemn vows and protestations; or the Presbyterians, for bringing in the King without a previous Treaty, and trusting a set of Men, whom they knew to be their implacable enemies. I can think of no decent excuse for the former; and the best apology that can be made for the latter is, that most of them lived long enough to see their error, and to repent heartily of it.

G. Monk
corresponds
with the
King.
Burnet, p.
78, 79.

In the interval between the Dissolution of the long Parliament, and the meeting of the Convention which brought in the King, General Monk seeing which way things were likely to go, fell in with the Stream, and ventur'd to correspond more freely with the King by Sir J. Greenville, who brought the General a Letter, and was sent back with an assurance that he would serve his Majesty in the best manner he could. He desired the King to remove out of the Spanish Dominions, and promised, that if his Majesty writ Letters to the Parliament, he would deliver them at the opening of the Sessions. Bishop Burnet says, that he had like to have let the honour slip through his Fingers, and that a very small share of it really belonged to him.

Convention
Parliament
meets.

The Convention met April 25, the Earl of Manchester being chosen Speaker of the House of Lords, and Sir Harbottle Grimstone of the Commons. At the opening the Sessions Dr. Reynolds preached before the Houses. April 30, was appointed for a Fast, when Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Hardy preached before the Lords, and Dr. Gauden, Mr. Calamy and Baxter before the Commons; all but Gauden of the Presbyterian Party. Lord Clarendon says, the Presbyterian Party in the House were rather troublesome than powerful; but others with greater probability affirm, that the body of the Commons were at first of that party. Next day after the Fast, the King, by the advice of the General,

General, having removed privately to Breda, and writ Letters to both Houses; the General stood up and acquainted the Speaker, that one Sir J. Greenville had brought him a Letter from the King, but that he had not presumed to open it; and that the same Gentleman attended at the door with another to the House. Sir John was immediately called in, and having delivered his Letter at the Bar withdrew, and carried another to the Lords. The Letter contained an earnest invitation to the Commons to return to their duty, as the only way to a settled Peace; his Majesty promising an Act of Oblivion for what was past, and all the security they could desire for their Liberties and Properties, and the Rights of Parliament for the future.

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Charles II.
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Under the same cover was enclosed his Majesty's Declaration from Breda, granting "a general Pardon to all his
" loving Subjects who should lay hold of it within forty
" days, except such as should be excepted by Parliament.
" Those only excepted (says he) let all our Subjects, how
" faulty soever, rely upon the word of a King solemnly
" given, that no crime committed against us, or our Royal
" Father, shall ever be brought into question to the preju-
" dice of their Lives, Estates, or Reputation. We do also
" declare a Liberty to tender Consciences, and that no
" Man shall be disquieted or called in question for differen-
" ces of opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not dis-
" turb the Peace of the Kingdom. And we shall be
" ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament as upon
" mature Deliberation shall be offered to us for the full
" granting that indulgence"—Upon reading these Let-
ters the Commons voted, that according to the antient con-
stitution, the Government of this Kingdom is, and ought
to be, by King, Lords, and Commons; and a Committee
was appointed to draw up a dutiful Letter, inviting his Ma-
jesty to return to his Dominions: Money was voted to de-
fray the King's expences; a deputation of Lords and Com-
mons was sent to attend his Majesty; and the Fleet was or-
dered to convoy him home. Sir Matthew Hale moved,
that a Committee might be appointed to review the propo-
sitions of the Isle of Wight, and was seconded in the Mo-
tion; but Monk, who was prepared for such a Motion, stood
up and said, "The Nation was now quiet, but there were
" many incendiaries upon the watch, trying where they
" could first raise a Flame; that he could not answer for
" the peace of the Kingdom or Army, if any delays were

King's De-
claration
from Breda.

Parliament
invite the
King home
without any
Terms.

Burnet.

King
Charles II.
1660.

“ put to the sending for the King. What need is there of
“ it (says he) when he is to bring neither Arms nor Trea-
“ sure along with him.” He then added, “ That he should
“ lay the blame of all the Blood and Mischief that might
“ follow, on the heads of those who should insist upon any
“ Motion that might retard the present settlement of the
“ Nation.” Which frightened the House into a Compli-
ance. And this is all the service General Monk did towards
the King’s Restoration, for which he was rewarded with a
Garter, a Dukedom, a great Estate in Land, and with
one of the highest Posts of Honour and Profit in the King-
dom.

Owing in
part to Ld.
Clarendon.
Ib. p. 88,
89.

Thus was the King voted home in a hurry, which was
owing to the flattering accounts Lord Clarendon gave in his
Letters of the King’s good Nature, Virtue, Probity, and
application to Business, for when the Earl of Southampton
saw afterwards what the King was like to prove, he said
once in great wrath to the Chancellor, “ That it was to
“ him they owed all they either felt or feared ; for if he
“ had not possessed them in all his Letters with such an
“ opinion of the King, they would have taken care to have
“ put it out of his power either to do himself or them any
“ mischief, which was like to be the effect of their trust-
“ ing him so entirely.” To which Hyde answered, that
“ he thought the King had so true a judgment, and so
“ much good nature, that when the age of pleasure should
“ be over, and the idleness of his exile, which made him
“ seek new diversions, for want of other employment, was
“ turned to an obligation to mind affairs, then he would
“ have shaken off these entanglements.” But here the
Chancellor was mistaken.

A Deputati-
on of Lords
and Com-
mons, with
some Mini-
sters wait on
the King.

When the Lords and Commons sent over a Deputation
to the King at Breda, the London Ministers moved, that a
pass might be granted to some of their number, to wait
upon his Majesty with an Address from their Brethren ; ac-
cordingly Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Spurstow, Mr. Calamy, Mr.
Hall, Mr. Manton, and Mr. Case, were appointed, who
went over with three or four attendants, and had an audi-
ence May 17, wherein, according to Lord Clarendon,
“ they magnified their own, and the affection of their
“ Friends, who had always wished his Majesty’s Restorati-
“ on, according to the Covenant, and had lately informed
“ the people of their duty to invite him home. They
“ thanked God for his Majesty’s Constancy to the Prote-
“ stant Religion, and declared themselves no Enemies to
“ moderate

Ministers
Address and
Reception.
K. Chron.
p. 139.
Compl.
Hist. p. 247.

King
Charles II.
1660.

K. Chron.
P. 152.

“ moderate Episcopacy, only they desired that such things
 “ might not be pressed upon them in God’s Worship which
 “ in their judgments that used them were indifferent, but
 “ by others were held to be unlawful.” But the Tables
 were now turned : The King spoke kindly to them, and
 acknowledged their Services, but told them, he would refer
 all to the Wisdom of the Parliament. At another audi-
 ence (if we may believe the noble Historian) they met with
 very different usage ; for when they entreated his Majesty
 at his first landing not to use the Book of Common-Prayer
 entire and formally in his Chapel, it having been long laid
 aside, the King replied with some warmth, “ That while
 “ he gave them Liberty he would not have his own taken
 “ away. That he had always used that form of Service
 “ which he thought the best in the World, and had never
 “ discontinued it in places where it was more disliked, than
 “ he hoped it was by them. That when he came into
 “ England he should not severely enquire how it was used
 “ in other Churches, but he would have no other used in
 “ his own Chapel.” They then besought him with more
 importunity, that the use of the Surplice might be discon-
 tinued by his Chaplains, because it would give offence ; but
 the King was as inexorable in that point as the other, and
 told them, that it was a decent habit, and had been long
 used in the Church ; that it had been still retained by him,
 and that he would never discountenance that good old Prac-
 tice of the Church in which he had been bred. Mr. Baxter
 says, the King gave them such encouraging promises of
 Peace, as raised some of them to high expectations. He
 never refused them a private audience when they desired it ;
 and to amuse them further, while they were once waiting
 in an Anti-chamber, his Majesty said his Prayers with such
 an audible Voice in the Room adjoining, that the Ministers
 might hear him ; “ He thanked God that he was a cove-
 “ nanted King ; that he hoped the Lord would give him
 “ an humble, meek, forgiving Spirit ; that he might have
 “ forbearance towards his offending Subjects, as he expec-
 “ ted forbearance from offended Heaven.” Upon hearing
 which old Mr. Case lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and blef-
 sed God, who had given them a praying King.

Bishops
send to the
King with
Instructions.

Tho’ the Bishops held a private correspondence with
 Chancellor Hyde, and by him were assured of the King’s
 affection, they were no less forward than the Presbyterians in
 their application to his Majesty ; for while his Majesty was

King
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1660.

at Breda, Mr. Barwick was sent over with the following Instructions.

1. He was to wait upon the right honourable the Lord Chancellor of England, and to beg his Lordship's assistance to present a most humble Petition to his Majesty in the name of the bishops, and then to deliver their lordships letters to the Chancellor, to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and to the Secretary of State, wherein they returned those great Men their most thankful acknowledgments for their piety and affection to the Church in her late most afflicted State.

2. He was then to give his Majesty a distinct account of the present State of the Church in all the particulars wherein his Majesty desired to be informed; and to bring the Bishops back his Majesty's commands with regard to all that should be thought proper for them, or any of them to do.

3. He was humbly to ask his Majesty's pleasure with regard to some of the Bishops waiting on the Sea-Coast to pay their duty to his Majesty, when by God's blessing, he should soon land in England; and whether it was his Royal pleasure that they should attend him there in their Episcopal Habits; and at what time and place, and how many, and which of them his Majesty pleased should wait his Arrival.

4. He was also to enquire concerning the number of his Majesty's Chaplains; whether any of them, besides those in waiting, should attend his arrival upon the coast; and to beg that his Majesty would vouchsafe to appoint how many, and who.

5. He was most humbly to beseech his Majesty, that if Dr. Lushington, formerly the King's Chaplain, should offer to officiate in that capacity, his Majesty would be pleased not to indulge him that favour till enquiry should be made concerning his suspected Faith and Principles. [He was a Socinian.]

6. Since it has been customary for our Kings to celebrate publick thanksgivings in St. Paul's Cathedral, he was humbly to beseech his Majesty, to signify what was his Royal Pleasure in this behalf, considering the ruinous Estate of that Church.

7. His last Instruction was, to give a just and due account to his Majesty, why the affair of filling up the vacant sees had met with no better success.

Mr. Barwick was most graciously received by the King, and his Ministers, and the Sunday after his arrival at Breda,

was

was appointed to preach before his Majesty. The Court was as yet very much upon their guard with respect to the Presbyterians; but the flames began to break out at home; the Episcopal Clergy not observing any measures of prudence in their Sermons; Dr. Griffith having preached an angry Sermon before the General at Mercer's Hall, March 25. on Prov. xxiv. 21. "My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change;" was for a pretence confined to Newgate, but in a few days he was released, and printed his Sermon with a dedication to the General. Others in their Sermons gave out threatnings against those who had hitherto had the power in their hands; of which the King being inform'd, commanded Chancellor Hyde to acquaint his correspondents, that he was extreamly apprehensive of inconvenience and mischief to the Church and himself, from Offences of that kind, and ordered him to desire Mr. Barwick and Dr. Morley to use their credit and authority with such men, and to let them know from his Majesty, the tenderness of the Conjunction. The Chancellor accordingly, in his letter from Breda, April 16. 1660. writ the King's sense, and added, that if occasion required they were to speak to the Bishops of Ely and Salisbury to interpose their authority, to conjure these men, to make a better judgment of the Season, and not to awaken their jealousies and apprehensions which all Men should endeavour to extinguish. "And truly I hope (says the Chancellor) if faults of this kind are not committed, that both the Church and the Kingdom will be better dealt with than is imagined; and I am confident these good Men will be more troubled that the Church should undergo a new suffering by their indiction, than for all that they have suffered hitherto themselves,"

The Clouds gathering thus thick over the managers of the late times, every one began to shift for himself. Richard Cromwell resigned his Chancellorship of the University of Oxford the very day the King was called home, and retired beyond Sea: He had offered to give it up when he was divested of the Protectorship, as appears by his Letter on that occasion, which says,—“You should have had fuller experience of my high esteem for learning and learned Men, if providence had continued me in my high Station, but as I accepted of the honour of being your Chancellor in order to promote your prosperity, I assure you I will divest my self of the Honour when it will contribute

King
Charles II.
1660.

Richard
Cromwel
resigns his
Chancel-
lorship and
absconds.
K. Chron.
p. 141.

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Charles II.
1660.

“ to your advantage.” Accordingly as soon as the King was voted home he sent them the following Resignation.

Gentlemen,

“ I SHALL always retain a hearty sense of my former
“ Obligations to you, in your free Election of me to the
“ Office of your Chancellor ; and it is no small trouble to
“ my thoughts, when I consider how little serviceable I
“ have been to you in that relation. But since the all-wise
“ providence of God, which I desire always to adore, and
“ bow-down unto, has been pleased to change my condition,
“ that I am not in a capacity to answer the ends of the
“ Office—I do therefore most freely resign, and give up
“ all my right and interest therein, but shall always retain
“ my affection and esteem for you, with my Prayers for
“ your continual Prosperity, that amidst the many examples
“ of the Instability and Revolutions of human Affairs, you
“ may still abide flourishing and fruitful.” Gentlemen,

Your affectionate Friend and Servant,

Hursley,

May 8. 1660.

Rich. Cromwel.

His Character.
Burnet,
p. 82. 83.

Thus Richard went off the Stage of publick Action.
“ As he was innocent of all the evil his Father had done
“ (says Burnet) so there was no prejudice lay against him.
“ Upon his advancement to the Protectorship the City of
“ London, and almost all the Counties of England, sent
“ him Addresses of congratulation, but when he found the
“ times too boisterous he readily withdrew, and became a
“ private man ; and as he had done no hurt to any body,
“ so no body ever studied to hurt him. A rare instance of
“ the instability of human greatness ; and of the security of
“ innocence !” In his younger years he had not all that
zeal for Religion as was the fashion of the times ; but those
who knew him well in the latter part of Life have assured
me, that he was a perfect Gentleman in his behaviour, well
acquainted with publick affairs, of great gravity, and real
piety ; but so very modest, that he would not be distinguished
or known by any Name but the feigned one of Mr. Clarke.
He died at Theobalds about the Year 1712.

The King
lands and
rides thro’
the City to
Whitehall.]

The King landed at Dover, May 26. and came the same
Night to Canterbury, where he rested the next Day, and
on Tuesday, May 29. rid in triumph with his two Brothers
thro’ the City of London to Whitehall, amidst the acclamations
of an innumerable croud of Spectators. As he
pass’d

pass'd along, old Mr. Arthur Jackson an eminent Presbyterian Minister, presented his Majesty with a rich embossed Bible, which he was pleas'd to receive, and to declare it his resolution, to make that Book the Rule of his Conduct.

King
Chhrles II.
1660.

Two days after the King's arrival at Whitehall his Majesty went to the House of Peers, and after a short congratulatory Speech pass'd an Act, turning the present Convention into a Parliament. After which the Houses for themselves, and all the Commons of England, laid hold of his Majesty's most gracious Pardon, and appointed a Committee to prepare an Act of Indemnity for all that had been concerned in the late troubles, except the King's Judges, and two or three others.

Convention
turned into
a Parlia-
ment.

Had the directions given for the choice of this Parliament been observed, no Royalists could have sat in the House; however, their numbers were inconsiderable; the Convention was a Presbyterian Parliament, and had the courage to avow the justice and lawfulness of taking Arms against the late King till the Year 1648. for when Mr. Lenthall, Speaker of the Long Parliament, in order to shew the sincerity of his Repentance, had said, that "He that first drew his Sword against the late King committed as great an offence as he that cut off his Head;" he was brought to the Bar, and received the following reprimand from the present Speaker, by Order of the House.

They avow
the Justice
of the Ci-
vil War.
Eachard,
p. 765.

S I R,

"THE House has taken great offence at what you have said, which, in the Judgment of the House, contains as high a reflection upon the Justice of the Proceedings of the Lords and Commons of the last Parliament, in their actings before 1648. as could be expressed. They apprehend there is much poison in the said words, and that they were spoken out of design to inflame, and to render them who drew the Sword to bring Delinquents to Punishment, and to vindicate their just Liberties, into balance with them who cut off the King's Head; of which they express their abhorrence and detestation. Therefore I am commanded to let you know, that had these words fallen out any other time in this Parliament, but when they had considerations of Mercy, and Indemnity, you might have expected a sharper and severer Sentence—Nevertheless I am according to command, to give you a sharp Reprehension, and I do as sharply and severely as I can reprehend you for it."

But

King
Charles II.
1660.

They give
up every
thing the
Court de-
sires.

Rapin, p.
258.

p. 89.

Remarks,

Presbyterian
Ministers
made King's
Chaplains.
K. Chron.
p. 162.

But it was to little purpose to justify the Civil War, when they were yielding up almost every thing to the Court; for though they stopt short of the lengths of the next Parliament, they encreased his Majesty's Revenues so much, that if he had been a frugal Prince he might have lived without Parliaments for the future. The bringing the King home after this manner without any Treaty, or one single Article for the securing Men in the enjoyment of their religious and civil Liberties, was (as Bishop Burnet observes) the foundation of all the misfortunes of the Nation under this Reign. And as another right Reverend Prelate observes, the Restoration of the King in this high and absolute manner laid the foundation of all the King's future miscarriages; so that if the Revolution by King William and Queen Mary had not taken place, the Restoration had been no blessing to the Nation.

But it ought to be remembered, that this was not a legal Parliament, for the Rump had no Power to appoint "Keepers of the Liberties of England;" nor had the Keepers a right to issue out Writs for a Parliament; nor could the King's Writ, without the subsequent choice of the People make them so. All the Laws therefore made by this Convention; and all the punishments inflicted upon offenders subsequent on them were not strictly legal, which the Court were so apprehensive of, that they prevailed with the next Parliament to confirm them. When this Convention Parliament had sat about eight Months, it was dissolved December 29, partly because it was not legally chosen, and because it was too much Presbyterian; the prime Minister [Hyde] having now formed a design in concert with the Bishops to turn all the Prebyterians out of the Church.

The managing Presbyterians still encouraged themselves with hopes of a comprehension within the Church, though they had parted with all their weight and influence; and from Directors were become humble Supplicants to those very Men who but a few Months before would have lain at their feet. They had now no other refuge but the King's Clemency, which was directed by Chancellor Hyde and the Bishops; but to keep them quiet till things were better settled his Majesty condescended, at the instance of the Earl of Manchester, to admit ten of their number into the list of his Chaplains in ordinary (viz.)

Dr. Reynolds,	Mr. Calamy,
Dr. Spurstow,	Mr. Ashe,
Dr. Wallis,	Mr. Cafe,
Dr. Manton,	Mr. Baxter,
Dr. Bates,	Mr. Woodbridge.

King
Charles II.
1660.

Baxter's
Life, p. 29.

But none of these Divines were called to preach at Court, except Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Spurstow, Mr. Calamy, and Mr. Baxter, each of them once. Here again the Presbyterians were divided in their politicks, some being for going as far as they could with the Court, and others for drawing back. Of the former sort were Mr. Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, and Mr. Ashe, who were entirely directed by the Earl of Manchester, and had frequent Assemblies at his house; to them were joined Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, and most of the City Ministers; but Mr. Seaman, Mr. Jenkins, and others, were of another party; these were a little estranged from the rest of their Brethren, and meddled not with Politicks (says Mr. Baxter) because the Court gave them no encouragement, their design being only to divide them; but the former had more confidence in their Superiors, and carried on a Treaty, till by force and violence they were beaten out of the field.

Upon the King's arrival at Whitehall the Liturgy of the Church of England was restored in his Majesty's Chapel, and in several Churches both in City and Country; for it was justly observed, that all Acts and Ordinances of the Long Parliament that had not the Royal Assent, were in themselves null, and therefore Prelacy was still the only legal Establishment, and the Common-Prayer the only legal Form of Worship, and that they were punishable by the Laws of the Land who officiated by any other. The King in his Declaration had desired, that the Presbyterians would read so much of the Liturgy as they themselves had no Exception against, but most of them declined the proposal. But to set an Example to the rest of the Nation, the House of Peers, two Days after the King was proclaimed, appointed Mr. Marston to read Divine Service before them, in his formalities, according to the Common-Prayer Book; and the Sunday following Dr. Gauden preached, and administered the Sacrament to several of the Peers, who received it kneeling. On the 31st of May they ordered, that the Form of Prayers formerly used should be constantly read in their houses, provided that no Prejudice, Penalty, or

Liturgy re-
stored.

K. Chron.
p. 432.

King
Charles II.
1660.

or Reflection, shall be on any that are not present. The House of Commons followed the example of the Lords; and before the end of the year many of the Parochial Clergy, who scrupled the use of the Service Book, were prosecuted for offending against the Statutes made in that behalf; the Justices of the Peace and others insisting, that the Laws returned with the King, and that they ought not to be dispensed with in the neglect of them.

Sequestered
Clergy re-
stored.

The old sequestered Clergy flocked in great Numbers about the Court, magnifying their Sufferings, and making interest for Preferments in the Church; every one took possession of the Living from which he had been ejected; by which means some hundreds of the Presbyterian Clergy were dispossessed at once. Upon this the Heads of that party waited upon the King, and prayed, that tho' all who had lost their Livings for malignancy, or disaffection to the late Powers were restored, yet that those Ministers who succeeded such as had been ejected for scandal might keep their places; but the Court paid no regard to their petitions. However, where the incumbent was dead his Majesty yielded, that the Living should be confirmed to the present possessor.

And Heads
of Colleges.
K. Chr. p.
152.

The Heads of Colleges and Fellows who had been ejected in the late times were no less forward in their applications to be restored; upon which the Parliament appointed a Committee to receive their petitions. Dr. Goodwin having resigned his Presidentship of Magdalen College, the Lords ordered, "That Dr. Oliver be restored in as full and ample manner as formerly he enjoyed it, till the pleasure of his Majesty be further known. And the three senior Fellows were appointed to put this Order in execution." The ejected Fellows of New College, Oxon, petitioned at the same time to be restored; upon which the Lords ordered, May 19, "That Robert Grove, John Lampshire, &c. late Fellows of New College, Oxon, and all others who were unjustly ejected out of their Fellowships, be forthwith restored; and that all such Fellows as have been admitted contrary to the Statute be forthwith ejected; and that no new Fellows be admitted contrary to the Statutes." And to prevent further applications of this kind, the Lords passed this general Order June 4. "That the Chancellors of both Universities shall take care, that the several Colleges in the said Universities shall be governed according to their respective Statutes; and that such persons who have been unjust-

Ib. p. 153.

Ib. p. 173.

"ly

“ ly put out of their Headships, Fellowships, or other
 “ Offices relating to the several Colleges or Universities,
 “ may be restored according to the said Statutes of the Uni-
 “ versity, and founders of Colleges therein.”

King
 Charles II.
 1660.

Pursuant to this Order there followed a very considera-
 ble change in both Universities, Commissioners being ap-
 pointed by the King to hear and determine all Causes
 relating to this Affair, who in the Months of August
 and September restored all such as were unmarried to
 their respective places. In the University of Oxford, be-
 sides Doctor Oliver already mentioned, the following
 Heads of Colleges were restored, and the present possessors
 ejected.

Heads of Colleges restored,	August 3. President of	In the Place of Heads ejected,
Dr. Hannibal Potter,	Trinity Coll.	Dr. Seth Ward,
Dr. Richard Bayly,	St. John's Coll.	Mr. Thank. Owen,
Dr. Francis Manfel,	Jesus College,	Mr. Fran. Howel,
Dr. Robert Newlin,	Corp. Chr. Coll.	Dr. Edw. Staunton,
Dr. Gilbert Sheldon,	All Souls Coll.	Dr. Meredith, dec.
Dr. Thomas Yate,	Braz. Nose Coll.	Dr. D. Greenwood,
Mr. Hen. Wightwick,	Pembroke Coll.	Dr. Hen. Langley.
N. B. This Mr. Wightwick was ejected a 2d time 1664.		

_____	St. Mary's Hall,	Mr. Thomas Cole,
Dr. Rob. Saunder- son,	{ Regius Profess. in Divinity,	{ Dr. John Conant,
_____	{ Nat. Philosoph. Reader	{ Dr. Josh. Crosse,
Dr. Fell,	{ Can. of Chr. Ch. & Uni. Orator.	{ Mr. Ralph But- ton,
_____	{ Can. of Chr. Ch. and Marg. Prof.	{ Dr. Hen. Wilkin- son, sen.

Besides these, all surviving ejected Fellows of Colleges
 were restored without exception, and such as had been no-
 minated by the Commissioners in 1648, or elected in any
 other manner than according to the Statutes were ejected,
 and their places declared vacant.

And Fel-
 lows.

The like alterations were made in the University of
 Cambridge. The Earl of Manchester, Chancellor, was
 obliged to send the following Letter to the University,
 dated August 3. for restoring Dr. Martin to the Ma-

Reformati-
 on of the
 University
 of Camb.
 K. Chron.
 p. 221.

stership

King
Charles II.
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stership of Queen's College, whom he had ejected for Scandal by Letters under his Hand, dated March 13,

1643.

lb. p. 222.

"Whereas I am informed, that Dr. Ed. Martin has
"been wrongfully put out of his Mastership, these are to
"signify to all whom it may concern, that I do, by vir-
"tue of an Authority given to me, by the Lords assem-
"bled in Parliament, restore him to his said Mastership,
"together with all Lodgings, &c. appertaining to his place,
"from henceforth to have and enjoy all profits, rights,
"privileges, and advantages, belonging thereunto, unless
"cause be shewn to the contrary within ten days after the
"date hereof." This Gentleman was accordingly restor-
ed, and with him several others; as,

Heads of Colleges restored,	Master of	In the Place of Heads ejected,
Dr. J. Cofins,	Peter House,	Dr. Laz. Seaman,
Dr. Tho. Paske,	Clare Hall,	Resigned to Dr.
Dr. Ben. Laney,	Pembroke Hall,	Theo. Dillingham,
Dr. Rob. King,	Trinity Hall,	Mr. Will. Moses,
Dr. Rich. Sterne,	Jesus College,	Mr. Bond,
Dr. Edw. Rain- bowe,	Magd. Coll. eject. for re- fusing Eng.	Mr. John Worth- ington, Mr. John Sadleir.

Fafl. p. 120.

New Crea-
tions in the
Universities.
Kennet's
Chron. p.
220, 221,
&c.

All the surviving Fellows unmarried were restored, as in the other University, by which means most of the Presbyterians were dispossessed, and the Education of Youth taken out of their Hands. To make way for the filling up these and other vacancies in the Church, the Honours of the Universities were offered to almost any that would declare their aversion to Presbytery, and hearty affection for Episcopal Government. It was his Majesty's Pleasure, and the Chancellor's, that there should be a Creation in all faculties of such as had suffered for the Royal Cause, and had been ejected from the University by the Visitors in 1648. Accordingly between seventy and eighty Masters of Arts were created this year, among whom (says the Oxford Historian) some that had not been Sufferers thrust themselves into the croud for their Money; others, yet few, were Gentlemen, and created by the favour of the Chancellor's Letter's only; eighteen were created Batchelors of Divinity,

Divinity, seventy Doctors of Divinity, twenty two Doctors of Physick, besides Doctors of Laws. The Creations in the University of Cambridge were yet more numerous: On Midsummer day, a Grace passed in the University in favour of some Candidates for Degrees. August 2, the King sent Letters to Cambridge for creating nine or ten Persons, Doctors of Divinity; and on the fifth of September, there were created by virtue of his Majesty's Mandamus no less than seventy one Doctors of Divinity, nine Doctors of Civil Law, five Doctors of Physick, and five Batchelors of Divinity. So that within the compass of little more than six Months the Universities diplomated above one hundred and fifty Doctors of Divinity, and as many more in the other faculties. Some of these were deserving Persons but the Names of most of them are no where to be met with but in the Registers. Had the Parliament Visitors in 1648. or O. Cromwel in his Protectorship, made so free with the Honours of the Universities, they might justly have been supposed to countenance the Illiterate, and prostitute the honour of the two great Luminaries of this Kingdom; but his Majesty's promoting such numbers in so short a time by a Royal Mandamus, without enquiring into their Qualifications, or insisting upon their performing any academical Exercise, must be covered with silence, because it was for the service of the Church. In the midst of these Promotions the Marquis of Hertford, Chancellor of the University, died, and was succeeded by Sir Edward Hyde, now Lord Chancellor of England, and created about this time Earl of Clarendon. He was installed Nov. 15, and continued in this Office till he retired into France, in the year 1667.

King Charles II.
1660.
Ken. Chron.
p. 332.

Ib. p. 251.

These Promotions made way for filling up the vacancies in Cathedrals; July 5, Dr. Killigrew, Jones, Doughty and Busby, were installed Prebendaries of Westminster; and within a Month or six weeks four more were added. In the Months of July and August all the Dignities in the Cathedral of St. Paul's were filled up, being upwards of twenty. July 13, twelve Divines were installed Prebendaries in the Cathedral of Canterbury; and before the end of the year all the Dignities in the Cathedrals of Durham, Chester, Litchfield, Bristol, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, &c. were supplied with younger Divines, who ran violently along with the times.

Vacancies in Cathedrals filled up.
K. Chr. p. 179.

Ib. p. 204.

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There were but nine Bishops alive at the King's Resta-
tion, viz.

The old sur-
viving Bi-
shops.
Kennet, p.
252.

Dr. William Juxon, Bishop of London,	
Dr. William Pierse,	Bath and Wells,
Dr. Matthew Wren,	Ely,
Dr. Robert Skinner,	Oxford,
Dr. William Roberts,	Bangor,
Dr. John Warner,	Rocheſter,
Dr. Bryan Duppa,	Sarum,
Dr. Henry King,	Chicheſter,
Dr. Accepted Frewen,	Litchf. and Coventry.

In order to make way for a new Creation, ſome of the Bishops abovementioned were tranſlated to better Sees ; as,

Translation
of Bishops.
P. 176.

Dr. Juxon, Biſhop of London, to Canterbury, who was promoted more out of Decency (ſays Biſhop Burnet) as being the eldeſt and moſt eminent of the ſurviving Biſhops : He never was a great Man, but was now ſuper-annuated.

Wood and
Walker.

Dr. Accepted Frewen, was tranſlated to York, Sept. 22. and confirmed October 4. He was the Son of a Puritani- cal Miniſter, and himſelf inclined that way, till ſome time after the beginning of the Civil Wars, when he became a great Loyalist, and was promoted in the year 1644. to the See of Litchfield and Coventry ; but he made no figure in the learned World, and died in the year 1664.

P. 177.

Dr. Bryan Duppa was tranſlated to Wincheſter, and confirmed October 4. He had been the King's Tutor, tho' no way fit for it. He was a meek, humble Man, and much beloved for his good temper (ſays Biſhop Burnet) and would have been much eſteemed if he had died before the Reſto- ration, for he made not that uſe of the great wealth that flowed in upon him, as was expected.

To make way for the Election of new Biſhops in a Regular and Canonical Manner, it was firſt neceſſary to reſtore to every Cathedral a Dean and Chapter ; which being done,

New Bishops
created.
p. 176.

Dr. Gilbert Sheldon was advanced to the See of Lon- don ; he was eſteemed a learned Man before the Civil Wars, but he had ſince engaged ſo deep in Politicks (ſays Burnet) that ſcarce any prints of what he had been remain- ed ; he was a dextrous Man in buſineſs, and treated all Men in an obliging manner, but few depended much on his

pro-

professions of Friendship. He seemed not to have a deep Sense of Religion, if any at all; and spoke of it most commonly as an Engine of Government, and a matter of policy, for which reason the King looked upon him as a wise and honest Clergyman. He was one of the most powerful and implacable adversaries of the Non-conformists.

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Dr. Henchman was consecrated Bishop of Sarum, and Dr. George Morley Bishop of Worcester, Octob. 28. Decem. 2, following seven Bishops were consecrated together, in St. Peter's Westminster (viz.)

Dr. John Cosins,	Bishop of Durham,
Dr. William Laws,	St. David's,
Dr. Benjamin Laney,	Peterborough,
Dr. Hugh Lloyd,	Landaff,
Dr. Richard Sterne,	Carlisle,
Dr. Bryan Walton,	Chester,
Dr. John Gauden,	Exeter.

On the sixth of January following four other Bishops were consecrated (viz.)

Dr. Gilbert Ironside,	Bishop of Bristol,
Dr. Edward Reynolds,	Norwich,
Dr. Nicholas Monk,	Hereford,
Dr. William Nicholson,	Gloucester.

Four or five Sees were kept vacant for the leading Divines among the Presbyterians, if they would conform; but they declined, as will be seen hereafter. In Scotland and Ireland things were not quite so ripe for execution; the Scots Parliament disannulled the Covenant, but Episcopacy was not established in either of the Kingdoms till next year.

The English Hierarchy being restored to its former Power, except the Peerage of the Bishops, it remained only to consider what was to be done with the Malecontents; the Independants and Anabaptists petitioned the King only for a Toleration; and the English Papists depending upon their interest at Court offered his Majesty one hundred thousand pounds before he left Breda, to take off the Penal Laws, upon which his Majesty ordered the Chancellor to insert the following Clause in his Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, "that others also be permitted to meet for religious Worship, so be it they do it not to the disturbance

Of the Independants,
Anabaptists
and Papists.
K. Chron.
p. 142.

Ib. Compl.
Hist. p. 258.

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1660.

“ of the Peace ; and that no Justice of Peace, offer to
“ disturb them.” When this was debated in the King’s
Presence after the Restoration, the Bishops wisely held their
peace ; but Mr. Baxter, who was more zealous than prudent,
declared plainly his dislike of a Toleration of Priests and So-
cinians ; which his Majesty took so very ill, that he said, the
Presbyterians were a set of Men who were only for setting
up themselves. These still flattered themselves with hopes
of a comprehension, but the Independants and Baptists were
in despair.

Of the times
before the
Restoration.

And here was an end of those unhappy times, which our
Historians have loaded with all the infamy and reproach that
the wit of Man could invent. The Puritan Ministers have
been represented as ignorant Mechanicks, canting Preach-
ers, Enemies to Learning, and no better than publick rob-
bers. Universities were said to be reduced to a meer Mun-
ster ; and that, if the Goths and Vandals, and even the
Turks, had over-run the Nation, they could not have done
more to introduce barbarism and disloyal ignorance ; and
yet in these times, and by the Men that then filled the U-
niversity Chairs, were educated the most learned Divines
and eloquent Preachers of the last age, as the Stillingfleet’s,
Tillotson’s, Bull’s, Barrow’s, Whitby’s, and others, who
retained a high veneration for their learned Tutors after
they were ejected and laid aside. The religious part of the
common People have been stigmatized with the charac-
ter of Hypocrites ; their looks, their dress and behaviour,
have been painted in the most frightful colours ; and yet
one may venture to challenge these Writers to produce any
period of time since the Reformation, wherein there was
less open prophaneness and impiety, and more of the spi-
rit and appearance of Religion. Perhaps there was a little
too much rigor and preciseness in indifferent matters,
which might be thought running into a contrary extream.
But the lusts of Men were laid under a very great restraint ;
and though the legal Constitution was unhappily broken to
pieces, and Men were governed by false politicks, yet bet-
ter Laws were never made against vice, and those Laws
never better put in execution. The dress, the language,
and conversation of People, was sober and virtuous, and
their manner of House-keeping remarkably frugal : There
was hardly a single Bankruptcy to be heard of in a year ;
and in such a case the Bankrupt had a mark of infamy up-
on him that he could never wipe off. The vices of drun-
kenness, fornication, prophane swearing, and every kind of
debauch-

debauchery, were banished, and out of fashion. The Clergy of these times were laborious to excess in preaching and praying, in catechizing youth, and visiting their parishes. The Magistrates did their duty in suppressing all kinds of Games, Stage-plays, and Abuses in publick Houses. There was not a play acted in any part of England for almost twenty years. The Lord's Day was observed with unusual strictness; and there were a set of as learned and pious Youths in the University as had been known. So that if such a Reformation of manners had obtained under a legal Administration, they would have deserved the character of the best of times.

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Charles II.
1660.

But when the legal Constitution was restored there came in with it a torrent of all kinds of debauchery and wickedness. The times that followed the Restoration were the reverse of those that went before; for the Laws which had been made against vice for the last twenty years being declared null, and the Magistrates changed, Men set no bounds to their vitious appetites. A Proclamation indeed was published against those loose and riotous Cavaliers, whose loyalty consisted in drinking healths, and railing at those who would not revel with them; but in reality the King was at the head of these disorders, who was devoted to his pleasures; having given himself up to an avowed course of lewdness, his Bishops and Doctors said, that he usually came from his Mistresses Lodgings to Church, even on Sacrament Days. There were two Play-houses erected in the neighbourhood of the Court. Women Actresses were introduced upon the English Stage, which had not been known till that time; the most lewd and obscene Plays were acted; and the more obscene, the better did they please the King, who graced the acting every new play with his Presence. Nothing was to be seen at Court but feasting, hard drinking, revelling, and amorous intrigues, which produced the most enormous vices. From Court the contagion spread like Wild-fire among the common People, insomuch that Men threw off the very profession of virtue and piety, under colour of drinking the King's Health; all kinds of old Cavalier Rioting and Debauchery revived; the appearances of Religion which remained with some, furnished matter of ridicule to the prophane mockers of real piety: Some who had been concerned in the former transactions thought they could not redeem their Credit better than by laughing at all Religion, and telling or making stories to expose

Of the times
after the Re-
storation.
Burnet.
K. Chron.
P. 167.

Ib. p. 493.

Coke.

King
Charles II.
1660.



Life, Part II.
p. 287.

their former party and make them ridiculous. To appear serious, or make Conscience of ones words and actions, was the way to be avoided as a Schismatick, a Fanatick, or a Sectarian; though if there was any real Religion during the course of this Reign, it was chiefly among those People. They who did not applaud the new Ceremonies were marked out for Presbyterians, and every Presbyterian was a Rebel. The old Clergy who had been sequestered for scandal, having taken Possession of their Livings, were intoxicated with their new felicity, and threw off all the restraints they were under before; every week (says Mr. Baxter) produced reports of one or other Clergyman who was taken up by the watch drunk at Night, and mobbed in the Streets. Some were taken with lewd Women; and one was reported to be drunk in the Pulpit. Such was the general dissolution of manners which attended the tide of joy that overflowed the Nation upon his Majesty's Restoration!

Death of
Mr. Taylor.

About this time died the Reverend Mr. Francis Taylor, sometime Rector of Clapham in Surry, and afterwards of Yalden, from whence he was called to sit in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and had a considerable share in the Annotations which go under their Name. From Yalden Mr. Taylor removed to Canterbury, and became Preacher of Christ Church in that City, where I presume he died, leaving behind him the Character of a learned Critick in the Oriental Languages, and one of the most considerable Divines of the Assembly. He published several valuable Works, and among others a Translation of the Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch out of the Chaldee into Latin, dedicated to the learned Mr. Gataker of Rotherhithe, with a Prefatory Epistle of Selden's, and several others, relating to Jewish Antiquities. Among the Letters to Archbishop Usher there is one from Mr. Taylor, dated from Clapham, 1625. He corresponded also with Boetius, and most of the learned Men of his time. He left behind him a Son who was blind, but ejected for Non-conformity in the year 1662, from St. Alphage Church in Canterbury, where he lies buried.

CHAP. V.

From the Restoration of King Charles II. to the Conference at the Savoy.

BEFORE we relate the Conference between the Episcopal and Presbyterian Divines about a Comprehension, it will be proper to represent the views of the Court, and the Bishops, who had promised to come to a temper, and to bury all past offences under the foundation of the Restoration. The point in debate was, "Whether Concessions should be made, and pains taken to gain the Presbyterians?" The King seemed to be for it; but the Court Bishops, with Lord Clarendon at their head, were absolutely against it: Clarendon was a Man of high and absolute principles, and gave himself up to the Bishops, for the service they did him in reconciling the King to his Daughter's clandestine marriage with the Duke of York. If his Lordship had been for moderate measures the greatest part of the Presbyterians might have been gained; but he would not disoblige the Bishops; the reasons of whose angry behaviour, were, 1. "Their high notions of the Episcopal form of Government, as necessary to the very Essence of a Christian Church. 2. The resentments that remained in their breasts against all who had engaged with the Long Parliament, and had been the cause of their sufferings. 3. The Presbyterians being legally possessed of most of the Benefices in Church and State, it was thought necessary to dispossess them; and if there must be a Schism, rather to have it out of the Church than within it;" for it had been observed, that the half Conformity of the Puritans before the War, had in most Cities and Corporations, occasioned a faction between the Incumbents and Lecturers, which latter had endeavoured to render themselves popular at the expence of the Hierarchy of the Church. 4. Besides, "They had too much credit in Elections of Parliament Men;" therefore instead of using methods to bring them into the Church (says Bishop Burnet) they resolved to seek the most effectual ones for casting them out. Here was no Gratitude, no Remembrance of past Services, nor Compassion for weak or prejudiced Minds, but a fixed Resolution to disarm their Opponents and send them a begging; so that the Conferences with the Presbyterians which followed, were no better than an amusement to

King Charles II. 1660.

View of the Court and of the Bishops.

p. 178, 179

King
Charles II.
1660.

And of the
King and
Duke of
York.

keep them quiet till they could obtain a Law to strike them all dead at once.

The King was devoted to his pleasures, and had no principles of Religion; his grand design was to lay asleep the former troubles, and to unite both Protestant and Papist under his Government; with this view he submitted to the scheme of the Bishops, in hopes of making it subservient to a general Toleration; which nothing could make so necessary, as having great bodies of Men shut out of the Church, and put under severe penal Laws, who should move for a Toleration, and make it reasonable for the Legislature to grant it; but it was his Majesty's resolution, that "whatsoever should be granted of that sort, should pass in so large a manner, that Papists as well as other Sectaries should be comprehended within it." The Duke of York and all the Papists were in this scheme; they declared absolutely against a comprehension, but were very much for a general Toleration, as what was necessary for the Peace of the Nation, and promoting the Catholick Cause. If the Reader will keep these things in mind, he will not be surprized that all attempts for an accommodation with Protestants only were vain and fruitless.

Presbyterians address
for a
Compre-
hension.
K. Chron.
p. 173.

The well meaning Presbyterians were all this while striving against the stream, and making Interest with a set of Men who were now laughing in their sleeves at the abject Condition to which the follies of their Adversaries had reduced them. They offered Archbishop Usher's model of primitive Episcopacy as a Plan of Accommodation; that the Surplice, the Cross in Baptism, and kneeling at the Communion, should be left indifferent. They were content to set aside the Assembly's Confession, and let the articles of the Church of England take place with some few amendments. About the middle of June Mr. Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Ashe, Mr. Baxter, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Manton, and Dr. Spurstow, waited upon the King, being introduced by the Earl of Manchester, to crave his Majesty's interposition for reconciling the differences in the Church; that the people might not be deprived of their faithful Pastors: Honest Mr. Baxter told his Majesty, that the interest of the late Usurpers with the people was their encouraging Religion; and he hoped the King would not undo, but rather go beyond the good which Cromwel, or any other had done. They laid a good deal of stress on their own Loyalty, and carefully distinguished between their own behaviour, and that of other Sectaries, who had been disloyal and factious. The King told them,

K. Chron.
p. 182.

them, “ He was glad to hear of their inclinations to an agreement; that he would do his part to bring them together, but this must not be by bringing one party over to another, but by abating somewhat on both sides and meeting in the midway; and that if it was not accomplished it should not be his fault; nay, he said, he was resolved to see it brought to pass.” Accordingly his Majesty required them to draw up such proposals as they thought meet for an agreement about Church-Government, and to set down the most they could yield; promising them a meeting with some Episcopal Divines in his Majesty’s Presence, when their proposals were ready. Upon this they summoned the City Ministers to meet and consult at Sion College, not excluding such of their Country Brethren as would attend, that it might not be said afterwards they took upon themselves the concluding so weighty an affair. After two or three Weeks Consultation they agreed upon a Paper to the following purpose, drawn up chiefly by Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Worth, and Mr. Calamy, which, together with Archbishop Usher’s reduction of Episcopacy, they offered to the King; with the following Addrefs.

King
Charles II.
1660.
Ib. p. 183.

Baxter,
Part II.
p. 232.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,
“ **W** E your Majesty’s most loyal Subjects cannot but acknowledge it as a very great Mercy of God, that immediately after so wonderful and peaceable Restoration to your Throne and Government (for which we bless his name) he has stir’d up your Royal Heart, as to a zealous testimony against prophaneness, so to endeavour an happy composing of the differences, and healing the sad breaches which are in the Church. And we shall, according to our bounden duty, become humble Suitors to the Throne of Grace, that the God of Peace, who has put such a thing as this into your Majesty’s Heart, will, by his heavenly Wisdom and holy Spirit, assist you herein, that you may bring your Resolutions to a perfect Effect and Issue—
“ In humble conformity to your Majesty’s Christian designs, we taking it for granted, that there is a firm Agreement between our Brethren and us, in the doctrinal truths of the reform’d Religion, and in the substantial parts of divine Worship, humbly desire,

First, That we may be secured of those things in practice of which we seem to be agreed in principle; as,

I. “ That

Abstract of
their first
Paper of
Proposals.

King
Charles II.
1660.

Baxter's
Part II.
p. 232

1. " That those of our Flocks that are serious in matters
" of their Salvation may not be reproachfully handled by
" words of scorn, or any abusive language, but may be en-
" couraged in their duties of exhorting and provoking one
" another in their most holy Faith, and of furthering one
" another in the Ways of eternal Life.

2. " That each Congregation may have a learned, ortho-
" dox, and godly Pastor, that the people may be publicly
" instructed by preaching every Lord's Day, by catechising,
" by frequent administering the Lord's Supper and Baptism ;
" and that effectual provision by Law may be made, that
" such as are insufficient, negligent, or scandalous, may not
" officiate.

3. " That none may be admitted to the Lord's Supper
" till they personally own their baptismal Covenant by a
" credible Profession of Faith and Holiness, not contradicted
" by a scandalous life. That to such only Confirmation
" may be administer'd ; and that the approbation of the Pas-
" tor to whom the instructing those under his charge doth
" appertain, may be produced before any person receives
" Confirmation.

4. " That an effectual course be taken for the sanctificati-
" on of the Lord's Day, appropriating the same to holy Ex-
" ercises both in publick and private, without any unnecessa-
" ry diversifications."

" Then for matters in difference (viz.) Church Govern-
" ment, Liturgy, and Ceremonies, we humbly represent,
" That we do not renounce the true antient primitive E-
" piscopacy or presidency, as it was baliauced with a due
" commixtion of Presbyters. If therefore your Majesty, in
" your grave wisdom and moderation, shall constitute such an
" Episcopacy, we shall humbly submit thereunto. And in
" order to an accommodation in this weighty affair, we de-
" sire humbly to offer some particulars which we conceive
" were amiss in the Episcopal Government as it was practised
" before the year 1640.

1. " The great extent of the Bishops diocese, which we
" apprehend too large for his personal inspection.

2. " That by reason of this disability the Bishops did de-
" pute the Administration, in matters of spiritual cognizance,
" to Commissaries, Chancellors, Officials, whereof some are
" secular persons, and could not administer that power that
" originally belongs to the Officers of the Church.

3. That the Bishops did assume the sole power of ordina-
" nation and jurisdiction to themselves.

4. That

4. " That some of the Bishops exercised an arbitrary power, by sending forth articles of visitation, enquiring unwarrantably into several things; and swearing Church Wardens to present accordingly. Also many innovations and ceremonies were imposed upon Ministers and people not required by law.

" For remedy of these evils we crave leave to offer,

1. " The late most Reverend Primate of Ireland, his reduction of episcopacy into the form of synodical Government.

2. " We humbly desire, that the Suffragans, or Chorepiscopi, may be chosen by the respective synods.

3. " That no oaths or promises of obedience to the Bishops, nor any unnecessary subscriptions or engagements be made necessary to ordination, institution, or induction, ministration, communion, or immunities of Ministers, they being responsible for any transgression of the law. And that no Bishops or ecclesiastical Governors may exercise their government, by their private will, or pleasure, but only by such Rules, Canons, and Constitutions, as shall be established by Parliament."

Secondly, " Concerning Liturgy.

1. " We are satisfied in our Judgments concerning the lawfulness of a liturgy, or form of Worship, provided it be for matter agreeable to the Word of God, and suited to the nature of the several ordinances and necessities of the Church, neither too tedious, nor composed of too short Prayers or Responses, nor dissonant from the liturgies of other reformed Churches, nor too rigorously imposed, nor the Minister confined thereunto, but that he may also make use of his gifts for Prayer and Exhortation.

2. " Forasmuch as the Book of Common-Prayer is in some things justly offensive, and needs amendment, we most humbly pray, that some learned, godly, and moderate Divines of both persuasions, may be employed to compile such a form as is before described, as much as may be in Scripture words; or at least to revise, and reform the old; together with an addition of other various forms in Scripture Phrase, to be used at the Minister's choice."

Thirdly, " Concerning Ceremonies.

" We hold our selves obliged in every part of Divine Worship, to do all things decently and in order, and to Edification;

King
Charles II.
1660.

“ Edification ; and are willing to be determined by authority in such things, as being meerly circumstantial, are common to human actions and societies, and are to be ordered by the light of Nature, and human Prudence.

“ As to divers Ceremonies formerly retain’d in the Church of England, we do, in all humility offer to your Majesty the following Considerations.

“ That the worship of God is in itself pure and perfect, and decent, without any such Ceremonies. That it is then most pure and acceptable when it has least of human mixtures. That these Ceremonies have been imposed and advanced by some, so as to draw near to the significancy and moral efficacy of Sacraments. That they have been rejected by many of the reformed Churches abroad, and have been ever the subject of contention and endless Disputes in this Church ; and therefore being in their own nature indifferent, and mutable, they ought to be changed, lest in time they should be apprehended as necessary as the substantials of Worship themselves.

“ May it therefore please your Majesty graciously to grant, that Kneeling at the Lord’s Supper, and such Holy Days as are but of human Institution, may not be imposed on such as scruple them. That the use of the Surplice and Cross in Baptism, and bowing at the Name of Jesus, may be abolished. And forasmuch as erecting Altars and bowing towards them, and such like (having no foundation in the law of the Land) have been introduced and imposed, we humbly beseech your Majesty, that such Innovations may not be used or imposed for the future.”

Their Reception.

When the Presbyterian Divines came to Court with these proposals, the King received them favourably, and promised to bring both parties together. His Majesty told them, he was glad to hear that they were for a Liturgy, and forms of Prayer, and that they were willing to yield to the essence of Episcopacy, and therefore he doubted not of procuring an Accommodation. The Ministers expected to have met the Bishops with their papers of proposals, but none of them appeared, having been better instructed in a private conference with the Lord Chancellor Hyde, who told them, it was not their business to bring proposals, because they were in possession of the laws of the Land ; that the Hierarchy and Service Book being the only legal Establishment, ought to be the Standard of agreement ; and therefore they had nothing

to do but to answer the Exceptions of the Ministers against it. Accordingly, instead of a Conference, or paper of proposals, which the Ministers expected, the Bishops having obtained a copy of the Paper of the Presbyterians, drew up an answer in writing, which was communicated to their Ministers, July 8.

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In this Answer the Bishops take notice of the Ministers concessions in their preamble, “as that they agree with them “in the Substantials of Doctrine and Worship;” and infer from thence, that their particular Exceptions are of less importance, and ought not to be stood upon to the disturbance of the Peace of the Church.

Abstract of
the Bishops
Reply.
K. Chron.
p. 200.
Baxter's
Life,
Part II.
p. 242.

To the particulars they answer,

1. Concerning Church-Government, “That they never heard any just reasons for a dissent from the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of this Kingdom, which they believe in the main to be the true Primitive Episcopacy, which was more than a meer presidency of Order. Nor do they find that it was ballanced by any authoritative commixtion of Presbyters, tho’ it has been in all times exercised with the assistance and counsel of Presbyters, in subordination to Bishops. They wonder that they should except against the Government by one single person, which, if applied to the civil Magistrate, is a most dangerous insinuation.”

Baxter,
p. 243.

As to the four particular Instances of things amiss.

1. “We cannot grant the extent of any diocese is so great, but that a Bishop may well perform his Duty, which is not a personal inspection of every Man’s Soul, but the pastoral charge, or taking care that the Ministers, and other Ecclesiastical Officers within their Diocese, do their duties; and if some Diocesses should be too large, the Law allows Suffragans.

2. “Concerning Lay-Chancellors, &c. we confess the Bishops did depute part of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction to Chancellors, Commissaries, Officials, &c. as men better skill’d in the civil and canon Laws; but as for matters of mere spiritual concernment, as Excommunication, Absolution, and other censures of the Church, we conceive they belong properly to the Bishop himself, or his Surrogate, wherein if any thing has been done amiss, we are willing it should be reformed.

3. “Whether Bishops are a distinct Order from Presbyters, or not? or, Whether they have the sole Power of ordination; is not now the Question; but we affirm, that
“the

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“ the Bishops of this Realm have constantly ordained with
“ the assistance of Presbyters, and the imposition of their
“ Hands together with the Bishops, and for this purpose
“ the Colleges of Deans and Chapters are instituted.

4. “ As to Archbishop Usher’s model of Church-Government, we decline it, as not consistent with his other
“ learned discourses on the original of Episcopacy, and of
“ Metropolitans; nor with the King’s Supremacy in causes
“ Ecclesiastical.”

II. Concerning Liturgy.

“ We esteem the Liturgy of the Church of England,
“ contained in the Book of Common-prayer, and by Law
“ established, to be such an one as is by them desired, according to the qualifications which they mention; the
“ disuse of which has been the cause of the sad divisions
“ of the Church, and the restoring it may be, by God’s
“ Blessing, a special means of making up the breach. Nor
“ can the imposition of it be called rigorous, as long as
“ Clergymen have the Liberty of using their Gifts before
“ and after Sermon. Nevertheless we are not against
“ revising the Liturgy by such discreet persons as his Majesty
“ shall think fit to employ therein.”

III. Of Ceremonies.

“ Lawful Authority has already determined the Ceremonies in question to be decent and orderly, and for edification, and consequently to be agreeable to the general Rules
“ of the Word. We allow the Worship of God is in itself
“ perfect in essentials, but still the Church is at liberty to
“ improve it with Circumstantials for Decency and Order.
“ Ceremonies were never esteemed to be Sacraments, nor
“ imposed as such; they are retained by most Protestant
“ Churches; and that they have been the subject of Contention is owing to Mens Weakness, and their unwillingness to submit their private opinions to the publick judgment of the Church. We acknowledge, that these
“ things are in their Nature mutable, but we can by no
“ means think it expedient to remove them. However, as
“ we are no way against such a tender and religious compassion in things of this Nature, as his Majesty’s Piety
“ and Wisdom shall think fit to extend; so we cannot
“ think that the satisfaction of some private persons is to be
“ laid

“ laid in the balance against the publick peace and uniformity of the Church.

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“ As for kneeling at the Lord’s Supper, it is a gesture of the greatest Reverence and Devotion, and so most agreeable to that holy Service.

“ Holy Days of human Institution having been observed by the people of God in the Old Testament, and by our blessed Saviour himself in the Gospel, and by all the Churches of Christ in the primitive and following times, as apt means to preserve the Memorials of the chief Mysteries of the Christian Religion : And such Holy Days also being fit times for the honest recreation of the meaner sort of People ; for these reasons we humbly desire they may be continued in the Church.

“ As for the three other Ceremonies, the Surplice, the Cross after Baptism, and bowing at the Name of Jesus, tho’ we see not any sufficient reason why they should be utterly abolished, nevertheless, how far forth, in regard of tender Consciences, a Liberty may be thought fit to be indulged to any, his Majesty is best able to judge.

They conclude thus, “ We are so far from believing that his Majesty’s condescending to the Ministers demands will take away not only our differences, but the roots and causes of them, that we are confident it will prove the seminary of new differences, both by giving dissatisfaction to those that are well pleased with what is already established, who are much the greatest part of his Majesty’s Subjects ; and by encouraging unquiet Spirits, when these things shall be granted, to make further demands ; there being no assurance by them given, what will content all Dissenters, than which nothing is more necessary for settling a firm Peace in the Church.”

About a Week after, the Presbyterian Divines sent the Bishops a warm Remonstrance, and Defence of their Proposals, drawn up chiefly by Mr. Baxter, to the following purpose.

Abstract of
the Pres-
byterians
Defence of
their Pro-
posals.
K. Chr. p.
205.
Baxter,
Part II. p.
248.

Concerning the Preamble.

“ We are not insensible of the great danger of the Church, through the Doctrinal Errors of those with whom we differ also about points of Government and Worship ; but we choose to say nothing of the party that we are agreed with

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“ with in Doctrinals, because we both subscribe the same
“ holy Scriptures, Articles of Religion, and Books of Ho-
“ milies ; and the contradictions to their own Confessions,
“ which too many are guilty of, we did not think just to
“ charge upon the Whole.”

Concerning Church-Government.

“ Had you read Gerson, Bucer, Parker, Baynes, Sal-
“ masius, Blondel, &c. you would have seen just reason
“ given for our dissent from the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy as
“ stated in England.”

Instances of Things amiss.

“ You would easily grant that Dioceses are too great, if
“ you had ever conscionably tried the Task which Dr.
“ Hammond describeth as the Bishop's Work ; or had ever
“ believed Ignatius, and other antient Descriptions of a Bi-
“ shop's Church. You cannot be ignorant, that our Bi-
“ shops have the sole Government of Pastors and People ;
“ that the whole Power of the Keys is in their Hands, and
“ that their Presbyters are but Cyphers.”

Concerning Ceremonies.

“ These Divines argue for leaving them indifferent for
“ the peace of the Church, as being not essential to the
“ perfection of Christian Worship, especially when so many
“ looked upon them as sinful.”

They conclude thus, “ We perceive your Counsels
“ against Peace are not likely to be frustrated. Your Desires
“ concerning us are likely to be accomplished. You are
“ like to be gratified with our silence and ejection ; and yet
“ we will believe, that Blessed are the Peace-makers ; and
“ tho' we are prevented by you in our pursuits of Peace,
“ and are never like thus publickly to seek it more, yet are
“ we resolved, as much as possible, to live peaceably with
“ all Men.”

The begin-
ning of the
Sufferings
of the Pres-
byterians.

The Eyes of the Presbyterians were now opened, and
they began to confess their Credulity in expecting an agree-
ment with the Bishops, who appeared to be exasperated,
and determined to tie them down to the old Establishment.
The former Severities began already to revive, and the

Laws

laws to be put in Execution against such as did not make use of the old Liturgy. Many were suspended and turned out of their Livings on this account; upon which the leading Presbyterians applied to the King, and humbly requested,

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1. " That they might with all convenient speed see his Majesty's Conclusions upon the Proposals of mutual concessions, before they pass into Resolves.

Who apply
to the King
Baxter's
Life,
Part II.
p. 241.

2. " That his Majesty would publickly declare his pleasure for the Suspension of all proceedings upon the act of Uniformity, against Non-Conformists to the Liturgy and Ceremonies, till they saw the issue of their hoped-for Agreement.

3. " That until the said Settlement there may be no oath of canonical Obedience, nor Subscription to the Liturgy and Ceremonies required, nor renunciation of their Ordination by meer Presbyters, imposed as necessary to Institution, Induction, or Confirmation.

4. " That his Majesty would cause the broad Seal to be revoked, where persons had been put into the possession of the Livings of others not void by Sequestration, but by the Death of the former incumbents.

5. " That a Remedy may be provided against the return of scandalous Ministers into the places from whence they had been ejected."

His Majesty gave them a civil audience, and told them, he would put what he thought fit to grant them into the form of a Declaration, which they should have the liberty of perusing before it was made publick. A Copy of this was accordingly delivered by the Chancellor to Mr. Baxter, and other Presbyterian Divines, Sept. 4, with liberty to make exceptions, and give notice of what they disliked. These Divines petitioned for some further amendments and alterations; upon which the King appointed a day to hear what could be said on both sides, and came to the Chancellor's House, October 22, attended by the Dukes of Albemarle and Ormond, the Earls of Manchester, Anglesea, and Lord Hollis.

An Assembly of Divines to peruse the King's Declaration. K. Chr. p. 279. Baxter's Life, Part II. p. 275, 276.

On the Part of the Bishops were,

Dr. Sheldon,	Bishop of London,
Dr. Morley,	Worcester,
Dr. Henchman,	Salisbury,
Dr. Cosins,	Durham,
Dr. Gauden,	Exeter,
Dr. Hacket,	Litchf. and Coventry,

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Dr. Barwick, Dean of St. Paul's,
Dr. Gunning, &c.

On the Side of the Presbyterians were,

Dr. Reynolds,	Dr. Manton,
Mr. Calamy,	Mr. Baxter,
Dr. Spurstow,	Dr. Wallis.
Mr. Ashe,	

Baxter's
Life, Part
II. p. 278.

As the Chancellor read over the Declaration each Party were to make their exceptions, and the King to determine. The chief Debates were on the high Power of the Bishops, and the necessity of Re-ordination. Bishop Morley and Doctor Gunning spoke most on one side; and Mr. Calamy and Baxter on the other. Upon hearing the whole his Majesty told them what he thought proper should stand in the Declaration; and appointed Bishop Morley and Henchman, Doctor Reynolds and Mr. Calamy to determine upon proper words; and if they disagreed the Earl of Anglesea and Lord Hollis to decide.

At length the Declaration, with such Amendments as the King would admit, was published under the following Title.

Abstract of
the King's
Declaration
concerning
Ecclesiastical
Affairs.
K. Chron.
p. 289.

His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects of his Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs. Given at our Court at Whitehall, October 25, 1660, in the twelfth year of our Reign.

The Declaration being long, and to be met with in most of our Historians, I shall give the Reader only an abstract of it.

Charles Rex.

Comp. Hist.
Vol. III.
p. 246.
Baxter's
Life, Part
II. p. 259.

“ IN our Letter from Breda we promised in due time to
“ I propose something to the World for the propagation of
“ the Protestant Religion; and we think ourself more
“ competent to propose, and with God's assistance,
“ determine many things now in difference, from the ex-
“ perience we have had in most of the reformed Churches
“ abroad, where we have had frequent Conferences with
“ the most learned Men, who have unanimously lament-
“ ed the distempers, and too notorious Schisms in Matters
“ of Religion in England.

“ When

“ When we were in Holland we were attended by many
“ grave and learned Ministers from hence of the Presbyte-
“ rian opinion, and to our great satisfaction we found them
“ full of affection to us, no enemies to Episcopacy or Litur-
“ gy (as they have been reported to be) but modestly de-
“ siring such alterations as without shattering Foundations
“ might give ease to the tenderness of some Mens Consci-
“ ences. For the doing of this we intended to have called
“ a Synod of Divines, but observing the over-passionate and
“ turbulent way of proceeding of some Persons, and the
“ impatience of others for a speedy determination of these
“ Matters, we have been prevailed with to invert the me-
“ thod we proposed, and to give some determination our-
“ self to the matters in difference, till such a Synod may
“ be called, as may, without passion or prejudice, give us
“ such further assistance towards a perfect Union of Affec-
“ tions, as well as Submission to Authority as is necessa-
“ ry.

“ We must, for the honour of all with whom we have
“ conferred, declare, that the professions and desires of all
“ for the advancement of Piety and true Godliness are the
“ same; their professions of zeal for the peace of the
“ Church, and of affection and duty to us, the same;
“ they all approve Episcopacy and a Liturgy, and disap-
“ prove of Sacrilege, and the Alienation of the Revenues
“ of the Church.”

His Majesty then declares his esteem and affection for the
Church of England, and that his esteem of it is not lessened
by his condescending to dispense with some particular ce-
remonies, and then goes on to his Concessions.

1. “ We declare our purpose and resolution is, and shall
“ be, to promote the power of Godliness, to encourage
“ the publick and private exercises of Religion, to take
“ care of the due observation of the Lord’s Day; and that
“ insufficient, negligent, and scandalous Ministers be not
“ permitted in the Church. We shall take care to prefer
“ none to the Episcopal Office and Charge but Men of
“ Learning, Virtue, and Piety; and we shall provide the
“ best we can, that the Bishops be frequent Preachers, and
“ that they do often preach in some Church or other of
“ their Diocese.

2. “ Because some Dioceses may be of too large extent,
“ we will appoint such a number of Suffragans as shall be
“ sufficient for the due performance of their Work.

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3. " No Bishops shall ordain or exercise any part of Jurisdiction which appertains to the censures of the Church, without advice and assistance of the Presbyters. No Chancellors, Commissaries or Officials, shall excommunicate, absolve, or exercise any act of Spiritual Jurisdiction, wherein any of the Ministry are concerned with reference to their Pastoral Charge. Nor shall the Archdeacon exercise any jurisdiction without the advice and assistance of six Ministers of his Archdeaconry; three to be nominated by the Bishop, and three by the Suffrage of the Presbyters within the Archdeaconry.

4. " We will take care, that the preferment of Deans and Chapters shall be given to the most learned and pious Presbyters of the Diocese, and that an equal number (to those of the Chapter) of the most learned and pious Presbyters of the same Diocese annually chosen by the major Vote of all the Presbyters of that Diocese present at such Elections, shall be always advising and assisting, together with those of the Chapter, in all Ordinations, at all Church-Censures, and other important acts of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction wherein any of the Ministry are concerned. Provided that all such Meetings, the number of Ministers so elected, and those of the Chapter present, be equal, and to make the Numbers equal, the Juniors of the exceeding number shall withdraw to make way for the more antient. Nor shall any suffragan Bishop ordain, or exercise any Jurisdiction, without the advice and assistance of a sufficient number of Presbyters annually chosen as before. And our Will is, that Ordination be constantly and solemnly performed by the Bishop and his afore said Presbytery at the four set times appointed by the Church for that purpose.

5. " Confirmation shall be rightly and solemnly performed, by the information, and with the consent of the Minister of the Place, who shall admit none to the Lord's Supper, till they have made a credible profession of their Faith, and promised obedience to the Will of God, according to the Rubrick before the Catechism, and all diligence shall be used for the instruction and reformation of scandalous Offenders, whom the Minister shall not suffer to partake of the Lord's Supper till they have openly declared their Repentance, and Resolutions of Amendment; provided there be place for Appeals to superior Powers. Every Rural Dean (to be nominated by the
" Bishop

“ Bishop as heretofore) with three or four Ministers of that
“ Deanery chosen by the major Part of all the Ministers
“ within the same, shall meet once a Month to receive
“ Complaints from the Ministers or Church-Wardens of
“ Parishes, and to compose such differences as shall be re-
“ ferred to them for Arbitration, and to reform such things
“ as are amiss, by their pastoral Reproofs and Admonitions,
“ and what they cannot reform are to be presented to the
“ Bishop. Moreover, the Rural Dean and his Assistants
“ are to take care of the catechising Children and Youth,
“ and that they can give a good account of their Faith be-
“ fore they are brought to the Bishop to be confirm-
“ ed.

6. “ No Bishop shall exercise any arbitrary power, or
“ impose any thing upon his Clergy or People, but accord-
“ ing to the Law of the Land.

7. “ We will appoint an equal number of Divines of
“ both Persuasions to review the Liturgy of the Church of
“ England, and to make such alterations as shall be thought
“ necessary; and some additional Forms in the Scripture
“ Phrase, as near as may be, suited to the nature of the
“ several parts of Worship, and that it be left to the Mi-
“ nister's Choice to use one or the other at his Discretion.
“ In the mean time, we desire that the Ministers in their se-
“ veral Churches will not wholly lay aside the use of the
“ Common-Prayer, but will read those parts of it against
“ which they have no exception; yet our will and pleasure
“ is, that none be punished or troubled for not using it till it
“ be reviewed and effectually reformed.

8. Lastly, “ Concerning Ceremonies, if any are practi-
“ sed contrary to Law the same shall cease. Every nation-
“ al Church has a power to appoint Ceremonies for its
“ Members, which, though before they were indifferent,
“ yet cease to be so when established by Law. We are
“ therefore content to indulge tender Consciences, so far as
“ to dispense with their using such Ceremonies as are an
“ offence to them, but not to abolish them. We declare
“ therefore, that none shall be compelled to receive the Sa-
“ crament kneeling, nor to use the Cross in Baptism, nor
“ to bow at the Name of Jesus, nor to use the Surplice,
“ except in the Royal Chapel, and in Cathedral and Colle-
“ giate Churches. Nor shall Subscription, nor the Oath
“ of Canonical Obedience be required at present, in order
“ to Ordination, Institution, or Induction, but only the
“ taking

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“ taking the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy ; nor shall
“ any lose their academical Degrees, or forfeit a presenta-
“ tion, or be deprived of a Benefice, for not declaring his
“ assent to all the Thirty-Nine Articles, provided he read
“ and declare his Assent to all the Doctrinal Articles, and
“ to the Sacraments. And we do again renew our Decla-
“ ration from Breda, that no Man shall be disquieted or
“ called in question for differences of opinion in matters of
“ Religion which do not disturb the Peace of the King-
“ dom.

His Majesty concludes, “ with conjuring all his loving
“ Subjects, to acquiesce and submit to this Declaration,
“ concerning the differences that have so much disquieted
“ the Nation at home, and given offence to the Protestant
“ Churches abroad.”

Tho’ this Declaration did not please all the Ministers, yet
the greatest numbers in London, and Country were content ;
but because it went upon the plan of Diocesan Episcopacy,
which they had covenanted against, others were not satis-
fied ; some ventured upon a second Address to the King,
in which they renew their requests for Archbishop Usher’s
Scheme of Primitive Episcopacy, as most agreeable to
Scripture, most conducive to good Discipline ; and as that
which would save the Nation from the violation of the So-
lemn League and Covenant, which whether it were lawfully
imposed or no, they conceive now to be binding upon
them.

Concerning the Preamble of his Majesty’s Declaration
they tender these Requests.

Abstract of
the 2d Pa-
per of Ex-
ceptions and
Requests of
the Presby-
terians.
Hist. Nonc.
p. 14.
Baxter,
vol II. p.
218.

1. “ That as they are persuaded it is not in his Majesty’s
“ thoughts, to intimate that they are guilty of the offences
“ therein mentioned, they hope it will be a motive to hasten
“ the Union.

2. “ Tho’ they detest Sacrilege, yet they will not de-
“ termine, whether in some Cases of superfluities of Re-
“ venues, and the necessity of the Church, there may not
“ be an Alienation, which is no Sacrilege.

3. “ His Majesty having acknowledged their Moderati-
“ on, they still hope they may be received into the settle-
“ ment, and continue their Stations in the Church.

4. “ Since his Majesty has declared, that the essence of
“ Episcopacy may be preserved, tho’ the extent of the
“ Jurisdiction be altered, they hope his Majesty will con-
“ sent

“ sent to such an Alteration as may satisfy their Consciences.”

They then renew their requests for promoting of piety ; of a religious and diligent Ministry ; of the requisites of Church Communion, and for the observation of the Sabbath. They complain that Parish Discipline is not sufficiently granted in his Majesty’s Declaration, that inferior Synods are passed by, and that the Bishop is not “ Episcopus “ Præses, but Episcopus Princeps,” endued with sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction. They therefore pray again, that Archbishop Usher’s Form of Church-Government may be established at least in these three points :

1. “ That the Pastors of Parishes may be allowed to “ preach, catechise, and deny the Communion of the “ Church to the impenitent, scandalous, or such as do not “ make a credible Profession of Faith and Obedience to “ the Commands of Christ.
2. “ That the Pastors of each rural Deanry may meet “ once a Month to receive Presentments and Appeals, to “ admonish Offenders, and after due patience to proceed “ to Excommunication.
3. “ That a Diocesan Synod of the Delegates of Rural “ Synods may be called as often as need requires ; that the “ Bishop may not ordain or exercise spiritual Censures without the consent of the Majority ; and that neither Chancellors, Archdeacons, Commissaries nor Officials, may “ pass Censures purely spiritual ; but for the exercise of civil Government, coercively by Mulcts, or corporal Penalties, by power derived from your Majesty, as supreme “ over all Persons and things Ecclesiastical, we presume not “ at all to interpose.”

As to the Liturgy.

“ They rejoice that his Majesty has declared, that none “ should suffer for not using the Common-Prayer and Ceremonies ; but then it grieves us (say they) to hear that it “ is given in charge to the Judges at the Assizes, to indict “ Men upon the Act of Uniformity for not using the Common-Prayer. That it is not only some obsolete Words “ and Phrases that are offensive, but that other things need “ Amendment ; therefore we pray, that none may be “ punished for not using the Book, till it be reformed by “ the consent of Divines of both Parties.”

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Concerning Ceremonies.

“ They thank his Majesty for his gracious Concessions,
“ but pray him to leave out of his Declaration these Words,
“ That we do not believe the Practice of the particular
“ Ceremonies excepted against unlawful, because we are
“ not all of that opinion ; but we desire, that there may
“ be no Law nor Canon for, nor against them, (being al-
“ lowed by our Opponents as indifferent) as there is no Ca-
“ non against any particular Gesture in singing Psalms, and
“ yet there is an uninterrupted Unity.”

For particular Ceremonies.

1. “ We humbly crave, that there may be liberty to re-
“ ceive the Lord’s Supper either Kneeling, Standing, or
“ Sitting. 2. That the Observation of Holy Days of Hu-
“ man Institution may be left indifferent. 3. We thank
“ your Majesty for Liberty as to the Cross in Baptism, the
“ Surplice, and Bowing at the Name of Jesus ; but we
“ pray, that this Liberty may extend to Colleges and Ca-
“ thedrams for the Benefit of Youth as well as elder Persons,
“ and that the Canons which impose these Ceremonies may
“ be repealed.

“ We thank your Majesty for your gracious Concession
“ of the forbearance of Subscription ; tho’ we do not dis-
“ sent from the doctrinal Articles of the Church of Eng-
“ land ; nor do we scruple the oaths of Allegiance and Su-
“ premacy, nor would we have the door left open for Pa-
“ pists and Hereticks to come in.

“ But we take the Liberty to represent to your Majesty,
“ that notwithstanding your gracious Concessions, our
“ Ministers cannot procure Institution without renouncing
“ their Ordination by Presbyters, or being Re-ordained,
“ nor without Subscription and the oaths of Canonical Obe-
“ dience. And we are apprehensive that your Majesty’s
“ Indulgence does not extend to the abatement of Re-Or-
“ dination, or Subscription, or the oath of Canonical Obe-
“ dience. We therefore earnestly crave, that your Majes-
“ ty will declare your pleasure. 1. That Ordination and
“ Institution, and Induction, may be conferr’d without
“ the said Subscription and Oath. 2. That none may be
“ urged to be Re-ordained, or denied Institution for
“ want of Ordination by Prelates, that have been ordained
“ by

“ by Presbyters. That none may forfeit their Presentation
 “ or Benefice for not reading those Articles of the thirty nine
 “ that relate to Government and Ceremonies.”

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However if the King's declaration without any amendments, had passed into a Law, it would have prevented in a great measure the separation that followed; but neither the Court, nor Ministry intended it, if they could stand their ground upon the foot of the old Establishment. A Reverend Prelate of the Church of England confesses, “ that this
 “ Declaration has in it a spirit of true Wisdom and Charity
 “ above any one publick Confession that was ever made in
 “ matters of Religion. It shews the admirable Temper
 “ and Prudence of the King and his Council in that tender
 “ juncture of affairs; it proves the charity and moderation
 “ of the suffering Bishops, in thinking such concessions just
 “ and reasonable for Peace and Unity; and it shews a dispo-
 “ sition in the other party to have accepted the terms of Uni-
 “ on consistent with our Episcopacy and Liturgy. It con-
 “ demns the unhappy ferment that soon after followed for
 “ want of this temper; and it may stand for a Pattern to
 “ Posterity, whenever they are disposed, to receive the Dis-
 “ cipline, and heal the breaches of the Church.” Another
 Conformist Writer adds. “ If ever a divine sentence was in
 “ the mouth of any King, and his mouth erred not in Judg-
 “ ment; I verily believe it was thus with our present Ma-
 “ jesty when he composed that admirable Declaration, which
 “ next to holy Scripture I adore, and think that the united
 “ Judgment of the whole Nation cannot frame a better or a
 “ more unexceptionable Expedient, for a firm and lasting
 “ Concord of these distracted Churches.”

Opinion of
 some
 Church-men
 concerning
 the Declara-
 tion.
 Kennet,
 p. 246.

The Presbyterians about London were so far pleased, that they drew up the following Address of Thanks, in the name of the City Ministers, and presented it to the King, Nov. 16, by the Hands of the Reverend Mr. Samuel Clarke.

Acceptable
 to most of
 the Presby-
 terians.
 Baxter's
 Life, Part II.
 p. 279, 284.
 Kennet,
 p. 311.

Most dread Sovereign!

“ **W**E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects,
 “ Ministers of the Gospel in your City of London,
 “ having perused your Majesty's late Declaration, and find-
 “ it so full of Indulgence and gracious Condescension, we can-
 “ not but judge ourselves highly obliged first to render our
 “ unfeigned thanks to God, and next our most humble and
 “ hearty acknowledgments to your Majesty, that we may
 “ testify to your Royal self, and all the World our just re-
 “ sentments

King
Charles II.
1660.

“sentments of your Majesty’s great goodness and clemency
“therein expressed.”

The Address then recites the several condescensions of his Majesty in the declaration, and concludes thus, “We crave
“leave to profess, that tho’ all things in this frame of go-
“vernment be not exactly suited to our judgments, yet your
“Majesty’s moderation has so great an influence on us, that
“we shall to our utmost, endeavour the healing of the breach-
“es, and promoting the peace and union of the Church—
“We would beg of your Majesty with all humility upon our
“knees, that Re-ordination, and the Surplice in Colleges
“might not be imposed; and we hope God will incline your
“Majesty’s Heart to gratify us in these our desires also.”
Sign’d by

Samuel Clark,	Jo. Gibbon
William Couper,	William Whitaker,
Thomas Cate,	Tho. Jacomb,
Jo. Rawlinson,	Tho. Lye,
Jo. Sheffield,	John Jackson,
Thomas Gouge,	John Meriton,
Gab. Sanger,	William Bates,
El. Pledger,	With many others.
Matth. Pool,	

K. Chron.
P. 315.

The King having received the Address, returned this Answer,
“Gentlemen, I will endeavour to give you all satisfaction,
“and to make you as happy as my self.”

Some ac-
cept of Pre-
ferments.

Upon the terms of this declaration Dr. Reynolds accepted of the Bishoprick of Norwich; Mr. Baxter was offered the Bishoprick of Hereford; but refused upon other reasons; and Mr. Calamy declined the Bishoprick of Litchfield and Coventry, till the King’s declaration should be passed into a law. Dr. Manton having been presented to the living of Covent Garden by the Earl of Bedford, accepted it upon the terms of the declaration, and received Episcopal Institution from Dr. Sheldon, Bishop of London, Jan. 10. 1660-61. “Subscrip-
“tis prius Articulis Fidei Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ tantum, & præ-
“stito juramento de Allegiant’ & Supremitate, & canonica
“Obedientia in omnibus licitis & honestis.” Having first subscribed the doctrinal articles of the Church of England only, and taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and of canonical obedience in all things lawful and honest. The Dr. was also content that the Common-Prayer should be read in his Church. Dr. Bates was offered the Deanry of Coventry and

K. Chr.

and Litchfield; Dr. Manton the Deanry of Rochester; and Mr. Bowles that of York; but finding how things were going at Court, after some time they refused.

King
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The House of Lords and Commons, upon reading the King's declaration, agreed to wait upon his Majesty in a body, and return him thanks; and the Commons ordered a bill to be brought in to pass it into a law; but when the bill had been read the first time, the question being put for a second reading, it passed in the negative; one of the Secretaries of State opposing it, which was a sufficient indication (says Dr. Bates) of the King and Court's aversion to it. Sir Matthew Hale, who was zealous for the declaration, was at that very juncture taken out of the House of Commons, and made Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, that he might not oppose the resolutions of the Ministry. Strange! that an House of

Declaration
rejected by
the H. of
Commons.

Remarks.

Commons, that on the 9th of November gave the King thanks for his declaration by their Speaker Nem. Contradicente, should on the 28th of the same month throw it out before a second reading. This blasted all the expectations of the Presbyterian Clergy at once; for it was now apparent that the Court did not design the declaration should be continued, but serve as a temporary expedient to keep them quiet till the Church should be in circumstances to bid them defiance.

While the diocesan Doctors were at Breda (says Mr. Baxter) they did not dream that their way to the highest grandeur was so fair; then they would have been glad of the terms of the declaration of Breda; when they came in they proceeded by slow degrees, that they might feel the ground under them; for this purpose they proposed the Declaration, which being but a temporary provision must give place to laws, but when they found the Parliament and populace ripe for any thing they should propose, they dropt the declaration, and all further thoughts of accommodation.

Presbyterians in De-
spair.
Life,
p. 287.

The Court and Bishops were now at ease, and went on briskly with restoring all things to the old standard; the Doctrines of passive-obedience and non-resistance were revived; men of the highest principles, and most inveterate against the Presbyterians, were prefer'd to Bishopricks, by which they were more than compensated for their sufferings, by the large sums of money they raised by renewing of leases, which after so long an interval were almost all expired; but what a sad use they made of their riches, I choose rather to relate in the words of Bishop Burnet than my own. "What the bishops did with their great fines was a pattern to all the lower dignitaries, " who generally took more care of themselves than

Behaviour
of the Court
and Bishops.

of

King
Charles II.
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“ of the Church ; the men of service were loaded with many
“ livings and many dignities. With this accession of wealth
“ there broke in upon the Church a great deal of luxury and
“ high living, on pretence of hospitality ; and with this over-
“ set of wealth and pomp that came upon men in the decline
“ of their age, they who were now growing into old age,
“ became lazy and negligent in all the true concerns of the
“ Church.”

P. 314.

The begin-
ning of the
Persecution
of the Non-
Conformists
Conf.
Plea.

P. 34.

From this time, says Bishop Kennet, the Presbyterians began to prepare for the cry of persecution, and not without reason, for Feb. 14. Mr. Zach. Crofton, Minister of Aldgate was sent to the Tower for writing in favour of the Covenant ; where he lay a considerable time at great expence, and was at last turned out of his parish without any consideration, tho' he had a wife and seven children, and had been very zealous for the King's Restoration. Mr. Andrew Parsons, Rector of Wem in Shropshire, a noted loyalist, was fetch'd from his house in the month of December by six Soldiers, for seditious preaching, and non-conformity to the ceremonies ; for which he was fined two hundred pounds, and to continue in prison till paid.

Methods
for that
purpose.

Spies were sent into all the congregations of Presbyterians throughout England, to observe and report their behaviour to the Bishops ; and if a Minister lamented the degeneracy of the times, or expressed his concern for the Ark of God ; if he preached against perfidiousness, or glanced at the vices of the Court, he was marked for an enemy to the King and Government. Many eminent and loyal Presbyterians were sent to prison upon such informations, among whom was the learned and prudent Mr. John Howe, and others ; and when they came to their trials the Court was guarded with Soldiers, and their friends not suffered to attend them. Many were sequester'd from their livings, and cited into the ecclesiastical Courts, for not using the Surplice and other Ceremonies, while the discipline of the Church was under a kind of suspension. So eager were the spiritual Courts to revive the exercise of their power ; and so strongly did the tide run against the unhappy Presbyterians.

An Act for Re-
storing the
sequester'd
Clergy.

The Convention Parliament passed sundry Acts with relation to the late times, of which these following deserve to be remember'd : An act for the confirming and restoring of Ministers, which enacts, among other things, that “ every
“ sequester'd Minister who has not justified the late King's
“ murder, or declared against infant baptism, shall be re-
stored

“ stored to his living before the 25th of December next
 “ ensuing, and the present incumbent shall peaceably quit it,
 “ and be accountable for dilapidations, and all arrears of
 “ fifths not paid.” By this Act some hundreds of non-con-
 formist Ministers were dispossessed of their livings before
 the act of uniformity was formed. Here was no distinc-
 “ tion between good or bad ; but if the Parson had been epis-
 “ copally ordained, and in possession, he must be restored,
 tho’ he had been ejected upon the strongest evidence of im-
 morality or scandal.

King
Charles II.
1660.

The Act for Confirmation of Marriages was very service-
 able to the peace of the Kingdom, and prevented numberless
 law-suits. It enacts, “ That all marriages since May 1.
 “ 1642. solemnized before a Justice of Peace, or reputed Jus-
 “ tice ; and all marriages since the said time, had or so-
 “ lemnized according to the direction of any ordinance, or
 “ reputed act or ordinance of one or both Houses of Parlia-
 “ ment, shall be adjudged and esteemed to be of the same
 “ force and effect as if they had been solemnized according
 “ to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England.”

For con-
firming
Marriages
in the late
Times.

An Act for the “ Attainder of several persons guilty of the
 “ horrid murder of his late sacred Majesty King Charles I.
 “ and for the perpetual observation of the 30th of January.”

Attainder of
the King’s
Judges.

This was the subject of many conferences between the two
 houses, in one of which Chancellor Hyde declared, that the
 King having sent him in embassy to the King of Spain, charged
 him to tell that Monarch expressly, “ That the horrible mur-
 “ der of his father ought not to be deemed as the Act of the
 “ Parliament, or people of England, but of a small crew of
 “ wretches and miscreants who had usurped the sovereign
 “ power, and render’d themselves masters of the kingdom ;”
 for which the Commons sent a deputation with thanks to the
 King. After the preamble the Act goes on to attain all the
 King’s Judges, dead or alive, except Colonel Ingoldsby
 and Thompson, who for their late good services were par-
 doned, but in their room were included Colonel Lambert,
 Sir Harry Vane, and Hugh Peters, who were not of the
 Judges. The bodies of O. Cromwel, Bradshaw, and Ireton,
 were taken out of their graves and drawn upon hurdles to Ty-
 burn, where they were hung up from ten in the morning till
 sun-set of the next day, after which their heads were cut off,
 and their trunks buried all together in one hole under the gal-
 lows. Colonel Lambert was sent to the isle of Jersey,
 where he continued shut up a patient prisoner almost thirty
 years ;

Cromwel
and others
that were
dead taken
out of their
Graves.
Kennet,
p. 367.

King
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1660.

years ; nineteen made their escape beyond sea ; seven were made objects of the King's clemency ; nineteen others, who surrender'd on the King's proclamation of June 6. had their lives saved after trial ; but underwent other penalties, as imprisonment, banishment, and forfeiture of estates ; so that ten only were executed in the month of October, after the new Sheriffs were enter'd upon their office, (viz. Col. Harrison, Mr. Carew, Cook, Hugh Peters, Mr. Scot, Clement, Scroop, Jones, Hacker, and Axtel.

p. 162.
Trials of
those that
suffer'd.

Bishop Burnet says, " The trials and executions of the
" first that suffered were attended by vast crouds of people.
" All men seem'd pleas'd with the sight ; but the firmness
" and shew of piety of the sufferers, who went out of the
" world with a sort of triumph in the cause for which they
" suffered, turned the minds of the Populace, insomuch
" that the King was advis'd to proceed no further." The
prisoners were rudely treated in Court ; the spectators with
their noise and clamour endeavouring to put them out of
countenance. None of them denied the fact, but all pleaded
not Guilty to the Treason, because, as they said, they acted
by authority of Parliament ; not considering, that the House
of Commons is no Court of Judicature ; or if it was, that
it was pack'd and purged before the King was brought to
his trial. Those who guarded the Scaffold pleaded that they
acted by command of their superior Officers, who would
have cashiered or put them to death, if they had not obeyed.
They were not permitted to enter into the merits of the
cause between the King and Parliament, but were condemn'd
upon the statute of 25th Edward III. for compassing and
imagining the King's death.

Their Execution.

The behaviour of the Regicides at their execution was bold
and resolute : Colonel Harrison declared at the gibbet, That
he was fully perswaded that " what he had done was the cause
" and work of God, which he was confident God would own
" and raise up again, how much soever it suffered at that
" time." He went through all the indignities and severities
of his sufferings with a calmness, or rather chearfulness, that
astonish'd the spectators ; he was turned off, and cut down
alive, for, after his body was opened he rais'd himself up and
gave the Executioner a box on the ear. When Mr. Solicitor
Coke and Hugh Peters went into the Sledge, the head of
Major General Harrison was put upon it, with the face bare
towards them ; but notwithstanding this Mr. Coke went
out of the world with surprising resolution, blessing God
that

State Trials.
p. 404.

that he had a clear conscience. Hugh Peters was more fearful; but tho' he sat by, and saw the execution and quartering of Mr. Cooke, he resum'd his courage at length [which some said was artificial] and said to the Sheriffs, "Sir, You have here slain one of the servants of the Lord, and made me behold it, on purpose to terrify and discourage me; but God has made it an ordinance for my strengthening and encouragement."

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Charles II.
1660.

Mr. Scot was not allowed to speak to the people, but said in his prayer, "That he had been engaged in a cause not to be repented of; I say in a cause not to be repented of." Carew appeared very chearful as he went to the gibbet, but said little of the cause for which he suffered. Clements also said nothing. Colonel Jones justified the King and Court in their proceedings; but added, that they did not satisfy him in so great and deep a point. Colonel Scroop went with him in the same sledge, whose grave and venerable countenance, accompanied with courage and chearfulness, caused great compassion in some of the spectators, tho' the insults and rudeness of others, was cruel and barbarous: He said "he was born and bred a gentleman; and appealed to those who had known him for his behaviour; he forgave the Instruments of his sufferings, and died for that which he judged to be the cause of Christ." Colonel Axter and Hacker suffered last; the former behaved with great resolution, and holding the Bible in his hand, said, "The very cause in which I was engaged is contained in this Book of God; and having been fully convinced in my Conscience of the justness of the War, I freely engaged in the Parliament's service, which as I do believe was the cause of the Lord, I ventur'd my life freely for it, and now die for it." Hacker read a paper to the same purpose; and after having expressed his charity towards his judges, jury and witnesses, he said, "I have nothing lies upon my conscience as guilt whereof I am now condemned, and do not doubt but to have the sentence revers'd."

Few, if any of these criminals, were friends of the Protector Cromwel, but gave him all possible disturbance in favour of a Commonwealth. Mr. H. Cromwel, in one of his letters from Ireland, 1657-58. says, "'Tis a sad case, when men knowing the difficulties we labour under seek occasions to quarrel and unsettle every thing again; I hear Harrison, Carew, and Okey have done

Remarks,
" new

King
Charles II.
1660.

“ new feats. I hope God will infatuate them in their
“ endeavours to disturb the peace of the nation ; their
“ folly shews them to be no better than abusers of Religion, and such whose hypocrisy the Lord will avenge
“ in due time.” They certainly confounded the cause of the Parliament, or the necessity of entering into a war to bring delinquents to Justice, with cutting off the King’s Head, whereas they were distinct and separate things ; the former might be lawful, when the latter had neither law or equity to support it ; for admitting (with them) that the King is accountable to his Parliament, the House of Commons alone is not the Parliament ; and if it was, it could not be so, after it was under restraint, and one half of the Members kept from their places by the military power. They had no precedent for their conduct, nor any rule of law to try and condemn their Sovereign : Tho’ the Scripture says, “ He that sheds
“ man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed ; ” yet this is not the duty of private persons, when there is a Government subsisting. If the King had fallen in battle it had been a different case ; but how criminal soever his Majesty might be in their opinions, they were not his Judges, and therefore could have no right by their own verdict to have put him to death.

Act for an
Anniverl.
Observation
of the 29th
of May.

There was another Act passed this sessions, for a perpetual Anniverlary Thanksgiving on the 29th of May, for his Majesty’s happy Restoration ; upon which occasion the bishops were commanded to draw up a suitable form of prayer ; and Mr. Robinson, in the preface to his Review of the Case of Liturgies, says, that in the first form, which is since alter’d, there are these unwarrantable expressions, which I mention only to shew the spirit of the times. — “ We beseech thee to
“ give us grace, to remember and provide for our latter end,
“ by a careful and studious imitation of this thy blessed Saint
“ and Martyr, and all other thy Saints and Martyrs that have
“ gone before us ; that we may be made worthy to receive
“ benefit by their prayers, which they, in Communion with
“ thy Church Catholick, offer up unto thee for that part of it
“ here militant, and yet in fight with, and danger from the
“ Flesh——”

Milton’s
and J.
Goodwin’s
Books
burnt.

The books of the famous Mr. Milton, and Mr. John Goodwin, writ in defence of the sentence of death, passed upon his late Majesty, were called in by proclamation. And upon the 27th of August, Milton’s Defensio pro Populo Anglicano contra Salamasiun ; and his answer to a book, entitled, “ The Portraiture
“ of

“ of his sacred Majesty in his solitude and sufferings,” were burnt by the hands of the common Hangman ; together with Mr. John Goodwin’s book, entitled, “ The obstructors of Justice ;” but the Authors absconded ’till the storm was over. It was a surprize to all People that they escaped censure. None but Goodwin and Peters had magnified putting the King to death in their sermons ; but Goodwin’s being a strenuous Arminian procured him friends. Milton had appeared so boldly, tho’ with much wit, and great purity and elegance of stile, upon the argument of putting the King to death, that it was thought a strange omission not to except him out of the Act of indemnity ; but he lived many years after, tho’ blind, to get immortal honour by his celebrated poem, entitled, “ Paradise lost.”

King
Charles II.
1660.

Burnet.
P. 163,
164.

The tide of joy that overspread the Nation with the King’s Restoration brought with it the revival of Popery, which had been at a very low ebb in the late times : Great numbers of that religion came over with his Majesty, and crowded about the court, magnifying their sufferings for the late King. A list of the Lords, Gentlemen, and other Officers, that were killed in his service, was printed in red letters, by which it appeared that besides several Noblemen, ten Knights and Baronets, fourteen Colonels, seven Lieutenant Colonels, fourteen Majors, sixty six Captains, eighteen Lieutenants and Cornets, and thirty eight Gentlemen, lost their lives in the wars, besides great numbers wounded and sequester’d from their Estates. The Queen-mother came from France and resided at Somerset-House with her catholick attendants both religious and secular. Several Romish Priests who had been confined in Newgate, Lancaster, and other Goals, were by order of council set at liberty. Many popish Priests were sent over from Douay into England as Missionaries for propogating that Religion ; and their Clergy appeared openly in defiance of the Laws ; they were busy about the court and city in giving away, and dispersing Popish books of devotion ; and the King gave open countenance and protection to such as had been serviceable to him abroad, and came over with him, or soon followed him, which (Bishop Kennet says) his Majesty could not avoid. Upon the whole, more Roman Catholicks appeared openly this year, than in all the twelve years of the interregnum put together.

Popery re-
vives in
England.

In Ireland the Papists took possession of their estates, which had been forfeited by the rebellion and massacre, and turn’d out the purchasers ; which occasioned such commotions in

And in
Ireland.

King
Charles II.
1660.

that Kingdom that the King was obliged to issue out a proclamation, commanding them to wait the determinations of the next Parliament. The body of their Clergy, by an instrument, bearing date Jan. 1, 1660. O. S. signed and sealed by the chief Prelates and Officials of their religion, ventured to depute a person of their own communion to congratulate his Majesty's Restoration, and to present their humble supplications for the free exercise of their religion, pursuant to the articles of 1648, whom the King received very favourably, and encouraged to hope for an accomplishment of their requests in due time. Such was the prodigious change of the times within nine months after the King's arrival at Whitehall.

Insurrection
of the
Fifth Mo-
narchy
Men.

The only pretenders to religion who attempted any thing against the Government, was a small number of Enthusiasts, who were for King Jesus : Their leader was Thomas Venner, a Wine-Cooper, who in his little conventicle in Coleman-street warmed his admirers with passionate expectations of a fifth universal Monarchy, under the personal reign of King Jesus upon Earth, and that the Saints were to take the Kingdom themselves. To introduce this imaginary Kingdom, they marched out of their Meeting-house towards St. Paul's Church Yard on Sunday, Jan. 6, to the number of about fifty Men well armed, and with a resolution to subvert the present Government or die in the attempt. They published a declaration of the design of their rising, and placed Centinels at proper places. The Lord Mayor sent the Trained Bands to disperse them, whom they quickly routed, but in the evening retired to Cane Wood, between High-Gate and Hampstead. On Wednesday morning they returned and dispersed a party of the King's Soldiers in Threadneedle-street. In Wood-street they repelled the Trained Bands, and some of the Horse-guards ; but Venner himself was knocked down, and some of his company slain ; from hence the remainder retreated to Cripplegate, and took possession of an house, which they threatened to defend with a desperate resolution, but no-body appearing to countenance their frenzy, they surrender'd after they had lost about half their number ; Venner, and one of his officers, were hanged before their Meeting-house door in Coleman-street, Jan. 19, and a few days after nine more were executed in divers parts of the city.

Consequences
of Ven-
ner's In-
surrection.
Ken.
p. 357.

This mad insurrection gave the Court a handle for breaking through the late Declaration of Indulgence, within three months after it was published ; for Jan. 2, there was an order

order of Council against the meetings of Sectaries in great numbers, and at unusual times ; and on the 10th of January a proclamation was published, whereby his Majesty forbids the Anabaptists, Quakers, and Fifth monarchy Men, to assemble or meet together under the pretence of worshipping God, except it be in some parochial Church, or Chapel, or in private houses by the Persons there inhabiting. All meetings in any other places are declared to be unlawful and riotous. And his Majesty commands all Mayors, and other Peace-officers, to search after such Conventicles, and cause the Persons therein to be bound over to the next Sessions. Upon this the Independants, Baptists, and Quakers, who dissented from the Establishment, thought fit publicly to disown and renounce the late Insurrection.

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1660.

The Independants, tho' not named in the Proclamation, were obnoxious to the Government, and suspected to join in all designs that might change the Constitution into a Commonwealth : To wipe off this odium there was published, " A Renunciation and Declaration of the congregational Churches, and publick Preachers of the same Judgment, living in and about the City of London, against the late horrid Insurrection and Rebellion acted in the said City."

Disowned
by the In-
dependants.

Dated Jan. 1660. In this declaration they disown the Principles of a Fifth Monarchy ; or, The personal reign of King Jesus on Earth, as dishonourable to him, and prejudicial to his Church ; and abhor the propagating this or any other opinion by force or blood. They refer to their late meeting of Messengers from one hundred and twenty Churches of their way at the Savoy, in which they declared, (Chap. XXIV. Of their Confession) That civil Magistrates are of divine appointment, and that it is the duty of all People to pray for them, to honour their Persons, to pay them tribute, to obey their lawful commands, and to be subject to their authority ; and that infidelity, or difference in Religion, does not make void the Magistrate's just and legal Authority, nor free the People from their obedience. Accordingly they cease not to pray for all sorts of Blessings, spiritual and temporal, upon the Person and Government of his Majesty, and by the grace of God will continue to do so themselves, and persuade others thereunto. And with regard to the late impious and prodigious daring Rebellion ; they add, " Cursed be their Anger, for it was fierce ; and their Wrath, for it was cruel : O my Soul ! come not thou into their Secret, but God divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel." Signed by

King
Charles II.
1660.

Jos. Caryl,	Samuel Slater,	Will. Greenhill,
George Griffiths,	George Cockayn,	Matth. Barker,
Richard Kenrick,	Thomas Goodwin,	Tho. Malory,
Robert Bragge,	Thomas Brooks,	John Loder,
Ralph Venning,	Corn. Helme,	John Yates,
John Oxenbridge,	John Hodges,	Thomas Owens,
Philip Nye,	John Bachiler,	Nath. Mather,
John Rowe,	Seth Wood,	Will. Stoughton,
Thomas Weld.		

By the
Baptists.

The Baptists published an apology in behalf of themselves and their Brethren of the same judgment, with a "Protestation against the late wicked and most horrid Treason and Rebellion in this City of London;" in which they declare their loyalty to the King, and promise that their practise shall be conformable; subscribed by William Kiffen, Henry Den, John Batty, Thomas Lamb, Thomas Cowper, and about twenty nine or thirty other names. They also addressed the King, that the innocent might not suffer with the guilty; protesting in the most solemn manner, that they had not the least knowledge of the late insurrection, nor did directly or indirectly, contrive, promote, assist, or approve of it. They offered to give security for their peaceable Behaviour, and for their supporting his Majesty's Person and Government. But notwithstanding this, their religious assemblies were disturbed in all places, and their Ministers imprisoned; great numbers were crowded into Newgate, and other Prisons, where they remained under close confinement 'till the King's Coronation, when the general pardon published on that occasion set them at liberty.

The Quakers also addressed the King upon this occasion in the following words:

Oh King Charles!

By the
Quakers.
Kennet.
p. 366.

"OUR Desire is, that thou mayest live for ever in
"the fear of God, and thy Council. We beseech
"thee, and thy Council, to read these following Lines,
"in tender Bowels, and Compassion for our Souls, and
"for your good.

"And this consider, we are about four hundred impris-
"soned in and about this City, of Men and Women from
"their Families; besides, in the Country Goals above ten
"hundred. We desire, that our Meetings may not be
"broken

" broken up, but that all may come to a fair trial, that
 " our Innocency may be cleared up —."

London, 16th Day eleventh Month, 1660.

King
 Charles II.
 1660.

On the 28th of the same month they published the declaration referred to their address, entitled, " A declaration Ib. p. 264.
 " from the harmless and innocent People of God, called
 " QUAKERS, against all sedition, plotters and fighters in
 " the World, for removing the ground of jealousy and
 " suspicion from both Magistrates and People in the King-
 " dom, concerning wars and fightings." Presented to
 the King the 21st day of the eleventh month, 1660. Upon
 which his Majesty promised them, on the word of a King,
 that they should not suffer for their opinions as long as
 they lived peaceably : but his promises were very little
 regarded.

The Presbyterian Clergy were in some degree affected Presbyteri-
 ans in
 Trouble.
 Rapin.
 p. 264.
 with these commotions, though envy itself could not charge
 them with guilt : but it was the wish and desire of the
 prelatical Party, that they might discover their uneasiness
 in such a manner as might expose them to trouble : for
 their ruin was already determined, only some pretexts
 were wanting to execute their design, particularly such as
 affected the peace of the Kingdom, and might not re-
 flect on his Majesty's declaration from Breda, which pro-
 mised, " that no Person should be molested purely for
 Religion." But they were insulted by the mob in the
 streets ; when families were singing psalms in their houses,
 they were frequently interrupted by blowing of horns, or
 throwing of stones in at the window. The Presbyterian
 Ministers made the best retreat they could, after they had
 unadvisedly delivered themselves up into the hands of their
 enemies ; for while they were careful to maintain an in-
 violable loyalty to his Majesty's Person and Government,
 they contended for their religious principles in the Press ;
 several new pamphlets were published, and a great many
 old ones re-printed, " about the Magistrates right of im-
 " posing things indifferent in the worship of God — A-
 " gainst bowing at the name of Jesus — The un-
 " lawfulness of the ceremonies of the Church of Eng-
 " land — The common-prayer book unmasked —
 " Grievances and corruptions in Church-government, &c." But
 most of which were answered by Divines of the episcopal
 Party.

King
Charles II.
1660.
Bp. Stilling-
fleet's
Irenicum.

Ib. p. 8. 9.
10.

But the most remarkable treatise that appeared about this time, and which if it had taken place, must have prevented the mischiefs that followed, was that of the reverend Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, Rector of Sutton in Bedfordshire, and afterwards the learned Bishop of Worcester, who first made himself known to the world at this time by his *Irenicum*; or, "A weapon salve for the Church's wounds;" printed 1660, in which he attempts to prove, that no form of Church-government is of divine Right, and that the Church had no power to impose things indifferent. I shall beg the reader's attention to a few pages out of this Preface.

"The design of our Saviour (says he) was to ease Men of
 "their former burdens, and not to lay on more; the duties
 "he required were no other but such as were necessary,
 "and withal very just and reasonable: he that came to take
 "away the insupportable yoke of Jewish ceremonies, cer-
 "tainly did never intend to gall the neck of his Disciples
 "with another instead of it; and it would be strange the
 "Church should require more than Christ himself did, and
 "make other conditions of her Communion than our Savi-
 "our did of Discipleship. What possible reason can be
 "assigned or given, why such things should not be sufficient
 "for communion with a Church, which are sufficient for
 "eternal Salvation? And certainly those things are suf-
 "ficient for that, which are laid down for necessary duties
 "of Christianity by our Lord and Saviour in his word.
 "What ground can there be why Christians should not
 "stand upon the same terms now, which they did in the
 "time of Christ and his Apostles? Was not religion suffi-
 "ciently guarded and fenced in them? Was there ever
 "more true and cordial reverence in the worship of God?
 "What charter hath Christ given the Church to bind Men
 "up to more than himself has done? Or to exclude those
 "from her Society who may be admitted into Heaven?
 "Will Christ ever thank Men at the great day, for keep-
 "ing such out from communion with his Church, who
 "he will vouchsafe not only crowns of glory to, but it
 "may be Aureolæ too, if there be any such things there?
 "The grand commission the Apostles were sent out with,
 "was only to teach what Christ had commanded them;
 "not the least intimation of any power given them to impose
 "or require any thing beyond what himself had spoken to
 "them, or they were directed to by the immediate guid-
 "ance of the spirit of God. It is not, whether the things
 "commanded and required be lawful or not? It is not,
 "whether

“ whether indifferencies may be determined or not? It is
 “ not how far Christians are bound to submit to a restraint
 “ of their Christian liberty which I now enquire after, but
 “ whether they consult the Church’s peace and unity who
 “ suspended it on such things. — We never read of the A-
 “ postles making laws but of things necessary, as Acts
 “ xv. 29. It was not enough with them that the things
 “ would be necessary when they had required them; but
 “ they looked upon an antecedent necessity either
 “ absolute or for the present state, which was the only
 “ ground of their imposing these commands upon the Gen-
 “ tile Christians, But the holy Ghost never thought those
 “ things fit to be made matters of law to which all Parties
 “ should conform. All that the Apostles required as to
 “ this was mutual forbearance and condescension towards
 “ each other in them. The Apostles valued not indifferen-
 “ cies at all; and those things they accounted as such,
 “ which were of no concernment to their Salvation. And
 “ what reason is there why Men should be tied up so
 “ strictly to such things which they may do or let alone,
 “ and be very good Christians? Without all controversy, the
 “ main inlet of all the distractions, confusions, and divi-
 “ sions of the Christian world, has been by adding other
 “ conditions of Church Communion than Christ has done.
 “ ——— Would there ever be the less peace and unity in
 “ a Church if a diversity were allowed as to the practices
 “ supposed indifferent? Yea, there would be so much
 “ more, as there was a mutual forbearance and condescension
 “ as to such things. The unity of the Church is an unity
 “ of love and affection, and not a bare uniformity of prac-
 “ tice and opinion. ——— There is nothing in the primi-
 “ tive Church more deserving our imitation than that admi-
 “ rable temper, moderation and condescension which was
 “ used in it towards its Members. It was never thought
 “ worth the while to make any standing Laws for rites
 “ and customs that had no other original but Tradition,
 “ much less to suspend Men her Communion for not
 “ observing them ———”

The Doctor’s proposals for an accommodation were, *Ib. p. 66, 67*
 “ 1. That nothing be imposed as necessary but what is
 “ clearly revealed in the word of God. 2. That nothing
 “ be required or determined but what is sufficiently known
 “ to be indifferent in its own nature. 3. That whatever
 “ is thus determined be in order only to a due per-

King
Charles II.
1660.

“formance of what is in general required in the word
“of God, and not to be looked upon as any part of
“divine Worship or Service. 4. That no sanctions be
“made, nor mulcts or penalties be inflicted on such who
“only dissent from the use of some things whose law-
“fulness they at present scruple, ’till sufficient time and
“means be used for their information of the nature and
“indifferency of these things. I am sure (says the Dr.)
“it is contrary to the primitive practice, and the mode-
“ration then used, to suspend or deprive Men of their
“Ministerial Function for not conforming in habits and
“gestures, or the like. Lastly, That Religion be not
“clogged with ceremonies : for when they are multiplied
“too much, though lawful, they eat out the heart,
“life and Vigor of Christianity.—” If the Doctor
had kept to these principles he could hardly have subscribed
the act of uniformity next Year, much less have writ
so fiercely against the Dissenters, as he did twenty Years
afterwards. But all he could say or do at present availed
nothing, the Presbyterians were in disgrace, and nothing
could put a stop to the torrent of popular Fury that
was coming down upon them.

1661.
King's
Marriage.

The Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor, was now
prime Minister, and at the head of affairs. The year be-
gan with new scenes of Pleasure and Diversion, occasioned
by the King's Marriage with the Infanta of Portugal,
which was consummated April 30. The Match was promo-
ted by General Monk and Lord Clarendon, if, according
to the Oxford Historian, the latter was not the first mover
of it. But it was reckoned very odd, that a Protestant
Chancellor should advise the King to a Popish Princess,
when a Catholick King proposed at the same time a Protestant
Consort. But his Lordship had further views, for it was
talked of among the Merchants, that the Infanta could have
no Children ; in which case the Chancellor's Daughter,
who had been privately married to the King's Brother, must
succeed, and her Issue by the Duke of York fill the Throne ;
which happened accordingly in the Persons of Queen Mary
II. and Queen Anne. Such was the aspiring Views of this
great Man, which, together with his haughty Behaviour to-
wards his Inferiors, proved his ruin.

Character of
the new
Parliament.
Rapid.

The Convention Parliament being dissolved, a new one
was summoned to meet May 8. The House of Commons
was made up of Representatives agreeable to the wishes of
the Countiers, who had taken care to recommend such Per-
sons

sons for Members as were zealous enemies of the Presbyterians and followed the principles of Archbishop Laud; many of them had their estates impaired in the late wars, and having now their fortunes to make, became tools of doing infinite mischief to the Nation. The Court kept above one hundred of them in pay, who went by the name of the Club of Voters, and received large sums of money out of the Exchequer, till they had almost subverted the Constitution; and then, because they would not put the finishing hand to what they had unadvisedly begun, they were dissolved.

The King acquainted the Houses at the opening of the Sessions, that “He valued himself much upon keeping his Word, and upon making good whatsoever he had promised to his Subjects.” But the Chancellor, who enlarged upon the King’s Speech, spoke a different language, and told the House, “That there were a sort of parties in the kingdom that deserved their utmost severity, and none of their lenity; these were the Seditious Preachers who could not be contented to be dispensed with for their full obedience to some Laws established, without reproaching and inveighing against those Laws how established soever, who tell their Auditories that when the Apostle bid them stand to their Liberties, he bid them stand to their Arms, and who by repeating the very expressions, and teaching the very Doctrines they set on foot in they ear 1640. sufficiently declare that they have no mind that twenty years should put an end to the miseries we have undergone. What good Christians can think without horror, of these Ministers of the Gospel, who by their function should be messengers of Peace, but are in their practice the only Trumpets of War, and Incendiaries towards Rebellion?——And if the Persons and Place can aggravate their offence, so no doubt it does before God and Man. Methinks the preaching Rebellion and Treason out of the Pulpit, should be as much worse than advancing it in the market, as poisoning a Man at a Communion, would be worse than killing him at a Tavern——” His Lordship concludes thus: “If you do not provide for the thorough quenching these Firebrands; King, Lords and Commons shall be their meanest Subjects, and the whole Kingdom be kindled into a general Flame.” This was a home Thrust at the Presbyterians; the Chancellor did not explain himself upon the Authors of the seditious Sermons, his design being not to accuse

King
Charles II.

The Kings
and Lord
Clarendon’s
Speech.
K. Chron.
P. 437.

King
Charles II.
1661.

K. Chron.

P. 510,
511.

accuse particular Persons, but to obtain a general order which might suppress all Preachers that were not of the Church of England; and the Parliament was prepared to go blindfold into all the Court Measures; for in this Sessions the Militia was given absolutely to the King——The Solemn League and Covenant was declared void, and illegal——The Act for disabling Persons in Holy Orders to exercise temporal Jurisdiction was repealed——The Bishops were restored to their Seats in Parliament——The old Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction was revived by the Repeal of the 17th of Charles I. except the Oath *ex Officio*——And it was made a *Præmunire* to call the King a Papist.

King's
second
Speech to
his Parlia-
ment.

The storm was all this while gathering thick over the Presbyterians; for when the Parliament met a second Time, Nov. 20. the King complimented the Bishops, who appeared now in their Places among the Peers, and said in his Speech, That it was a Felicity he had much desired to see, as the only Thing wanting to restore the old Constitution. He then spoke the Language of the Chancellor, and told the Commons, "That there were many wicked instruments
" who laboured night and day to disturb the publick Peace
" ——That it was worthy of their care to provide proper
" remedies for the diseases of that kind; that if they found
" new diseases they must find new remedies. That the
" difficulties which concerned Religion were too hard for
" him, and therefore he recommended them to their care
" and deliberation who could best provide for them." The Design of this Speech was to make way for breaking through the Breda Declaration, and to furnish the Parliament with a pretence for treating the Non-Conformists with Rigor, to which they were but too well inclined of themselves.

'Tis easy for a King or Prime Minister to raise a Cry of Sedition, or to spread Reports of dangerous Plots and Conspiracies, when they have a mind to rain down vengeance upon their enemies, tho' they behave with all imaginable circumspection and duty. But this was the Plan the Court went upon for the Execution of their Designs.

Sham Plots
fathered on
the Presby-
terians.
Yarrington's Plot.
K. Chr.
p. 602.

Lord Clarendon, in a conference between the two Houses, affirmed positively, that there was a real Conspiracy against the Peace of the Kingdom; and tho' it was disconcerted in the City, it was carried on in divers Counties; a Committee was therefore appointed to enquire into the truth of the Report; but after all their examinations not one single Person was put to Death, or so much as prosecuted for it. Great Pains was taken to fasten something on the Presbyterians; letters were

were sent from unknown hands to the Chiefs of the Party in several Counties, intimating the design of a general insurrection, in which their friends were concerned, and desiring them to communicate it to certain Persons in their Neighbourhood, whom they name in their Letters, that they may be ready at a time and place. A letter of this kind was directed to the Reverend Mr. Sparry in Worcestershire, desiring him and Captain Yarrington to be ready with money; and to acquaint Mr. Oatland and Mr. Baxter with the Design. This, with a Packet of the same kind, was said to be left under a hedge by a Scots Pedlar; and as soon as they were found they were carried to Sir J. Packington, who immediately committed Sparry, Oatland, and Yarrington to prison. The Militia of the County was raised, and the City of Worcester put into a posture of Defence; but the sham was so notorious, that the Earl of Bristol, tho' a Papist, was ashamed of it; and after some time the prisoners, for want of evidence, were released. The Members for Oxfordshire, Herefordshire, and Staffordshire, informed the Commons, that they had rumours of the like conspiracies in their Counties. Bishop Burnet says, "That many were taken up, but none tried; that p. 148.
 " this was done to fasten an Odium on the Presbyterians,
 " and to help carry the Penal Laws thro' the House; and
 " there were appearances of foul dealing (says he) among
 " the fiercer sort." Mr. Locke adds, that reports of a general insurrection were spread over the whole Nation, by the very persons that invented them; and tho' Lord Clarendon could not but be acquainted with the Farce, he kept it on foot to facilitate the passing the Penal Laws that were now p. 289.
 coming upon the carpet. The Government could not with decency attack the Non-Conformists purely on account of their religion; the declaration from Breda was too express 'on that article; they were therefore to be accused right or wrong of raising disturbances in the State. But supposing the fact to be true, that some few Malecontents had been raising disturbances, which yet was never made appear, what reason can be given why it should be charged upon the principles of a whole body of Men, who were willing to be quiet.

King
Charles II.
1661.

Rapin,
p. 289.

K. Chron.
p. 602.

It was nevertheless on this base and dishonourable foundation, that the first Penal Law which passed against the Non-Conformists this Session was founded, entitled,

King
Charles II.
1661.
Corporation
Act. Stat.
13. Car. II.
Sess. 2.
Cap. 1.

An Act for the well-governing and regulating Corporations ; which enacts, “ That within the several Cities, Corporations, Boroughs, Cinque Ports, and other Port Towns within the Kingdoms of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick on Tweed, all Mayors, Aldermen, Recorders, Bailiffs, Town-Clerks, Common-Council-Men, and other Persons, bearing any Office or Offices of Magistracy, or Places, or Trusts, or other Employment relating to, or concerning the Government of the said respective Cities, Corporations, and Boroughs, and Cinque Ports, and their Members, and other Port-Towns, shall take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and this Oath following,

“ I A. B. do declare and believe, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King ; and that I do abhor that traiterous position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are commissioned by him.”

They shall also subscribe the following Declaration,

“ I A. B. do declare, that there lies no obligation upon me from the Solemn League and Covenant, and that the same was an unlawful Oath imposed on the Subject against the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom.”

“ Provided also, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that no Person shall hereafter be elected, or chosen into any of the Offices or Places aforesaid, that shall not have within one year next before such Election or Choice, taken the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, according to the Rites of the Church of England ; and that every Person so elected shall take the aforesaid Oaths, and subscribe the said Declaration at the same time when the Oath for the due Execution of the said Places and Offices shall be respectively administered.”

Remarks.

Thus all Non-Conformists were turned out of all the Branches of Magistracy at once, and rendered incapable of serving their Country in the meanest Offices of a Common-Council-Man, or a Burgefs or Bailiff of a Corporation. The Oath imposed in this Act robbed them of their Right

as Subjects ; Mr. Eachard confesses that it seems at once to give up the whole Constitution ; and no wonder (says he) if many of the Clergy as well as Laity on the account of this Act, espoused a Doctrine, which if rigidly taken, was hard to be reconciled to the great Deliverance afterwards. Mr. Rapin adds, that to say that it “ is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to resist the King,” is properly speaking to deliver up the Liberties of the Nation into his Hands. The High Churchmen had then extraordinary Ideas of the Royal Authority, but even this Parliament afterwards did not think fit to admit the the dangerous Consequences of their own Maxims.

King
Charles II.
1661.

Commissioners were appointed, and employed all this and the next year to visit the several Corporations in England, and to turn out of Office such as were never so little suspected ; who executed their Commissions with such Rigor, that Corporations had not one Member who was not entirely devoted to the King and the Church.

C H A P. VI.

From the Conference at the Savoy, to the Act of Uniformity.

ACcording to his Majesty's Declaration of October 25. 1660. concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, twelve Bishops and nine Assistants were appointed on the part of the Episcopal Church of England, and as many Ministers on the side of the Presbyterians, to assemble at the Bishop of London's Lodgings at the Savoy, “ to review the Book of Common-Prayer, comparing it with the most antient and purest Liturgies ; and to take into their serious and grave considerations the several Directions and Rules, Forms of Prayer, and things in the said Book of Common-Prayer contained, and to advise and consult upon the same, and the several objections and exceptions which shall now be raised against the same ; and if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections and amendments as shall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient for giving satisfaction to tender Consciences, and the restoring and continuance of Peace and Unity in the Churches under his Majesty's Government and Direction.” They were to continue four Months from the 25th of March 1661.

King
Charles II.
1661.

1661. and then present the result of their Conferences to his Majesty under their several hands.

The Names of the Episcopal Divines on the Side of the Establishment at the Savoy Conference were,

The Most Rev. Dr. Accepted Frewen, Abp. of York,
The Rt. Rev. Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Bp. of London,
———— Dr. John Cosins, Bishop of Durham,
———— Dr. John Warner, Bishop of Rochester,
———— Dr. Henry King, Bishop of Chichester,
———— Dr. Humphry Henchman, Bishop of Sarum,
———— Dr. George Morley, Bishop of Worcester,
———— Dr. Robert Saunderson, Bishop of Lincoln,
———— Dr. Benjamin Laney, Bp of Peterborough,
———— Dr. Bryan Walton, Bishop of Chester,
———— Dr. Richard Sterne, Bishop of Carlisle,
———— Dr. John Gauden, Bishop of Exeter.

Their Assistants;

John Earle, D. D. Dean of	Peter Gunning, D. D.
Westm.	John Pearson, D. D.
Peter Heylin, D. D.	Thomas Pierce, D. D.
John Hacket, D. D.	Anthony Sparrow, D. D.
John Barwick, D. D.	Herbert Thorndike, B. D.

The Names of the Presbyterian Divines, or those who were for Alterations in the Hierarchy of the Church at the Savoy Conference were,

The Rt. Rev. Edward Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich,
The Rev. Antony Tuckney, D. D. M. St. John's Col. Cam.
———— John Conant, D. D. Reg. Prof. Oxon,
———— William Spurstow, D. D. Vicar, Hackney,
———— John Walls, D. D. Sav. Prof. Geom.
———— Thomas Marton, D. D. Mast. of Cov. Garden,
———— Edmond Calamy, B. D. of Aldermanbury,
———— Mr. Richard Baxter, Cl. late of Kidderminster,
———— Mr. Arthur Jackson, Clerk of St. Faith's,
———— Mr. Thomas Case, Clerk, Rect. of St. Giles,
———— Mr. Sam. Clarke, of St. Bennet Fink,
———— Mr. Matth. Newcomen, Clerk, of Dedham.

Their

Their Assistants.

The Rev. Thomas Horton, D. D.
 ——— Thomas Jacomb, D. D.
 ——— Will. Bates, D. D.
 ——— Will Cooper, D. D.
 ——— John Lightfoot, D. D.
 ——— John Collins, D. D.
 ——— Benj. Woodbridge, D. D.
 ——— Mr. John Rawlinson, Clerk,
 ——— Mr. Will. Drake, Clerk.

King
 Charles. II.
 1661.



When the Commissioners were assembled the first time, April 15, the Archbishop of York stood up and said, He knew but little of the business they were met about, and therefore referred it to Dr. Sheldon, Bishop of London, who gave it as his opinion, that the Presbyterians having desired this Conference, they [the Bishops] should neither say nor do any thing till the others had brought in all their Exceptions and Complaints against the Liturgy in writing, with their additional Forms and Amendments. The Presbyterians humbly moved for a Conference according to the words of the Commission, but the Bishop of London insisting peremptorily upon his own method, the others consented to bring in their Exceptions at one time and their Additions at another. For this purpose Bishop Reynolds, Dr. Wallis, and the rest of the Presbyterian party, met from day to day to collect their Exceptions; But the Additions, or drawing up a new Form, was intrusted with Mr. Baxter alone. “Bishop Sheldon saw well enough (says Burnet) “what the effect would be of obliging them to make all “their demands at once, that the Number would raise a “a mighty outcry against them as a People that could never be satisfied.” On the other hand, the Presbyterians were divided in their Sentiments; some were for insisting only on a few important things, reckoning that if they were gained, and an Union followed, it might be easier to obtain other things afterwards. But the majority, by the influence of Mr. Baxter, were for extending their desires to the utmost, and thought themselves bound by the Words of the Commission to offer every thing they thought might conduce to the peace of the Church, without considering what an aspect this would have with the World, or what influence their numerous demands might have upon the minds

Opening of
 the Conference.
 Baxter's
 Life,
 Part II.
 p. 305.

Ibid.
 Part II.
 p. 306.
 p. 180.

King
Charles II.
1661.

minds of those who were now their Superiors in Numbers and Strength; but when they were put in mind that the King's Commission gave them no power to alter the Government of the Church, nor to insist upon Archbishop Usher's model, nor so much as to claim the Concessions of his Majesty's late Declaration, they were quite heartless; for they now saw that all they were to expect was a few amendments in the Liturgy and Common-Prayer Book. This was concluded before-hand at Court, and nothing more intended than to drop the Presbyterians with some plausible decency.

Hardships of
the Presby-
terians.

The Ministers were under this further hardship, that they were to transact for a body of Men from whom they had no power, and therefore could not be obliged to abide by their decisions; they told the King and the Prime Minister, that they should be glad to consult their absent Brethren, and receive from them a Commission in Form; but this was denied, and they were required only to give in their own Sense of things, to which they consented, provided the Bishops at the same time would bring in their Concessions; but these being content to abide by the Liturgy as it then stood, had nothing to offer, nor would they admit of any alteration but what the Presbyterians should make appear to be necessary. With this dark and melancholy prospect the Conference was opened. * It would interrupt the course of this History too much, to insert all the Exceptions of the Presbyterians to the present Liturgy, and the papers that passed between the Commissioners, with the Letter of the Presbyterian Ministers to the Archbishop and Bishops, and the account they gave of the whole to the King. I shall only take notice in this place, that instead of drawing up a few supplemental Forms, and making some amendments to the old Liturgy, Mr. Baxter composed an entire new one in the Language of Scripture, which he called the Reformed Liturgy; not with a design entirely to set aside the old one, but to give Men liberty to use either as they thought fit. It was drawn up in a short compass of time, and after it had been examin-

* N. B. All the Papers relating to the Conference at the Savoy are collected in a Book, entitled, "The History of Non-Conformity," as it was argued and stated by Commissioners on both Sides appointed by his Majesty King Charles II. in the year 1661. Octavo. Edit. 2d. 1708.

ed, and approved by the Brethren, was presented to the Bishops in the Conference, together with their exceptions to the Old Liturgy. This gave great offence, as presuming that a Liturgy drawn up by a single hand in fourteen days, was to be preferred, or stand in competition with one had been approved by the Church for a whole Century. Besides, it was inconsistent with the Commission and the Bishop's Declaration of varying no further from the old Standard than should appear to be necessary, and therefore the Reformed Liturgy, as it was called, was rejected at once without being examined.

King
Charles II.
1661.



When the Presbyterians brought in their Exceptions to the Liturgy, they presented at the same time a Petition for Peace, beseeching the Bishops to yield to their Amendments; to free them from the Subscriptions and Oaths in his Majesty's late Declaration, and not to insist upon the Re-Ordination of those who had been ordained without a Diocesan Bishop, nor upon the Surplice, the Cross in Baptism, and other indifferent Ceremonies; for this purpose, they make use of various motives and arguments, sufficient, in my judgment, to influence all that had any concern for the Honour of God, and the Salvation of Souls. The Bishops gave a particular answer to these Exceptions; to which the Presbyterians made such a reply, as in the opinion of their adversaries, shewed them to be Men of Learning, and well versed in the practice of the antient Church; however, the Bishops would indulge nothing to their prejudices; upon which they sent them a large expostulatory Letter, wherein, after having repeated their objections, they lay the wounds of the Church at their door.

Proceedings
of the Com-
missioners.

The time of Treaty being almost spun out in a paper Controversy, about ten days before the Commission expired, a disputation was agreed on, to argue the Necessity of alterations in the present Liturgy. Three of each party were chose to manage the Argument; Dr. Pearson, Gunning, and Sparrow on one side; and Dr. Bates, Jacomb, and Mr. Baxter on the other. The rest were at liberty to withdraw if they pleased. Mr. Baxter was Opponent, and began to prove the sinfulness of impositions, but through want of order, frequent interruptions, and personal reflections, the dispute turned to no account; a number of young Divines interrupting the Presbyterian Ministers and laughing them to scorn. At length Bishop Cosins produced a paper, containing an Expedient to shorten the debate, which was, to put the Ministers on distinguishing be-

A Disputati-
on proposed.
Baxter's
Life,
Part II.
P. 337.

K. Chr.
P. 504.

King
Charles II.
1661.

Baxter's
Life,
Part II.
P. 341.

tween "those things which they charged as Sinful, and "those which were only Inexpedient." The three Disputants on the Ministers side were desired to draw up an Answer to this Paper, which they did, and charged the Rubrick and Injunctions of the Church with eight things flatly sinful, and contrary to the Word of God.

1. That no Minister be admitted to baptize without using the Sign of the Cross.

2. That no Minister be admitted to officiate without wearing a Surplice.

3. That none be admitted to the Lord's Supper without he receive it kneeling.

4. That Ministers be obliged to pronounce all baptized Persons "regenerated by the Holy Ghost," whether they be the Children of Christians or not.

5. That Ministers be obliged to deliver the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ to the "unfit both in "Health and Sicknes," and that, by personal application, putting it into their hands, even those who are forced to receive it against their wills, through consciousness of their impenitency.

6. That Ministers are obliged to absolve the Unfit, and that in absolute Expressions.

7. That Ministers are forced to give thanks for all whom they bury, as "Brethren whom God has taken to "himself."

8. That none may be Preachers who do not subscribe, "that there is nothing in the Common-Prayer Book, Book "of Ordination, and the thirty nine Articles contrary to "the Word of God."

The Subject
of the Dis-
pute.

After a great deal of loose discourse it was agreed to debate the third Article, "of denying the Communion to such "as could not kneel." The Ministers proved their assertion thus, that it was denying the Sacrament to such whom the Holy Ghost commanded us to receive; Rom. xiv. 1, 2, 3. "Him that is weak in the Faith receive ye, but not to doubt-
ful disputations: One believes he may eat all things; an-
other, that is weak, eateth Herbs: Let not him that eat-
eth despise him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth
not, judge him that eateth, for God has received him." The Episcopal Divines would not understand this of the Communion. They also distinguished between things lawful in themselves, and things both lawful in themselves "and "required by lawful Authority." In the former case they admit a liberty, but the latter being enjoined by Authority

hority become necessary. The Ministers replied, that things about which there is to be a forbearance ought not to be enjoined by authority, and made necessary; and for Governors to reject men by this rule is to defeat the Apostle's reasoning, and so contrary to the law of God. But when Dr. Gunning had read certain citations and authorities for the other side of the question, Bishop Cosins the Moderator called out to the rest of the Bishops and Doctors, and put the question, "All you that think Dr. Gunning has proved that Romans xiv. speaketh not of receiving the Sacrament, say Ay." Upon which there was a general cry among the hearers, Ay, Ay; the episcopal Divines having great numbers of their party in the hall; whereas the Ministers had not above two or three gentlemen and scholars who had the courage to appear with them. Nevertheless they maintained their point, and (as Bishop Burnet observes) insisted upon it, "that a law which excludes all from the Sacrament who dare not kneel, was unlawful, as it was a limitation in point of Communion put upon the laws of Christ, which ought to be the only condition of those that have right to it."

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Charles II.
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K. Chron.
P. 560.

At length the episcopal Divines became opponents upon the same question, and argued thus; "That command which enjoins only an Act in itself lawful is not sinful." Which Mr. Baxter denied. They then added, "That command which enjoins only an Act in it self lawful, and no other Act or Circumstance unlawful, is not sinful." This also Mr. Baxter denied. They then advanced further, "That command which enjoins only an Act in itself lawful and no other Act whereby an unjust penalty is enjoined, or any circumstance, whence directly or per Accidens any sin is consequent which the commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a command, and particularly cannot be charged with enjoining an Act per Accidens unlawful, nor of commanding an Act under an unjust penalty." This also was denied, because tho' it does not command that which is sinful, it may restrain from that which is lawful, and it may be applied to undue subjects. Other reasons were given; but thus the dispute broke off with noise and confusion, and high reflections upon Mr. Baxter's dark and cloudy imagination, and his perplexed, scholastick, metaphysical manner of distinguishing, which tended rather to confound than to clear up that which was doubtful; and Bishop Saunderson being then in the chair pronounced that Dr. Gunning had the better of the argument.

K. Chr.
P. 505.

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16601.

Remarks.

Bishop Morley said, that Mr. Baxter's denying that plain proposition was destructive of all authority, human and divine; that it struck the Church out of all its claims for making Canons, and for settling order and discipline; nay, that it took away all legislative power from the King and Parliament, and even from God himself; for no Act can be so good in itself but may lead to a sin by accident; and if to command such an act be a sin, then every command must be a sin.

Bishop Burnet adds, "that Baxter and Cunning spent several days in logical arguing, to the diversion of the town, who look'd upon them as a couple of fencers engaged in a dispute that could not be brought to any end. The Bishops insisted "upon the laws being still in force; to which they would admit of no exception, unless it was proved that the matter of them was sinful." They charged the Presbyterians with making a schism for that which they could not prove to be sinful. They said there was no reason to gratify such men, that one demand granted would draw on many more; that all authority in Church and State was struck at by the position they had insisted on, namely, That it was not lawful to impose things indifferent, since these seemed to be the only matters in which authority could interfere." Thus ended the disputation.

The Presbyterians
descend to
Entreaties.

From arguments the Ministers descended to entreaties, and prayed the Bishops to have compassion on scrupulous minds, and not to despise their weaker brethren. If the Nonconformists should be turned out of the Church, they put them in mind, that there would not be Clergymen enough to fill the vacant pulpits; they urged their peaceable behaviour in the late times; what they had suffered for the Royal Cause, and the great share they had in restoring the King; they pleaded his Majesty's late declaration, and the design of the present conference. To all which the Bishops replied, That they were only commissioned "to make such alterations in the liturgy as should be necessary, and such as should be agreed upon." The Ministers replied, That the word necessary must refer to the satisfying tender consciences; but the Bishops insisted, that they saw no alterations necessary, and therefore were not obliged to make any till they could prove them so. The Ministers prayed them to consider the ill consequence that might follow upon a separation. But all was to no purpose, their Lordships were in the saddle, and if we may believe Mr. Baxter, would not abate the smallest ceremony, nor

correct

correct the grossest error for the peace of the Church. Thus the King's Commission expired July 25. and the conferences ended without any prospect of accommodation.

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It was agreed at the conclusion, that each party might represent to his Majesty, that they were all agreed upon the ends of the conference, which was the Church's welfare, unity and peace, but still disagreed as to the means of procuring it. The Bishops thought they had no occasion to represent their case in writing, but the Presbyterian Commissioners met by themselves, and drew up an account of their proceedings, with a Petition for that relief, which they could not obtain from the Bishops. They presented it to the King by Bishop Reynolds, Doctor Bates, Doctor Manton, and Mr. Baxter; but received no answer.

Baxter's
Life,
Part II.
p. 366.

Before we leave this famous conference at the Savoy it will not be amiss to remark the behaviour of the Commissioners on both sides, some of whom seldom or never appeared, as Dr. King Bishop of Chichester, Dr. Heylin, Barwick and Earl; Sheldon Bishop of London came but seldom, tho' he, with Henchman and Morley, had the chief management of affairs; others were present, but did not much concern themselves in the debate, as Dr. Frewen Archbishop of York; Lucy of St. David's; Warner of Rochester; Saunderson of Lincoln; Laney of Peterborough; Walton of Chester; Sterne of Carlisle; Dr. Hocket and Dr. Sparrow—On the side of the Presbyterians Dr. Horton never appeared, nor Dr. Drake, because of a Misnomer in the Commission; Dr. Lightfoot, Tuckney, and Mr. Woodbridge, were present but once or twice.

Behaviour
of the Com-
missioners.
Baxter's
Life,
Part. II.
p. 307.
K. Chron.
p. 507.

Among the Bishops; Dr. Morley was the chief speaker; his manner was vehement, and he was against all abatements. He frequently interrupted Mr. Baxter; and when Dr. Bates said, Pray, my Lord, give him leave to speak, he could not obtain it.

Doctor
Morley.
Baxter's
Life,
Part II.
p. 363, &c.

Bishop Cosins was there constantly, and tho' he was inclined to moderate measures, said some very severe things. When the Ministers prayed the Bishops to have some compassion on their brethren, and not cast such great numbers unnecessarily out of the ministry, he replied, "What, do you threaten us with numbers? For my part, I think the King would do well to make you name them all." Again, when the Ministers complained, that after so many years calamity the Bishops would not yield to that which their predecessors offered before the war, Bishop Cosins replied, "Do you threaten us then with a new war? 'Tis time for the King to look to you."

Bp. Cosins.

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Ep. Gauden.

Bishop Gauden often took part with the Presbyterian Divines, and was the only moderator among the Bishops, except Bishop Reynolds, who spoke much the first day for abatements and moderation; but afterwards sitting among the Bishops he only spoke now and then a qualifying word, but was heartily grieved for the fruitless issue of the conference.

Of the Dis-
putants.

Of the disputants, 'tis said, Dr. Pearson, afterwards Bishop of Chester, disputed accurately, soberly, and calmly, The Presbyterian Ministers had a great regard for him, and believed, that if he had been an Umpire in the controversy his concessions would have gone a great way.

Dr. Gunning was the most forward speaker, and stuck at nothing. Bishop Burnet says, That all the arts of Sophistry were used by him in as confident a manner as if they had been sound reasoning; that he was unweariedly active to very little purpose, and being very fond of the Popish Rituals and Ceremonies, he was much set upon reconciling the Church of England to Rome.

On the side of the Presbyterians, Dr. Bates and Manton behaved with great modesty; the most active disputant was Mr. Baxter, who had a very metaphysical head and fertile invention, and was one of the most ready men of his time for an argument, but too tenacious of his own opinions. Next to him was Mr. Calamy, who had a great interest among the Presbyterian Ministers in the city and country, and for his age and gravity was respected as their father.

Of the Audi-
tors.
Life, p. 337.

Among the auditors Mr. Baxter observes there was with the Bishops a croud of young Divines who behaved indecently; but mentions only two or three scholars and laymen, who, as auditors, came in with the Presbyterians, as Mr. Miles, Mr. Tillotson, &c.

Account of
Abp. Til-
lotson.
Life of
Tillotson,

This Mr. Tillotson was afterwards the most Reverend and Learned Archbishop of Canterbury, one of the most celebrated Divines and Preachers of the age. We shall have frequent occasion to mention him hereafter, and therefore I shall give a short account of him in this place: He was born in Yorkshire 1630. and received his first education among the Puritans; and tho' he had larger notions, he still stuck to the strictness of life to which he was bred, and retained a just value, and a due tenderness for men of that persuasion. He was admitted student of Clare Hall in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. David Clarkson in the year 1647. He was Bachelor of Arts 1650. and within the compass of a year was elected Fellow. He had then a sweetness of temper which he retained as long as he lived; and in those younger years was respected as a person

a person of very great parts and prudence. In the year 1661. he continued a Non-conformist, and has a sermon in the morning exercises on Matt. vii. 12. He appeared with the Presbyterians at the Savoy disputation; and tho' he conformed to the Act of Uniformity in 1662. he was always inclined to the Puritans, never fond of the ceremonies of the Church, but would dispense sometimes with such as could not conscientiously submit to them. He owned the Dissenters had some plausible objections against the Common-Prayer; and in the opinion of some, persuaded men rather to bear with the Church, than be zealous for it. In the year 1663. he was prefer'd to the rectory of Kedington in Suffolk, vacant by the non-subscription of Mr. Samuel Fairclough. Next year he was chosen preacher to Lincoln's-Inn, and lecturer of St. Lawrence's Church in London, where his excellent Sermons, delivered in a most gracefull manner, drew the attention of great numbers of the quality, and of most of the Divines and Gentlemen in town. In 1699. he was made Canon of Christ Church in Canterbury; and in 1672. Dean of that Church, and Residentiary; but rose no higher till the revolution of King William and Queen Mary, when he was first made Clerk of the closet, and at length Archbishop of Canterbury in the room of Dr. Sancroft a Non-juror. He was a Divine of low and moderate principles to the last, and always for promoting a toleration or comprehension of the Dissenters within the Church. Upon the whole, he was a second Cranmer, and one of the most valuable prelates that this, or, it may be, any other Church has produced.

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Charles II.
1661.

Ath. Ox.
p. 968.

Various censures were pass'd upon the Savoy conference without doors; the Independants were disgusted, because none of them were consulted, tho' it does not appear what concern they could have in it, their views being only to a toleration, not a comprehension. Some blamed their brethren for yielding too much, and others thought they might have yielded more; but when they saw the fruitless end of the treaty, and the papers that were published, most of them were satisfied.—Bishop Burnet says, the conference did rather hurt than good, it heighten'd the sharpness that was then on people's minds to such a degree, that it needed no addition to raise it higher.—Mr. Robinson says, “ It was notorious that
“ the business of the episcopal party was not to consult the
“ interest of Religion, but to cover a political design, which
“ was too bad to appear at first; nor did they mean to heal
“ the Church's wounds, so much as to revenge their own.
When they knew what the Presbyterians scrupled, they

Censures of
the Conference.

p. 121.
Answer to
Bennet of
Liturgies.
p. 382.

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said, “ now they knew their minds they would have matters
“ so fixed that not one of that sort should be able to keep
“ his living. They did not desire, but rather fear their com-
“ pliance,” Nay, so unacceptable was the publishing the
papers relating to the conference, that Bishop Saunderson and
some others cautioned their Clergy against reading them.
From this time the Presbyterians were out of the question,
and the settlement of the Church referr’d entirely to the con-
vocation and Parliament.

A Convo-
cation.

It had been debated in Council, whether there should be a
Convocation while the conference at the Savoy continued ; but
at the intercession of Dr Heylin and others, the Court was
prevailed with to come into it ; and such care was taken in
the choice of Members (as Bishop Burnet observes) that e-
very thing went among them as was directed by Bishop
Sheldon and Morley. If a Convocation had been called
with the Convention Parliament the majority would have been
against the Hierarchy ; but ’tis not to be wonder’d they were
otherwise now, when some hundreds of the Presbyterian
Clergy, who were in possession of sequester’d livings, were
turned out ; and the necessity of ordination by a Bishop be-
ing urged upon those who had been ordained by Presbyters
only, great numbers were denied their votes in elections.
Nevertheless the Presbyterian interest carried it in London for
Mr. Baxter and Calamy by three voices ; but the Bishop of
London, having a power of choosing two out of four, or four
out of six within a certain circuit, left them both out ; so
that the city of London had no clerks in the convocation. The
author of the Conformists Plea says, “ That to frame a con-
“ vocation to their mind great care and pains were used to keep
“ out, and to get men in, by very undue proceedings ; and
“ that protestations were made against all Incumbents not or-
“ dained by Bishops.”

P. 35.

They are or-
dered to
review the
Liturgy.

The Savoy conference having broke up without success, the
King sent a letter to the Convocation, Nov. 20. commanding
them to review the Book of Common-Prayer, and make such
additions and amendments as they thought necessary. Let-
ters to the same purpose were sent to the Archbishop of York,
to be communicated to the Clergy of his province, who for
the greater expedition sent proxies with procuratorial letters to
those of Canterbury, and obliged themselves to abide by their
votes under forfeiture of their goods and chattels.

Kennet,
P. 574.

“ It is inconceivable, says Dr. Nichols, what difficulties
“ the Bishops had to contend with, about making these
“ alterations ; they were not only to conquer their own
“ former

“ former Resentments, and the unreasonable demands of the
 “ Presbyterians, but they had the Court to deal with, who
 “ pushed them on to all acts of severity.” Whereas on
 the contrary, the tide was strong on their side, the Bishops
 pushed on the Court, who were willing to give them the
 reins, that when the breach was made as wide as possible a
 door might be opened for the toleration of Papists. The
 review of the Common-Prayer Book took up the Convoca-
 tion about a Month ; for on the 20th of December it was
 signed, and approved by all the Members of each House.

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The Alterations were these,

1. The Rubrick for singing of Lessons, &c. was omit-
 ted, the distinct reading of them being thought more pro-
 per.

Alterations
 in the
 Liturgy.
 K. Chron.
 p. 585.

2. Several Collects for Sundays and Holy Days com-
 plained of, were omitted, and others substituted in their
 room.

3. Communicants at the Lord's Supper were enjoined to
 signify their names to the Curate some time the Day before.

4. The Preface to the ten Commandments was restored.

5. The Exhortations to the holy Communion were a-
 mended.

6. The general Confession in the Communion Office was
 appointed to be read by one of the Ministers.

7. The Office for Christmas Day, the words “ this Day ”
 were changed for “ as at this Time.”

8. In the Prayer of Consecration the Priest is directed to
 break the Bread.

9. The Rubrick for explaining the reason of kneeling at
 the Sacrament was restored.

10. Private Baptism is not to be administered but by a
 lawful Minister.

11. The Answer to the Question in the Catechism, Why
 then are Children baptized ? is thus amended, “ Because
 “ they promise them both by their Sureties ; which Promise,
 “ when they come to Age, themselves are bound to per-
 “ form.”

12. In the last Rubrick before the Catechism these words
 are expunged, “ And that no Man shall think that any de-
 “ triment shall come to Children by deferring of their Con-
 “ firmation, &c”

13. It is appointed that the Curate of every Parish shall
 either bring or send in writing, with his Hand subscribed there-
 unto, the names of all such Persons within his Parish, as
 he shall think fit to be presented to the Bishop to be con-
 firmed.

14. The

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14. The Rubrick after Confirmation was thus softened ;
“ None shall be admitted to the Communion ’till such time
“ as he be confirmed ; or be ready and desirous to be
“ confirmed.”

15. In the form of Matrimony, instead of, “ ’till Death
“ us depart,” it is, “ ’till Death us do part.”

16. In the Rubricks after the form of Matrimony, it is
thus altered. “ After which, if there be no Sermon declar-
“ ing the duties of Man and Wife, the Minister shall read
“ as followeth” ——— And instead of the second Rubrick,
it is advised to be convenient, that the new married Persons
should receive the Communion at the time of Marriage, or
at the first opportunity afterwards.

17. In the order for the visitation of the Sick it is thus
amended ; “ Here the sick Person shall be moved to make
“ special Confession of his Sins, if he feel his Conscience
“ troubled with any weighty Matter ; after which the Priest
“ shall absolve him, if he humbly and heartily desire it, after
“ this sort ———

18. In the Communion for the Sick, the Minister is not
enjoined to administer the Sacrament to every sick Person
that shall desire it, but only as he shall judge expedient.

19. In the order for the burial of the Dead it is thus alter-
ed ; The Priests and Clerks meeting the Corps at the en-
trance of the Church-Yard, and going before it either into
the Church, or towards the Grave, shall say or sing, —
In the Office itself, these words, “ In sure and certain
“ hope of Resurrection to eternal Life,” are thus altered,
“ In sure and certain hope of the Resurrection to eternal
“ Life ;” “ and to lessen the objection of God’s taking
“ to himself the Soul of this our dear Brother departed, &c.”
the following Rubrick is added : “ Here is to be noted, that the
“ Office ensuing is not to be used for any that die unbap-
“ tized, or excommunicate, or who have laid violent hands
“ upon themselves.”

20. In the Churching of Women the new Rubrick directs,
That the Woman, at the usual time after her delivery, shall
come into the Church decently apparelled, and there shall
kneel down in some convenient Place, as has been accus-
tomed, or as the Ordinary shall direct, and the cxvith or cxxvith
Psalm shall be read.

Dr. Tenison, afterwards Archbishop of Canrérbury, says,
“ They made about six hundred small alterations or addi-
“ ons ; but then adds, If there was reason for these changes,
“ there was equal, if not greater reason for some further
“ Improvements.

Compl.
Hist. p. 252.
in Marg.

“ Improvements. If they had foreseen what is since come
 “ to pass, I charitably believe they would not have done all
 “ they did, and just so much and no more ; and yet I also
 “ believe, if they had offered to move much further, a Stone
 “ would have been laid under their Wheel, by a secret but
 “ powerful Hand ; for the mystery of Popery did even then
 “ work.” Bishop Burnet confesses, That no alterations
 were made in favour of the Presbyterians, for it was resolved
 to gratify them in nothing.

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But besides the alterations and amendments already men-
 tioned, there were several additional forms of Prayer, as for
 the 30th of January and the 29th of May. Forms of
 Prayer to be used at Sea ; and a new Office for the admini-
 stration of Baptism to grown Persons. Some corrections
 were made in the Kalendar. Some new Holy Days were
 added, as the Conversion of St. Paul, and St. Barnabas.
 More new Lessons were taken out of the Apocrypha, as the
 story of Bel and the Dragon, &c. But it was agreed, that
 no Apocryphal Lessons should be read on Sundays. These
 were all the concessions the Convocation would admit ; and
 this was all the fruit of their conference at the Savoy, by which,
 according to Mr. Baxter and Bishop Burnet, the Common-
 Prayer-Book was rendered more exceptionable, and the
 terms of conformity much harder than before the civil War.

Other
 Additions.
 Burnet.

The Common-Prayer Book thus altered and amended
 was sent up to the King and Council, and from thence trans-
 mitted to the House of Peers, Feb. 24, with this Message,
 That his Majesty had duly considered of the alterations, and
 does with the advice of his Council fully approve and allow
 the same ; and doth recommend it to the House of Peers,
 “ that the said Books of Common-Prayer, and of the forms of
 “ Ordination, and Consecration of Bishops, Priests and
 “ Deacons, with those additions and alterations that have been
 “ made, and presented to his Majesty, by the Convocation,
 “ be the book which in and by the intended act of uniformi-
 “ ty shall be appointed to be used by all that officiate in all
 “ Cathedral and Collegiate Churches and Chapels, &c. and in
 “ all Parish Churches of England and Wales, under such
 “ sanctions or penalties as the Parliament shall think fit.
 When the Lords had gone thro’ the Book, the Lord Chan-
 cellor Hyde, by order of the House, gave the Bishops thanks,
 March 15, for their care in this Business ; and desired their
 Lordships to give the like thanks to the lower House of
 Convocation, and acquaint them, that their amendments
 were well received and approved, tho’ some of them met

Liturgy a-
 mended sent
 up to the
 King and
 Council and
 H. of Peers.

Kennet, p.
 631.

with

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with a considerable opposition. From the Lords they were sent down to the Commons, and inserted in the act of uniformity, as will be seen the next Year.

Presbyterians
in distress.
K. Char. p.
641.

But before this famous Act had passed either House, the Presbyterians were reduced to the utmost Distress, for in the Month of March, 1661-62, the grand Jury at Exeter found above forty Bills of Indictment against some eminent Non-Conformist Ministers for not reading the Common-Prayer according to Law. They likewise presented the travelling about of divers itinerant Preachers, ejected out of sequestered Livings, as dangerous to the Peace of the Nation. They complained of their teaching Sedition and Rebellion in private Houses, and other Congregations tending to foment a new War. They also presented such as neglected their own Parish Churches, and run abroad to hear factious Ministers; and such as walked in the Church-Yards, or other Places, while divine Service was reading; all which were the certain Forerunners of a general Persecution.

Episcopacy
restored in
Scotland.
Burnet p.
113. &c.

In Scotland the Court carried things with a high hand, for having got a Parliament to their mind, the Earl of Middieton, a most vicious Debauchee, opened it, with presenting a Letter of his Majesty to the House; after which they passed an Act, "declaring all Leagues not made with the King's Authority illegal." This struck at the root of the Covenant made with England in 1643. They passed another Act rescinding all Acts made since the late Troubles, and another, impowering the King to settle the Government of the Church as he should please. It was a mad, roaring time (says the Bishop) and no wonder it was so, when the Men of Affairs were almost perpetually drunk. The King upon this directed that the Church should be governed by Synods, Presb. tries and Kirk Sessions, 'till he should appoint another Government, which he did by a Letter to his Council of Scotland, bearing date Aug. 14, 1661, in which he recites the inconveniencies which had attended the Presbyterian Government for the last twenty three Years, and its inconsistency with Monarchy. —

Burnet,
p. 126.

"Therefore (says he) from our respect to the glory of God, the good and interest of the Protestant Religion, and the better harmony with the Government of the Church of England, We declare our firm Resolution to interpose our Royal Authority for restoring the Church of Scotland to its right Government by Bishops, as it was before the late Troubles — And our will and pleasure is, that
"you

“ you take effectual care to restore the Rents belonging to
 “ the several Bishopricks ; that you prohibit the assembling
 “ of Ministers in their synodical Meetings, ’till our further
 “ Pleasure ; and that you keep a watchful Eye over those,
 “ who by discourse or Preaching endeavour to alienate
 “ the affections of our People from us or our Govern-
 “ ment —” Pursuant to these directions, the Lords of the
 Council ordered the Heralds to make publick Proclamation
 at the Market Cross in Edinburgh, Sept. 6, of this his Ma-
 jesty’s royal Will and Pleasure. In the Month of December
 a Commission was issued out to the Bishops of London and
 Worcester to ordain and consecrate according to the Rites
 and Ceremonies of the Church of England, Mr. James
 Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Mr. Andrew Fairfoul,
 Archbishop of Glasgow, Mr. Robert Leighton, Bishop of
 Dunblain, and Mr. James Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway.
 A very bad choice, says Bishop Burnet ; Sharp was one of
 the falsest and vilest Dissemblers in the World. Fairfoul
 was next a-kin to a Natural. Leighton was an excellent
 Prelate ; but Hamilton’s Life was scarce free from Scandal :
 He had sworn to the Covenant, and when one had objected
 to him, that it went against his Conscience, “ he said, Such
 “ Medicines as could not be chewed must be swallowed
 “ whole.” The English Bishops insisted upon their re-
 nouncing their Presbyterian Orders, which they consented
 to, and were in one and the same Day ordained first Dea-
 cons, then Priests and last of all Bishops, according to the
 Rites of the Church of England.

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Charles II.
1661.

Ib. p. 133.
134

Burnet, p.
139, 140.

Bishop Burnet says, that tho’ the King had a natural
 hatred to Presbytery, he went very coldly into this
 Design ; nay, that he had a visible reluctancy against it,
 because of the temper of the Scots Nation, and his unwilling-
 ness to involve his Government in new Troubles ; but the
 Earl of Clarendon pushed it forward with great Zeal ; and
 the Duke of Ormond said, that Episcopacy could not be
 established in Ireland if Presbytery continued in Scotland.
 The Earls of Lauderdale and Crawford indeed were against
 it, but the Council of Scotland not protesting, it was de-
 termined upon ; but it was a large strain of the Prerogative
 for a King by a Royal Proclamation to alter the Government
 of a Church established by Law, without Consent of Parlia-
 ment, Convocation, or Synod of any kind whatsoever ; for
 it was not ’till May the next Year that this affair was decided
 in Parliament.

Against the
King’s
Mind.
Hist. p. 130,
131.
Kennet.
p. 557.

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Mr. Guthrie
executed.
Hist. Stu-
arts, p. 144.

K. Chron.
p. 459.
Burn. p.
126, 127.

Ib. p. 152,
153.

Character of
the old Scots
Presbyteri-
ans, Ib. p.
156, 157

Some of the Scots Ministers preached boldly against this change of Government; and among others, Mr. James Guthrie, Minister of Stirling, for which, and some other things, he was convicted of Sedition and Treason. Bishop Burnet, who saw him suffer, says, that he expressed a contempt of Death; that he spoke an hour upon the Ladder with the composedness of a Man that was delivering a Sermon rather than his last words; that he justified all he had done, exhorting all People to adhere to the Covenant, which he magnified highly. He was executed June 14, 1661, and concluded his dying Speech with these words, "I take God to record upon my Soul, that I would not exchange this Scafold with the Palace or Mitre of the greatest Prelate in Britain. Blessed be God, who hath shewed Mercy to such a Wretch, and has revealed his Son to me, and made me a Minister of the everlasting Gospel; and that he has designed, in the midst of much contradiction from Satan and the World, to seal my Ministry upon the Hearts of not a few of this People, and especially in the Congregation and Presbytery of Stirling." There died with him on the same Scaffold, young Captain Govan, whose last words were these, "I bear Witness with my Blood to the persecuted Government of this Church, by Synods and Presbyteries. I bear Witness to the solemn League and Covenant, and seal it with my Blood. I likewise testify against all Popery, Prelacy, Idolatry, Superstition, and the Service Book, which is no better than a relick of the Romish Idolatry—" soon after this the rights of Patronages were restored, and all the Presbyterian Ministers silenced, tho' the Court had not a supply of Men of any sort to fill up their Vacancies.

The account that Bishop Burnet gives of the old Scots Presbyterian Ministers, who were possessed of the Church Livings before the Restoration, is very remarkable, and deserves a Place in this History. "They were (says he) a grave and solemn People; their Spirits were eager, and their Tempers sour, but they had an appearance that created respect: they visited their Parishes much, and were so full of Scripture, and so ready at extempore Prayer, that from that they grew to extempore Sermons; for the Custom in Scotland was, after dinner or supper, to read a Chapter in the Bible, and when they happened to come in, if it was acceptable, they would on a sudden expound the Chapter; by this means the People had such a vast degree of Knowledge, that the poor Cottagers would pray extempore. Their Preachers went all in one tract in their Sermons, of

" Doctrine,

“ Doctrine, Reason, and Use ; and this was so methodical,
 “ that the People could follow a Sermon quite thro’ every
 “ Branch of it. It can hardly be imagined to what a degree
 “ these Ministers were loved, and revered by their Peo-
 “ ple. They kept scandalous Persons under severe dici-
 “ pline ; for breach of the Sabbath, for an Oath, or Drun-
 “ kennes, they were cited before the Kirk Session, and so-
 “ lemnly rebuked for it ; for Fornication they stood on the
 “ Stool of Repentance in the Church, at the time of Wor-
 “ ship, for three Days, receiving Admonition, and making
 “ Professions of Repentance, which some did with many
 “ Tears, and Exhortations to others to take warning by
 “ them ; for Adultery they sat in the same Place six Months
 “ covered with Sackcloth. But with all these (says the Bi-
 “ shop) they had but a narrow compass of Learning, were
 “ very affected in their deportment, and were apt in their
 “ Sermons to make themselves popular, by preaching against
 “ the Sins of Princes and Courts, which the People delighted
 “ to hear, because they had no share in them.”

King
Charles II.
1661.

The Bishops and Clergy that succeeded these Presbyterians were of a quite different stamp ; most of them were very mean Divines, vicious in their Morals, idle and negligent in their Cures ; by which means they became obnoxious to the whole Nation, and were hardly capable of supporting their Authority thro’ the Reign of King Charles II. even with the assistance of the civil Power. Bishop Burnet adds, that they were mean and despicable in all respects ; the worst Preachers he ever heard ; ignorant to a Reproach, and many of them openly vicious ; that they were a disgrace to their Order, and to the sacred Functions, and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern Parts. The few that were above contempt or Scandal were Men of such violent Tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were despised.

And of the
Scots Bps.
and new
Clergy.

p. 158.

In Ireland the Hierarchy was restored after the same manner as in Scotland ; the King by his Letters Patents in right of his Power to appoint Bishops to the vacant Sees, issued his royal Mandate to Dr. Bramhall, Archbishop of Armagh, and Dr. Taylor, Bishop of Down and Connor, by virtue of which they laid hands on two Archbishops, and ten Bishops in one Day. His Grace insisted on the Re-Ordination of those who had been ordained in the late times without the hands of a Bishop, but with this softning Clause in their Orders.
 “ Non annihilantes priores Ordines (si quos habuit) nec va-
 “ liditatem, aut invaliditatem eorundem determinantes, multo
 “ minus omnes Ordines sacros Ecclesiarum forinsecarum
 “ condemnantes,

Episcopacy
restored in
Ireland.
Ken. p. 440.
441.

King
Charles II.
1661.

“condemnantes, quos proprio Judicio relinquimus : Sed solummodo supplentes quicquid prius defuit per Canones Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum — i. e. “Not annihilating his former Orders (if he had any) nor determining concerning their Validity or Invalidity, much less condemning all the sacred Ordinations of foreign Churches whom we leave to their own Judgment, but only supplying what was wanting according to the Canons of the Church of England —” Without such an explication as this few of the Clergy of Ireland would have kept their Stations in the Church. On the 17th of May the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in Parliament assembled in Ireland, declared their approbation and high esteem of episcopal Government, and of the Book of Common-Prayer, according to the use of the Church of England ; and thus the old Constitution in Church as well as State, was restored in the three Kingdoms.

Ib. p. 449.

Conduct of
the French
Protestants.

K. Chr.
p. 462.

Kennet.
p. 475.

The French Ministers, who had been tools to persuade the English Presbyterians to restore the King without a Treaty, went along with the Torrent, and complimented the Church of England upon her Re-Establishment ; they commended the Liturgy, which they formerly treated with reproachful Language. Some few of them pretended to bemoan the want of Episcopacy among themselves, and to wonder that any of the English Presbyterians should scruple conformity. The French Church at the Savoy submitted to the Rites and Ceremonies of the English Hierarchy ; and Mr. Du Bose, Minister of Caen, writes to the Minister of Savoy, that he was as dear to him under the Surplice of England, as under the Robe of France. So complaisant were these mercenary Divines towards those who disallowed their Orders, disowned their Churches, and the validity of all their Administrations.

King's pre-
tended Zeal
for the Hie-
rarchy.

Lord Clarendon and the Bishops having got over the Savoy Conference, and carried the Service-Book with the amendments through the Convocation, were now improving the present temper of the Parliament to give it the Sanction of the Legislature ; for this purpose the King, tho' a Papist, is made to speak the Language of a zealous Churchman. In his Speech to the Parliament, Feb. 28, he has these Words ; “Gentlemen, I hear you are zealous for the Church, and very solicitous, and even jealous, that there is not expedition enough used in that Affair. I thank you for it, since I presume it proceeds from a good root of Piety and Devotion ; but I must tell you, that I have the

Rapin.
p. 290.

“worst

“ worst luck in the World, if after all the reproaches of
 “ being a Papist, while I was abroad, I am suspected of be-
 “ ing a Presbyterian now I am come home. I know you
 “ will not take it unkindly if I tell you, I am as zealous
 “ for the Church of England as any of you can be, and
 “ am enough acquainted with the enemies of it on all sides.
 “ I am as much in love with the Book of Common-Prayer
 “ as you can wish, and have prejudices enough against
 “ those who do not love it; who I hope, in time, will be
 “ better informed, and change their minds. And you may
 “ be confident, I do as much desire to see an uniformity
 “ settled as any among you; and pray trust me in that af-
 “ fair, I promise you to hasten the dispatch of it with all
 “ convenient speed; you may rely upon me in it. I have
 “ transmitted the Book of Common-Prayer with the
 “ amendments, to the House of Lords—but when we have
 “ done all we can, the well settling that affair will require
 “ great prudence and discretion, and the absence of all
 “ passion and precipitation.”

King
 Charles II.
 1661.

The reason of the King's requiring Discretion in the Par-
 liament, and the absence of Passion, was not in favour of
 the Presbyterians, but the Papists, who went all the lengths
 of the Prerogative, and published a Remonstrance about
 this time, “ wherein they acknowledge his Majesty to be
 “ God's Vice-gerent upon Earth in all temporal affairs;
 “ that they are bound to obey him under pain of sin, and
 “ that they renounce all foreign Power and Authority, as
 “ incapable of absolving them from this obligation.” It
 was given out, that they were to have forty Chapels in and
 about the City of London, and much more was understood
 by them (says Archbishop Tenison) who penetrated into the
 designs of a certain Paper, commonly called the “ Declara-
 “ tion of Somerset House;” but the design miscarried,
 partly by their divisions among themselves, and partly by the
 resoluteness of the prime Minister, who charged them with
 Principles inconsistent with the peace of the Kingdom.
 Father Orleans says, “ There was great Debates in this
 “ Parliament about Liberty of Conscience.—The Ca-
 “ tholick Party was supported by the Earl of Bristol, a
 “ Man in great Repute; the Protestant Party by Chancel-
 “ lor Hyde, chief of an opposite Faction, and a Person of
 “ no less consideration, who putting himself at the head of
 “ the prevailing Church of England Party in that Parlia-
 “ ment, declared not only against the Roman Catholicks,
 “ but against the Presbyterians, and all those the Church of
 VOL. IV. T England

In favour
 of the Pa-
 pists, who
 declare their
 Principles.

Comp.
 Hist. p.
 252. in
 Marg.
 K. Chron.
 p. 495.

Kennet, p.
 498.

King
Charles II.
1661.

“ England calls Non-Conformists. The King, who was
“ no good Christian in his Actions, but a Catholick in his
“ Heart, did all that could be expected from his easy Tem-
“ per, to maintain the common Liberty, that so the Catho-
“ licks might have a share in it ; but the Church of Eng-
“ land, and Chancellor Hyde, were so hot upon that Point,
“ that his Majesty was obliged to yield rather to the Chan-
“ cellor’s Importunity than to his Reason.” However,
by the favour of the Queen-Mother swarms of Papists came
over into England, and settled about the Court ; they set
up private Seminaries for the Education of Youth ; and
tho’ they could not obtain an open Toleration, they multi-
plied prodigiously, and laid the Foundation of all the dan-
gers that threatened the Constitution and Protestant Religion
in the latter part of this and the next Reign.

Towards the latter end of this Year, the Court and Bi-
shops not content with their Triumphs over the living Pres-
byterians, descended into the Grave, and dug up the Bodies
of those that had been buried in Westminster Abbey in the
late times, lest their Dust should one time or other mix
with the Loyalists ; for besides the Bodies of Cromwel,
and others already mentioned, his Majesty’s Warrant to the
Dean and Chapter of Westminster was now obtained, to
take up the Bodies of such Persons who had been unwarrantably
buried in the Chapel of King Henry VII. and in
other Chapels and Places within the Collegiate Church of
Westminster since the year 1641, and to bury them in the
Church-yard adjacent ; by which Warrant they might
have taken up all the Bodies that had been buried there for
twenty years past. Pursuant to these Orders, on the 12th
and 14th of September they went to work, and took about
twenty, among whom were,

Dead Bo-
dies of the
most confi-
derable Per-
sons in the
late times
dug up.
K. Chron. p.
536.

The Body of Elizabeth Cromwel, Mother of Oliver,
Daughter of Sir Richard Stewart, who died Nov. 18,
1654. and was buried in Henry the Seventh’s Chapel.

The Body of Elizabeth Claypole, Daughter of Oliver,
who died Aug. 7, 1658, and was buried in a Vault made
for her in Henry the Seventh’s Chapel.

The Body of Robert Blake, the famous English Admi-
ral, who after his victorious Fight at Santa Cruz, died in
Plimouth Sound, Aug. 7, 1657. and was buried in Henry
the Seventh’s Chapel : A Man, whose great Services to
the English Nation deserved a Monument as lasting as time
itself.

The

The Body of the famous Mr. John Pym, a Cornish Gentleman, and Member of the Long Parliament, who was buried in the year 1643. and attended to his Grave by most of the Lords and Commons in Parliament.

King
Charles II.
1661.

The Body of Dr. Dorislaus, employed as an assistant in drawing up the charge against the King, for which he was murdered by the Royalists, when he was Ambassador to the States of Holland in 1649.

The Body of Sir William Constable, one of the King's Judges, Governor of Gloucester, and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, who died 1655.

The Body of Colonel Edward Popham, one of the Admirals of the Fleet, who died 1651.

The Body of William Stroud, Esq; one of the five Members of Parliament demanded by King Charles I.

The Body of Colonel Humphry Mackworth, one of O. Cromwel's Colonels, buried in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, 1654.

The Body of Dennis Bond, Esq; one of the Council of State, who died Aug. 8, 1658.

The Body of Thomas May, Esq; who writ the History of the Long Parliament with great Integrity, and in a beautiful Stile. He died in the Year 1650.

The Body of Colonel John Meldrum, a Scots Man, who died in the Wars.

The Body of Colonel Boscawen, a Cornish Man.

To these may be added, several eminent Presbyterian Divines; as,

The Body of Dr. William Twisse, Prolocutor of the Assembly of Divines, buried in the South Cross of the Abbey Church, July 24, 1645.

The Body of Mr. Stephen Marshal, buried in the South Isle, November 23, 1655.

The Body of Mr. William Strong, Preacher in the Abbey Church, and buried there July 4, 1654. These with some others of lesser Note, both Men and Women, were thrown together into one Pit in St. Margaret's Church-yard, near the Back-Door of one of the Prebendaries: But the Work was so indecent, and carried with it such a popular odium, that a Stop was put to any further Proceedings.

Among others who were obnoxious to the Government, were the People called Quakers, who having declared openly against the lawfulness of making use of carnal Weapons, even in Self-Defence, had the courage to petition the House

Of the
Quakers.

King
Charles II.
1661.

Act against
Quakers.
13 Car. II.
Cap. I.

Sewel, p.
346.
K. Chron.
p. 651.

State of
Religion.

of Lords for a Toleration of their Religion, and for a Dispensation from taking the Oaths, which they held unlawful; not from any disaffection to the Government, or a belief that they were less obliged by an Affirmation, but from a persuasion that all Oaths were unlawful; and that Swearing upon the most solemn occasions was forbidden in the New Testament. The Lords in a Committee rejected their Petition, and instead of giving them Relief passed the following Act, May 2, the Preamble to which sets forth, "That whereas sundry Persons have taken up an opinion, that an Oath, even before a Magistrate, is unlawful, and contrary to the Word of God. And whereas under pretence of religious Worship, the said Persons do assemble in great numbers in several parts of the Kingdom, separating themselves from the rest of his Majesty's Subjects, and from the publick Congregations and usual places of divine Worship; be it therefore enacted, that if any such Persons after the 24th of March, 1661-62. shall refuse to take an oath when lawfully tendered, or persuade others to do it, or maintain in writing, or otherwise, the unlawfulness of taking an Oath; or if they shall assemble for religious Worship to the number of five or more, of the age of fifteen, they shall for the first Offence forfeit five Pounds; for the second ten Pounds; and for the third shall abjure the Realm, or be transported to the Plantations: And the Justices of Peace at their open Sessions may hear and finally determine in the affair." This act was passed by Commission, and had a dreadful influence upon that People, tho' it was notorious they were far from Sedition or Disaffection to the Government. G. Fox, in his Address to the King, acquaints his Majesty, that three thousand and sixty eight of their Friends had been imprisoned since his Majesty's Restoration; that their meetings were daily broken up by Men with Clubs and Arms, and their Friends thrown into the Water, and trampled under Foot till the Blood gushed out, which gave rise to their meeting in the open Streets. Another Relation was printed, signed by twelve Witnesses, which says, that more than four thousand two hundred Quakers were imprisoned; and of them five hundred were in and about London, and the Suburbs; several of whom were dead in the Goals. But these were only the beginnings of Sorrows.

Religion, which had been the fashion of the late times, was now universally discountenanced; the name of it was
hardly

hardly mentioned but with ridicule, in a Health or a Play. Those who observed the Sabbath, and scrupled prophane Swearing and drinking Healths, were exposed under the opprobrious names of Puritans, Fanaticks, Presbyterians, Republicans, seditious Persons, &c. The Presbyterian Ministers were every where suspended or deprived for some unguarded expressions in their Sermons or Prayers. Lord Clarendon was at the head of all this madness, and declared in Parliament, " That the King could distinguish between " Tenderneſs of Conſcience and Pride of Conſcience; that " he was a Prince of ſo excellent a Nature, and of ſo tender a Conſcience himſelf, that he had the higheſt compaſſion for all Errors of that kind, and would never ſuffer " the Weak to undergo the Punishment ordained for the " Wicked." Such was the deep penetration of the Chancellor; and ſuch the Reward the Presbyterians were to expect for their paſt Services!

King
Charles II.
1661.

The exorbitant Vices of the Court, at the ſame time, ſpread over the whole Nation, and occaſioned ſuch a general Licentiousneſs, that the King took notice of it in his Speech at the end of this Seſſion of Parliament. " I cannot but obſerve (ſays his Maſteſty) that the whole Nation " ſeems to be a little corrupted in their exceſs of Living; " ſure all Men ſpend much more in their Clothes, in their " Diet, and all other Expences, than they have been " uſed to do; I hope it has been only the exceſs of Joy after ſo long Suffering that has tranſported us to theſe other " Exceſſes, but let us take heed that the continuance of " them does not indeed corrupt our Natures. I do believe " I have been faulty myſelf; I promiſe you I will reform, " and if you will join with me in your ſeveral capacities, " we ſhall by our examples do more good both in City and " Country than any new Laws would do." But it was not in the King's nature to retrench his expences, or intermit his Pleaſures for the publick Good.

Extravagancies of the
Court and
Nation.

Tho' the Revenues of the Crown were augmented above double what they had been at any time ſince the Reformation; and tho' the King had a vaſt Portion with his Queen, whom he married this Spring, yet all was not ſufficient to ſupport the Profuſeneſs of the Court; for beſides the King's own expences, the Queen-Mother kept a ſplendid Court of Catholicks at Somerſet-Houſe, and might have done ſo as long as ſhe had lived, if ſhe could have kept within bounds; but her conduct was ſo imprudent and burdensome, that

1662.
Q. Mother
Somerſet-
Houſe.

King
Charles II.
1662.

she was obliged to return to France after three or four years, where she died in the year 1669. A Lady of such Bigotry in Religion, and Intrigue in Management, that her alliance to this Nation was little less than a Judgment from Heaven.

Sale of
Dunkirk.
Rapin, p.
300, 301,
302, 303.

To procure more ready Money for these extravagancies, it was resolved to sell the Town of Dunkirk to the French, for five hundred thousand Pounds. The Lord Chancellor Clarendon was the Projector of this vile Bargain, as appears by the Letters of Count D'Estades, published since his Death, in one of which his Lordship acknowledges, that the "Thought came from himself." Several mercenary Pamphlets were published to justify this Sale; but the late War with France in the Reigns of King William and Queen Anne, have sufficiently convinced the Nation, that it was a fatal Bargain to their Trade and Commerce; inasmuch that her Majesty's last Ministry durst not venture to make peace with France till the Fortifications of it were demolished.

Execution of
more of the
King's
Judges,

But to divert the People's Eyes to other Objects, it was resolved to go on with the prosecution of State Criminals, and with crushing the Non-conformists: Three of the late King's Judges being apprehended in Holland, by the forward zeal of Sir G. Downing (viz.) Colonel Okey, Corbet and Berkestead, were brought over to England by permission of the States, and executed on the Act of Attainder, April 19. They died with the same Resolution and Courage as the former, declaring they had no malice against the late King, but apprehended the authority of Parliament sufficient to justify what they had done.

Trials of
Col. Lambert,
and
Sir H.
Vane.

Before the Parliament rose the House addressed the King to bring Colonel Lambert and Sir Henry Vane, prisoners in the Tower, to their Trial; and accordingly, June 4, they were arraigned at the King's Bench Bar; the former for levying War against the King; and the latter for compassing his Death. Lambert was convicted, but for his submissive Behaviour was pardoned as to Life, but confined in the Isle of Guernsey, where he remained a patient Prisoner till his Death, which happened about thirty years after. Sir Harry Vane had such an interest in the Convention Parliament that both Lords and Commons petitioned for his Life, which his Majesty promised; and yet after this, at the intercession of the present House of Commons, he was tried and executed. Sir Harry made a brave defence, but it was determi-

Execution
of Sir H.
Vane.
Burnet, p.
163, 164.

determined to sacrifice him to the Ghost of the Earl of Strafford; and when his Friends would have had him petition for his Life, he refused, saying, "If the King had not a greater regard for his Word and Honour than he had for his Life, he might take it." Nevertheless Bishop Burnet says, "He was naturally a fearful Man, and had a Head as dark in the notions of Religion; but when he saw his Death was determined, he composed himself to it with a resolution that surprized all that knew how little of that was natural to him—He was beheaded on Tower-Hill, June 14, where a new and very indecent practice was begun; it was observed that the dying Speeches of the Regicides had left impressions on the Hearers that were not at all to the advantage of the Government; and Strains of a peculiar Nature being expected from him, Drummers were placed under the Scaffold, who, as soon as he began to speak of the Publick, upon a Sign given, struck up with their Drums. But this put him into no Disorder; he desired they might be stopt, for he knew what was meant by it. Then he went to his Devotion; and as he was taking leave of those about him he happened to say something again with relation to the times, when the Drums struck up a second time; so he gave over, saying, it was a sorry Cause that would not bear the words of a dying Man; and died with so much composedness, that it was generally thought the Government lost more than it gained by his Death." The Oxford Historian says, he appeared on the Scaffold like an old Roman, and died without the least Symptoms of Concern or Trouble.

King
Charles II.
1662.

But the grand affair that employed the Parliament this Spring, was the famous "Act of Uniformity of publick Prayers, &c." designed for the Inclosure of the Church, and the only Door of Admission to all Ecclesiastical Preferments. It had been in Convocation three or four Months, and was brought into Parliament, with their Alterations and Amendments, before Christmas; it was read the first time in the House of Commons Jan. 14, and past after sundry Debates but by six Voices, Yeas 186; No's 180; but it met with greater Obstacles among the Lords, who made several Amendments to the Bill, which occasioned Conferences between the two Houses. The Lords would have exempted Schoolmasters, Tutors, and those who had the Education of Youth; and in the disabling Clause would have

The Act of
Uniformity brought
into Parliament.
K. Chr. p.
604.

ib. p. 677.

King
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1662.

ib. p. 679.

included only Livings with Cure. But the Commons being supported by the Court would abate nothing, nor consent to any provision for such as should be ejected. They would indulge no Latitude in the Surplice, or Crofs in Baptism, for fear of establishing a Schism, and weakening the Authority of the Church, as to her Right of imposing indifferent Rites and Ceremonies. And the Court were willing to shut out as many as they could from the Establishment, to make a general Toleration more necessary. When the Lords urged the King's Declaration from Breda, the Commons replied, that it would be strange to call a schismatical Conscience a tender one; but suppose this had been meant (say they) his Majesty can be guilty of no breach of Promise, because the Declaration had these two Limitations, "A Reference to Parliament;—and so far as was consistent with the peace of the Kingdom." May 8, the result of the Conference with the House of Commons being reported to the Lords, the House laid aside their Objections, and concurred with the Commons, to the Bill pass; but as Bishop Burnet observes, with no great Majority. May 19, it received the Royal Assent, and was to take place from the 24th of August following. This Act being prefixed to the Book of Common-Prayer, and lying open to publick View, I shall only give the Reader an Abstract of it. 'Tis entitled,

And passed.

Abstract of
it.

" An Act for the uniformity of publick Prayers, and Administration of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies, and for establishing the Forms of making, ordaining, and consecrating Bishops, Priests and Deacons in the Church of England."

The Preamble sets forth, " That from the first of Queen Elizabeth there had been one uniform Order of common Service and Prayer enjoined to be used by Act of Parliament, which had been very comfortable to all good People, till a great number of People in divers parts of the Realm, living without Knowledge and the due fear of God, did wilfully, and schismatically, refuse to come to their Parish Churches, upon Sundays, and other Days appointed to be kept as Holy Days. And whereas, by the scandalous neglect of Ministers in using the Liturgy during the late unhappy Troubles, many People have been led into Factions and Schisms, to the Decay of Religion, and the hazard of many Souls; therefore, for preventing the like for time to come, the King had granted a Commission,

“ Commission, to review the Book of Common-Prayer, to
 “ those Bishops and Divines who met at the Savoy; and af-
 “ terwards his Majesty required the Clergy in Convocation
 “ to revise it again; which alterations and amendments
 “ having been approved by his Majesty, and both Houses
 “ of Parliament; therefore for settling the Peace of the
 “ Nation, for the honour of Religion, and to the intent
 “ that every Person may know the Rule to which he is to
 “ conform in publick Worship, it is enacted by the King’s
 “ most Excellent Majesty, &c.

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“ That all and singular Ministers shall be bound to say
 “ and use, the Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, and all
 “ other Common-Prayers, in such Order and Form as is
 “ mentioned in the Book; and that every Parson, Vicar,
 “ or other Minister whatsoever, shall before the Feast of
 “ St. Bartholomew which shall be in the year of our Lord
 “ 1662. openly and publickly, before the Congregation
 “ assembled for religious Worship, declare his unfeigned
 “ Assent and Consent to the use of all things contained and
 “ prescribed in the said Book, in these words, and no other.”

“ I A. B. do here declare my unfeigned Assent and Con-
 “ sent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in
 “ and by the Book, entitled, the Book of Common-Prayer,
 “ and Administration of Sacraments, and other Rites and
 “ Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the
 “ Church of England, together with the Psalter, or Psalms,
 “ of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in
 “ Churches; and the Form and Manner of making, or-
 “ daining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests and Dea-
 “ cons.”

“ The Penalty for neglecting or refusing to make this
 “ Declaration, is Deprivation ipso facto of all his spiritual
 “ Promotions.

“ And it is further enacted, that every Dean, Canon, and
 “ Prebendary; all Masters, Heads, Fellows, Chaplains,
 “ and Tutors, in any College, Hall, House of Learning,
 “ or Hospital; all publick Professors, Readers in either
 “ University, and in every College and elsewhere; and all
 “ Parsons, Vicars, Curates, Lecturers; and every School-
 “ Master keeping any publick or private School; and every
 “ Person instructing Youth in any private Family, shall be-
 “ fore the Feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662. subscribe the
 “ following Declaration (viz.)

“ I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful upon any pre-
 “ tence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King; and
 “ that

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Charles II.
1662.

“ that I do abhor that traiterous position of taking Arms by
“ his Authority, against his Person, or against those that are
“ commissioned by him ; and that I will conform to the
“ Liturgy of the Church of England, as it is now by Law
“ established. And I do hold, that there lies no obligation
“ upon me, or on any other Person, from the Oath com-
“ monly called the Solemn League and Covenant, to en-
“ deavour any change or alteration of Government either
“ in Church or State ; and that the same was in itself an
“ unlawful Oath, and imposed upon the Subjects of this
“ Realm, against the known Laws and Liberties of this
“ Kingdom.”

“ This Declaration is to be subscribed by the Persons
“ above-mentioned before the Archbishop, Bishop, or Or-
“ dinary of the Diocese, on pain of Deprivation, for those
“ who were possessed of Livings ; and for School-Masters
“ and Tutors three Months imprisonment, for the first Of-
“ fence ; and for every other Offence three Months impris-
“ onment, and the forfeiture of five Pounds to his Ma-
“ jesty. Provided that after the 25th of March 1682.
“ the renouncing of the Solemn League and Covenant
“ shall be omitted.

“ It is further enacted, that no Person shall be capable
“ of any Benefice, or presume to consecrate and admini-
“ ster the holy Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, before
“ he be ordained a Priest by Episcopal Ordination, on pain
“ of forfeiting for every Offence one hundred Pounds.

“ No Form, or Order of Common-Prayer, shall be
“ used in any Church, Chapel, or other place of publick
“ Worship, or in either of the Universities, than is here
“ prescribed and appointed.

“ None shall be received as Lecturers, or be permitted
“ to preach, or read any Sermon or Lecture in any Church
“ or Chapel, unless he be approved and licensed by the
“ Archbishop or Bishop, and shall read the Thirty Nine Ar-
“ ticles of Religion, with a Declaration of his unfeigned
“ Assent and Consent to the same : And unless the first
“ time he preaches any Lecture or Sermon, he shall open-
“ ly read the Common-Prayer, and declare his Assent to
“ it ; and shall on the first Lecture-day of every Month af-
“ terwards before Lecture, or Sermon, read the Common-
“ Prayer and Service, under pain of being disabled to
“ preach ; and if he preach while so disabled, to suffer three
“ Months imprisonment for every Offence.

“ The

“ The several Laws and Statutes formerly made for uniformity of Prayer, &c. shall be in force for confirming the present Book of Common-Prayer, and shall be applied for punishing all Offences contrary to the said Laws, with relation to the said Book, and no other.

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“ A true printed Copy of the said Book is to be provided in every Parish Church, Chapel, College and Hall, at the cost and charge of the Parishioners, or Society, before the Feast of St. Bartholomew, on pain of forfeiting three Pounds a Month, for so long as they shall be unprovided of it.”

It was certainly unreasonable in the Legislature to limit the time of Subscription to so short a period, it being next to impossible that the Clergy all over the Kingdom should read and examine the Alterations within that time. The Dean and Prebendaries of Peterborough declared, that they could not obtain Copies before August 17, the Sunday immediately preceding the Feast of St. Bartholomew; so that it was not possible for all the Members of that Cathedral to read the Service in manner and form as the Act directs, and therefore they were obliged to have recourse to the favour of their Ordinary to admit of the impediment; however, their Preferments were then forfeited by Law, as appears by the Act of the 15th of Charles II. Chap. 6. entitled, “ An Act for the relief of such as by Sickness, or other Impediments, were disabled from subscribing the Declaration of the Act of Uniformity;” which says, that those who did not subscribe within the time limited were utterly disabled, and ipso facto deprived, and their Benefices void, as if they were naturally dead. And if this was the Case at Peterborough, what must be the Condition of the Clergy in the more Northern Counties? in fact, there was not one divine in ten that lived at any considerable distance from London that did peruse it within that time; but the matter was driven on with so much Precipitancy (says Bishop Burnet) that it seems implied, that the Clergy should subscribe implicitly to a Book they had never seen; and this was done by too many, as the Bishops themselves confessed.

P. 185.

The Terms of Conformity now were,

(1) Re-Ordination, if they had not been Episcopally ordained before.

Terms of
Conformity

(2.) “ A

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- (2.) " A Declaratfon of their unfeigned Affent and
 " Consent to all and every thing prefcribed and contained in
 " the Book of Common-Prayer, and Adminiftration of
 " Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the
 " Church of England, together with the Pfalter, and the
 " Form and Manner of making, ordaining, and confecra-
 " ting of Bifhops, Priests and Deacons.
 (3.) " To take the oath of canonical Obedience.
 (4.) To abjure the Solemn League and Covenant, which
 " many confcientious Minifters could not difentangle them-
 " felves from.
 (5.) " To abjure the Lawfulnefs of taking Arms againft
 " the King, or any commiffioned by him, on any pretence
 " whatfoever."

Higher
than before
the civil
Wars.

p. 182.

It appears from hence, that the Terms of Conformity were higher than before the civil Wars, and the Common-Prayer Book more exceptionable; for inftead of ftriking out the Apocryphal Leffons, more were inferted, as the Story of Bel and the Dragon; and fome new Holy Days were added, as St. Barnabas, and the Conversion of St Paul; a few Alterations, and new Collects were made by the Bifhops themfelves, but care was taken (fays Burnet) that nothing fhould be altered, as was moved by the Prefbyterians—The validity of Prefbyterian Ordination was renounced, by which the Miniftrations of the foreign Churches were difowned—Lecturers and School-Mafters were put upon the fame foot with Incumbents as to Oaths and Subfcriptions—A new Declaration was invented, which none who underftood the Conftitution of England could fafely fubfcribe—and to terrify the Clergy into a compliance, no fettled provision was made for thofe who fhould be deprived of their Livings, but all were referred to the Royal Clemency—A feverity (fays Bifhop Burnet) neither praftifed by Queen Elizabeth in enafting the Liturgy, nor by Cromwel in ejection the Royalifts, in both which a fifth of the Benefice was referved for their Subfiftence.

Rapin's
Remarks.
p. 293.

Mr. Rapin has feveral Remarks on this Act: If we compare it with the King's Declaration from Breda (fays he) it will eafily be feen what care the Minifters about the King, who were the real Authors or Promoters of this Act, had for his honour and promife; tho' fome therefore may look upon this Act as the great fupport and bulwark of the Church, others no lefs attached to its interefts, will perhaps look upon it as her difgrace and fcandal—His fecond Remark is, for the Reader to take notice of the amount of the Promifes made to the Prefbyterians by the King's Party, upon the

the Assurance of which they had so chearfully laboured for his Restoration, and followed the Directions transmitted by his Friends——His third Remark is, that by an Artifice, the most gross Conspiracies were invented which had no manner of Reality; or supposing they had, could no ways be charged on the Presbyterians, who were not to answer for the crimes of other Sects.

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On the other Hand, Bishop Kennet says “ the World
“ has Reason to admire not only the Wisdom of this Act,
“ but even the moderation of it, as being effectually made
“ for ministerial Conformity alone, and leaving the People
“ unable to complain of any Imposition. And it would
“ certainly have had the desired, and most happy Effect,
“ of Unity and Peace (says his Lordship) if the Govern-
“ ment had been in earnest in the execution of it.” Must
the Blessings of Unity and Peace then be built on the
Foundation of Persecution, Plunder, Perfidy, and the wastes
of Conscience? If his Majesty’s Declaration concerning
Ecclesiastical Affairs breathed the Spirit of true Wisdom and
Charity, and ought to stand for a pattern to Posterity, when-
ever they are disposed to heal the Breaches of the Church(as
the Bishop has elsewhere declared) where could be the
wisdomd and moderation of this Act, which turn’d out two
thousand Ministers into the World to beg their Bread upon
such severe Terms? And whereas the Bishop says, the
People had no reason to complain of Imposition, was it no
Hardship to be obliged to go to Church, and join in a Form
of worship that went against their consciences? Does not
the Act revive and confirm all the Penal Laws of Queen
Elizabeth and King James, in these Words, “ Be it far-
“ ther enacted, that the several good Laws and Statutes of
“ this Realm, which have been formerly made, and are
“ now in Force for the Uniformity of Prayers, and Ad-
“ ministration of the Sacraments within this Realm of Eng-
“ land, and Places aforesaid, shall stand in full force and
“ strength to all intents and purposes whatsoever, and shall
“ be applied, practised, and be put in Use for the punish-
“ ing all Offences contrary to the said Law.” Surely this
must affect the Laity! ’Tis more to be admired in my Op-
inion, that the Clergy of England and all Officers both
Civil and Military, could subscribe a Declaration that gave
up the Whole Constitution into the Hands of an arbitrary
Prince; for if the King had abolished the Use of Parliam-
ents, and commanded his Subjects to embrace the Popish
Religion, which way could they have relieved themselves,

Remarks of
Bishop Kennet.

p. 262.
Remarks

Kennet,
p. 246.

when

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when they had sworn, that “ it was not lawful to take up Arms against the King, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatsoever, on pain of High Treason ?” ’Tis hard to reconcile these things with the late Revolution of King William and Queen Mary. I shall only add, That many of the most learned and Judicious Divines of the Church have wished, for their own sakes, that the Act might be amended and altered.

Of Mr.
Collyer.

Mr. Collyer, a Non-Juring Clergyman, who suffered for his Principles, speaks more like a Gentleman and a Christian than the Bishop; “ The misfortune of the Presbyterians (says he) cannot be remember’d without Regret; those who quit their Interests are certainly in earnest, and deserve a charitable Construction. Mistakes in Religion are to be tenderly used, and conscience ought to be pitied when it can’t be relieved.”

Authors or
Promoters
of this Act.
Lord Clarendon.

p. 185.

Collyer,
p. 888.

’Tis fit the Authors and promoters of this memorable Act, which broke the Peace of the Church, and established a separation, should stand upon Record; Among these the Earl of Clarendon deserves the first Place, who was once for moderate Measures, but afterwards alter’d his Conduct (says Bishop Burnet) out of respect to the Bishops. The rethorick and Interest of this great Minister (says Collyer) might possibly make an Impression upon both Houses, and occasion the passing the Act of Uniformity in the Condition it now stands; he entertained the Presbyterians with Hopes, while he was cutting away the Ground from under their Feet. Strange! that one and the same Hand could consistently with Conscience and Honour draw up the King’s Declaration from Breda, and his late Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, and this severe Act of Uniformity.

Bishop
Sheldon.

p. 177.

Next to Chancellor Hyde was Dr. Sheldon, Bishop of London, and afterwards Arch-bishop of Canterbury, of whom Notice has been already taken; he was a facetious Man (says Burnet) but of no great Religion. When the Earl of Manchester told the King, he was afraid the Terms of Conformity were so hard that many Ministers would not comply; the Bishop replied, he was afraid they would, “ but now we know their Minds (says he) we will make them all Knaves if they conform.” And when Dr. Allen said, ’tis pity the Door is so strait; he answer’d, “ ’Tis no pity at all; if we had thought so many of them would have conformed we would have made it straiter.” And Mr. Baxter adds, That as far as he could perceive it was by some designed it should be so.

Next

Next to Bishop Sheldon was Bishop Morley, a pious Man (says Burnet) but extremely passionate and very obstinate. Morley was thought the honestest Man, but Sheldon the abler Statesman. To these may be added, Dr. Gunning, Bishop of Ely; Henchman of London; Dolben of Rochester; Stern of York; Pierce, Sparrow, and Barwick, all Creatures of the Court, and Tools of the Prerogative.

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1662.

Other Bi-
shops and
Clegymen.

The Parlia-
ment.

But neither the Courtiers nor Bishops could have accomplished their Designs without tampering with the Parliament. Care was therefore taken of the best Speakers, and Men of Influence among the Commons. The Parliament was undoubtedly acted by a Spirit of Revenge (says Rapin) and being of principles directly opposite to the Presbyterians, who were for reducing the royal Power within certain Limits, they resolved to put it out of their Power for ever to restrain the Prerogative, or alter the Government of the Church; and the King being in continual want of Money, was content to Sacrifice the Presbyterians for a large Supply of the Nation's Money, especially when he knew he was serving the Cause of Popery at the same time, by making Way for a general Toleration.

n. 306.
&c.

The Presbyterian Ministers had but three Months to consider what to do with themselves, and their Families. There were several consultations both in City and Country to know each others Sentiments; and it happen'd here, as it did afterwards about taking the Oaths to King William and Queen Mary; some that persuaded their Brethren to dissent, complied themselves and got the others Livings, 'Tis not to be supposed they had all the same Scruples. Bishop Kennet says, that renouncing the Covenant was the greatest Obstacle of conformity to the Presbyterians. But his Lordship is mistaken; for if abjuring the Covenant had been omitted they could not have taken the Corporation Oath. Some could not in conscience comply with the very Form of the Hierarchy. Great numbers scrupled the Business of Re-Ordination, which implied a Renouncing the Validity of their former Ministrations. But that which the Dissenters of all Denominations refused, was "giving their Assent and Consent to all and every thing contained in the Book of Common-Prayer." This they apprehended to be more than was due to any human Composure.

Conduct of
the Pres-
byterians.

Cal Cont.
p. 471.

Mr. Eachard represents them as under great Difficulties; "Some (says he) were positive against any Compliance, but great Numbers were doubtful and uncertain, and had great Struggles between the Attractions of Conscience
" and

Their Dif-
ficulties.

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“ and Honour, Interest and Humour. The Act was strictly
“ penn’d, and pressed hard upon late Principles and Prac-
“ tices. A continual Intercourse of Letters passed between
“ those in the City, and the rest in the Countries, how to
“ proceed in this nice affair. Sometimes the chief of them
“ were for Compliance, as I have been assured (says he)
“ by the best Hands, and then upon further Consideration
“ they changed their Minds. They were under considera-
“ ble temptations on both Sides; on one Side their Livings
“ and Preferments were no small Inducement towards their
“ compliance; on the other Side, besides their Consciences,
“ they were much encouraged by the Greatness of their
“ Numbers, and were made to believe, that if they unani-
“ mously stood out the Church must come to them, since
“ the People would never bear so shocking a Change—
“ Besides, they had great Expectations from several Friends
“ at Court, and particularly the Popish Party, who gave
“ them great Encouragement, not only by a promise of
“ pensions to some, but also by a Toleration, and a suspen-
“ sion of the Act itself, which not long after was partly
“ made good. No doubt but the Non-Compliance of se-
“ veral proceeded purely from a tender Conscience, and in
“ that Case ought not only to be pitied, but rather applau-
“ ded than condemned.” Bishop Burnet adds, that the
Leaders of the Presbyterian party took great pains to have
them all stick together: they said, that if great Numbers
stood out it was more likely to produce new Laws in their
Favour; so it was thought (says his Lordship) that many
went out in the croud to keep their Friends company.

Remarks.

’Tis possible some Noblemen, and others who were in
the Interest of the Presbyterians, might advise them to
stick by one another; but it is hardly credible, that Men of
Abilities and good Sense should throw up their Livings,
destroy their Usefulness, and beggar their Families, for the
sake of good Company.

Some of
them quit
their Li-
vings.
Baxter’s
Life,
Part II.
p. 334.

Some of the Non-Conformists quitted their Stations in
the Church before the 24th of August, as Mr. Baxter, and
others, who did it with an Intent to let all the Ministers o-
ver England know their Resolution beforehand. Others a-
bout London preached their farewell Sermons the Sunday
before Bartholomew Day; several of which were after-
wards collected into a Volume, and printed with their
Effigies in the Title Page; as the reverend Dr. Manton,
Bates, Jacomb, Calamy, Matth. Mead, and others. The
like was done in several Counties of England; and such a
passionate,

passionate Zeal for the welfare of their People ran through their Sermons as dissolved their Audiences into Tears.

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At length the fatal St. Bartholomew Day came, when about two thousand quitted their preferments in the Church, or refused to accept of any upon the Terms of the Act of Uniformity; An example hardly to be parallel'd in the christian World! This raised a grievous cry over the Nation, for here were many Men much valued (says Bishop Burnet) and distinguished by their Abilities and Zeal, now cast out ignominiously, reduced to great poverty, provoked by much spiteful Usage, and cast upon those popular practises, which both their Principles and their circumstances seemed to justify, of forming separate congregations, and of diverting Men from the publick worship. This begot esteem, and raised compassion, as having a fair appearance of suffering persecution for conscience. Mr. Locke calls them worthy, learned, pious, orthodox Divines, who did not throw themselves out of service, but were forcibly ejected. Nor were they cast out because there was a Supply of Ministers to carry on the Work of Religion, for there was room for the employment of more Hands, if they were to be had.

Ministers
ejected by
the Act of
Uniformity.

p. 185. 192.

At the Reformation from Popery by Queen Elizabeth there were not above two hundred deprived of their Livings; besides, they were treated with great mildness, and had some Allowances out of the Church, whereas these were treated with the utmost Severity, being cast entirely upon Providence to beg or starve, or get their Bread how they could. They were driven from their Houses, from the Society of their Friends; and what was yet more killing, from all their Usefulness, tho' they had merited much of the King, and laboured indefatigably for his Restoration. The former were Men of another Faith, and owned a foreign Head of the Church; whereas these were of the same Faith with the established Church, and differ'd only about Rites and Ceremonies. It has been said, that greater numbers were ejected in the late Times upon the Foot of the Covenant; but if this were true, it was in a time of War, when the civil and Religious Differences between the King and Parliament were so intermix'd, that it was impossible to separate one from the other; the whole Nation was in confusion, and those that suffered by the Covenant suffered more for their Loyalty, than their Religion; for when the War was over the covenant was relaxed, and such as would live peaceably returned to their vacant Cures, or were admitted to others.

Their Hard-
ships greater
than the Pa-
pists at the
Reforma-
tion.

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Charles II.
1662.

And than
the Loyalists
in the time
of the Civil
War.
Con. Plea,
for Non-
Conform.
p. 12. 13.

Besides, the Ingratitude of the high Churchmen upon this Occasion ought to be taken notice of. "Who can answer for the Violence and Injustice of Actions in a civil War (says a divine of the Church of England?) Those Sufferings were in a time of general calamity, but these were ejected not only in a time of Peace, but a time of Joy to all the Land, and after an Act of Oblivion, when all pretended to be reconciled and made Friends, and to whose common rejoicings these suffering Ministers had contributed their earnest prayers and great Endeavours." Another Divine of the same Church writes, "I must own that in my Judgment, however both sides have been excessively to blame, yet that the Severities used by the Church to the Dissenters are less excusable than those used by the Dissenters to the Church. My reason is, that the former were used in times of peace, and a settled Government, whereas the latter were inflicted in a time of tumult and confusion; so that the plunderings and ravagings endured by the Church Ministers, were owing (many of them at least) to the rudeness of the Soldiers, and the chances of War; they were plunder'd not because they were Conformists, but Cavaliers, and of the King's party. The Allowing of the sequester'd Ministers a fifth part of their Livings was a Christian Act, and what, I confess, I should have been glad to have seen imitated at the Restoration. But no Mercy was to be shewn to these unhappy sufferers, tho' it was impossible on a sudden to fill up the Gap that was made by their Removal.

Difficulty of
filling the
Vacancies.

Bishop Burnet says, the old Clergy, now much enriched, were despised, but the young Clergy that came from the University did good Service. But tho' all the striplings in both Universities were employed, a great many poor Livings in the Country had no Incumbents for a considerable Time. The Author of The five Groans of the Church, a very strict conformist, complains with great warmth, of above three thousand Ministers admitted into the Church who were unfit to teach because of their youth; of fifteen hundred debauched Men ordained; of the Ordination of many illiterate Men; of one thousand three hundred forty two factious Ministers a little before ordained; and that of twelve thousand Church Livings, or thereabouts, three thousand or more being inappropriate, and four thousand one hundred sixty five Sine Cures, there was but a poor remainder left for a painful and honest Ministry.

Such

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Charles. II
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Such were the spoils of Uniformity! And though Mr. Eachard says, there was more sense and sound Doctrine preached in one twelve months after the Presbyterian Ministers were turned out, than in nigh twenty years before; yet another Church writer, who knew them better, calls the young Clergy “ florid and gentile preachers, of a more ro-
“ mantick than true majestick and divine Stile, who tickled
“ and captivated people at first, but did little service to the
“ Souls of Men, and in process of time had fewer Admir-
“ rers and Friends than at first——” He adds, “ That in
“ the late Times they all speak the same Things, and car-
“ ried on the same Work, which was the Instruction, Con-
“ version, Consolation, and Edification of Souls, not biting
“ at one another. I never heard (says he) in many hundreds
“ of Sermons, Diversities of opinions either set up by some
“ or pulled down by others; we heard indeed that some
“ were Independants, others Presbyterians, and others Epif-
“ copal, but we heard no such things from the pulpits.
“ Some men think that the preaching of those Days was
“ meer fanaticism, blessing the Usurpation, railing against
“ Bishops, or deifying Calvin with an Infallibility; but
“ Calvin was preached no farther than Christ speak in him;
“ Non Calvinum sed Christum prædicabant.”

Comparison
between the
old and new
Preachers.
Conf. Plea,
Part I. in
Pref. and
p. 53.

The truth of this Observation will appear further, by mentioning the Names of some of those Ministers, whose Learning and Piety were universally acknowledged, and who were capable of preaching and writing as good Sense; and to as good purpose, as any of their Successors; as Dr. Gilpin, Bates, Manton, Jacomb, Owen, Goodwin, Collins, Conant, Grew, Burges, and Annesly; Mr. Bowles, Baxter, Clarkson, Woodbridge, Newcomen, Calamy, Jackson, Pool, Caryl, Charnock, Gouge, Jenkins, Gale, Corbet, Cradock, Matth. Mead, Howe, Kentish, Alsop, Vincent, Greenhill, S. Clark, Flavel, Phil. Henry, and others of like Character, “ whom I have heard vilified, and repre-
“ sented according to the Fancies, Passions, or Interests of
“ Men (says a learned Conformist) but I dare not but be just
“ to them, as to eminent Professors of the Christian Faith, and
“ think that common christianity has suffered much by their
“ silencing and disparagement. A great part of the
“ World is made to believe, that the Non-Conformists are
“ not fit to be employed in the Church, nor trusted by
“ the State; but what they are God knows, and the

Conf. Plea,
in Pref.
Part. I.

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1662.

“ World may know, if they please to consult their writings
 “ ——— They are not to them that know them, what they
 “ are reported by them that know them not——I know
 “ them sufficiently to make me bewail their condition, and
 “ the vast damage to thousands of souls by their exclusion,
 “ not only in the out-skirts, but in the very heart of
 “ England, who are committed in many parts to them that
 “ neither can nor will promote their everlasting interests.”
 Upon the whole, tho’ I do not apprehend that all the ejected
 Ministers, were equally learned, pious, and deserving, yet
 upon a calm and sedate view of things I can’t help conclu-
 ding, that in the main they were a body of as eminent Confessors
 for truth and liberty as this or any other Nation has produced.

The Condi-
tion of
others.

K. Chron.
p. 888. &c.

Many complied with the terms of conformity, not because
 they liked them, but for the sake of their families, or because
 they were unwilling to be buried in silence, as Bishop
 Reynolds, Wilkins, Hopkins, Fowler, &c. Several young
 Students, who were designed for the pulpit, applied them-
 selves to Law or Physick, or diverted to some secular em-
 ployment. Bishop Kennet, in order to extenuate their cala-
 mities, has taken pains to point out the favours the ejected
 Ministers received from private persons: Some (says he)
 found friends among the Nobility and Gentry, who relieved
 their necessities; some were taken as Chaplains into good fa-
 milies, or officiated in hospitals, prisons, or chapels of ease;
 some became tutors, or school masters; some who went be-
 yond sea were well received in foreign parts; some became
 eminent Physicians and Lawyers; some had good estates of
 their own, and others married great fortunes: But what is
 this to the Church or Legislature, who would have deprived
 them of these retreats if it had been in their power? The
 Bishop adds, “ Therefore we do ill to charge the Church
 “ with persecution, when the laws were made by the Civil
 “ Government with a view to the peace and safety of the
 “ State, rather than to any honour or interest of the Church.”
 It seems therefore the load of persecution must lie wholly
 upon the Legislature: But had the Bishops and other Church-
 men no hand in this affair? Did they not push the civil Go-
 vernment upon these extremities, and not only concur, but
 prosecute the penal Laws, with unrelenting rigor throughout
 the greatest part of this Reign? The Church and State are
 said to be so blended together as to make but one Constituti-
 on, and the penal Laws are shifted from one to the other till
 they are quite lost; whereas in reality both are criminal: But
 the Church can’t be charg’d with persecution, because it
 makes

makes no laws; nor can the civil Government be charged with it, because it makes them not against conscience, but with a view to the safety of the State; with such idle sophisms are men to be amused, when 'tis to cover a reproach!

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Charles II.
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Dr. Bates says, “ they [the Ministers] sell a sacrifice to
“ the wrath and revenge of the old Clergy, and to the ser-
“ vile compliance of the young gentry with the Court, and
“ their distaste of serious Religion. That this is no rash
“ imputation upon the ruling Clergy is evident (says the
“ Doctor) not only from their concurrence in passing these
“ laws (for actions have a language as convincing as those of
“ words) but from Dr. Sheldon their great leader, who ex-
“ pressed his fears to the Earl of Manchester, lest the Presby-
“ terians should comply. The Act was passed after the
“ King had engaged his faith and honour in his declaration
“ from Breda to preserve liberty of conscience inviolable;
“ which promise opened the way for his Restoration, and af-
“ ter the Royalists had given publick assurance, that all
“ former animosities should be laid aside as rubbish under the
“ foundation of universal concord.”

Dr. Bates's
Account.
Fun. Sermon.
for Mr.
Baxter.

Sad were the calamities of far the greater part of these un-
happy sufferers, who with their families must have perished,
if private collections in London, and other places of the
Country, had not been made for their subsistence. Bishop
Burnet says, they cast themselves on the providence of God,
and the charity of friends, the Legislature not allowing them
so much as the fifths. The Reverend and Pious Mr.
Thomas Gouge, late of St. Sepulchres, was their advocate,
who with two or three of his brethren made frequent applica-
tion to several worthy Citizens, of whom they received con-
siderable sums of money for some years, till that charity was
diverted into another channel; but nevertheless, “ many
“ hundreds of them (according to Mr. Baxter) with their
“ wives and children had neither house nor bread; the people
“ they left were not able to relieve them, nor durst they if
“ they had been able, because it would have been called a
“ maintenance of schism or faction. Many of the Ministers
“ being afraid to lay down their Ministry after they had
“ been ordained to it, preached to such as would hear them,
“ in fields and private houses, till they were apprehended and
“ cast into goals, where many of them perished——
“ The people were no less divided, some conformed, and
“ others were driven to a greater distance from the Church,
“ and resolved to abide by their faithful Pastors at all Events:

Sufferings
of the ejected
Ministers.
K. Chron. p.
838. p. 192.

Mr. Baxter's
Account.

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Charles II.
1662.

“ They murmured at the Government, and called th^e
“ Bishops and conforming Clergy cruel persecutors ; for
“ which, and for their frequenting the private assemblies of
“ their Ministers, they were fined and imprisoned, till ma-
“ ny families left their native Country, and settled in the
“ plantations.”

Other
Accounts.

Part IV.
P. 40.

The Presbyterian Ministers, tho’ men of gravity, and far advanced in years, were rallied in the pulpits under the opprobrious names of Schismaticks and Fanaticks ; they were exposed in the play-house, and insulted by the mob, inso- much that they were obliged to lay aside their habits and walk in disguise. “ Such Magistrates were put into com- mission as executed the peal laws with severity. Inform- ers were encouraged and rewarded. It is impossible (says the Conformist’s Plea for the Non-Conformist) to relate the number of the sufferings both of Ministers and people ; the great trials, with hardships upon their persons, estates, and families, by uncomfortable separations, dispersions, unsettlements and removes ; disgraces, reproaches, im- prisonments, chargeable journies, expences in law, tedious sicknesses, and incurable diseases ending in death ; great disquietments and frights to the wives and families, and their doleful effects upon them——Their congregations had enough to do, besides a small maintenance, to help them out of prisons, or maintain them there. Tho’ they were as frugal as possible they could hardly live ; some lived on little more than brown bread and water ; many had but eight or ten pounds a year to maintain a family, so that a piece of flesh has not come to one of their tables in six weeks time ; their allowance could scarce afford them bread and cheese. One went to the plow six days and preached on the Lord’s Day. Another was forced to cut tobacco for a livelihood——The zealous Justices of Peace knew the calamities of the Ministers, when they issued out warrants upon some of the hearers, because of the poverty of the Preachers. Out of respect to the worth and modesty of some of them (says my author) I forbear their names.” Upon these foundations, and with these circumstances, was the present Constitution of the Church of England restored. I shall make no further remarks upon it, but freely leave it to the censure of the Reader.

Ibid. Part
IV. P. 43.

Death of
Mr. Ley,
Ath. Ox.
Vol. II.
P. 190.

Among the Presbyterian Divines that died this year was Mr. John Ley, M. A. born at Warwick, Feb. 4. 1583. and educated in Christ Church Oxford, where he took the
degrees

degrees in arts, and was presented to the living of Great Budworth in Cheshire. He was afterwards Prebendary of Chester, and Subdean and Clerk of the convocation once or twice. In the year 1641. he took part with the Parliament, was one of the assembly of Divines, Chairman of the Committee for examination of Ministers, and President of Sion College. In the year 1645. he succeeded Dr. Hyde in the rich parsonage of Brightwell, Berks. In 1653. he was one of the Tryers, and at length obtained the Rectory of Golyhull, in Com. Warw. but having broken a vein by overstraining himself in speaking, he resigned his living, and retired to Sutton Colfield, where he died, May 16. 1662. in the seventy ninth year of his age. He was a very learned person, well read in the Fathers and Councils, a popular preacher, a pious and devout Christian, and one of the main pillars (says Mr. Wood) of the Presbyterian cause.

King
Charles II.
1662.

Mr. Henry Jeanes, M. A. was born in Somersetshire about the year 1611. and educated in New Inn, and afterwards in Hart Hall, Oxon, where he took the degrees in arts, and enter'd into Holy Orders. He was an admired Preacher in the University, and was quickly prefer'd to the Rectory of Beercrocomb, and the vicarage of Kingston in Somersetshire.

Of Mr.
Jeanes.

In the year 1641. he closed with the Parliament, and became Rector of Chedsey near Bridgewater. Here he took into his family several young persons, and instructed them in the liberal arts and sciences; he was a most excellent philosopher, a noted metaphysician, and well versed in polemical Divinity. With all these qualifications (says Mr. Wood) he was a contemner of the world, generous, free-hearted, jolly, witty and facetious. He writ many books, and died in the City of Wells a little before the fatal day of St. Bartholomew, and was buried in the Cathedral Church there. *Ætatis* 52.

Dr. Humphrey Chambers was born in Somersetshire, and educated in University College, Oxon. In the year 1623. he was made Rector of Claverton in Somersetshire, but was afterwards silenced by his diocesan, Bishop Piers, for preaching up the morality of the Sabbath, and imprisoned for two years. He was one of the assembly of Divines. In the year 1648. he was created D. D. and had the rich Rectory of Peusey given him by the Earl of Pembroke. After the King's Restoration he kept his living till the very day the Act of Uniformity took place, when having preached his farewell Sermon on Psal. cxxvi. 6. he went home, fell sick and died, and was buried in his Church at Peusey, Sept. 8. without the Service of the Church, which had just then taken place.

Of Dr.
Chambers.

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Of Mr. Ash.

Mr. Simeon Ash was educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge. His first employment in the Church was in Staffordshire, where he contracted an acquaintance with the most eminent Puritans. He was displaced from his living for refusing to read the Book of Sports, and not conforming to the Ceremonies of the Church. After some time he got liberty to preach in an exempt Church at Wroxhall, under the protection of Sir John Burgoign; and elsewhere, under the Lord Brook, in Warwickshire. Upon the breaking out of the civil War he became Chaplain to the Earl of Manchester, and had a considerable part in the Cambridge visitation. After the King's Death he vigorously opposed the new Commonwealth, and declaimed publickly against the Engagement. He was concerned in all the designs for bringing in the King, and went with other London Divines to congratulate his Majesty at Breda. He was a Christian of primitive simplicity, and a Non-Conformist of the old stamp, being eminently sincere, charitable, holy, and of a chearful spirit. He had a good paternal estate, and was very hospitable, his house being much frequented by his brethren, by whom he was highly esteemed. He died in an advanced age on the very evening before Bartholomew Day, in a chearful and firm expectation of a future happiness.

Of Mr.
Edward
Bowles.

Mr. Edward Bowles, M. A. born 1613. and educated in Katherine Hall, Cambridge, under Dr. Sibbes and Dr. Brownrigg. He was first Chaplain to the Earl of Manchester, and upon the reduction of York to the Parliament settled in that City. He was a wise and prudent man, having a clear head and a warm heart; an excellent Scholar, and an useful Preacher. He attended Lord Fairfax when General Monk pass'd thro' Yorkshire, and presented an address to the General for a free Parliament. He was very zealous and active in the affair of the King's Restoration, and waited on his Majesty with Lord Fairfax at Breda. 'Tis credibly reported that the Deanry of York was offered him, but not being satisfied with Conformity, he was first excluded the Minister, but continued preaching at All-hallows, and afterwards at St. Martins, as he had opportunity. When the fatal Bartholomew Day approached he grew sick of the times, and died in the flower of his life, aged forty nine, and was buried on the Eve of St. Bartholomew, 1662.

CHAP. VII.

From the Act of Uniformity to the banishment of the Earl of Clarendon in the year 1667.

AT this time, says Bishop Burnet, the name of Puritans was changed into that of Protestant-Non-Conformists, who were subdivided into Presbyterians, Independants, Anabaptists, and Quakers; these being shut out of the Establishment had nothing now in view but a toleration, which the credulous Presbyterians said they had strong assurances of before the Act of Uniformity passed into a Law, but in this they were disappointed as well as in every thing else; for which the Independants told them they might thank themselves, because their managers had protested against including the Papists, whereas the Legislature and the Bishops were to look to them, but it was none of their business. Some observing how much the Court and Parliament were set against them, were for settling in Holland with their Ministers; and others proposed New England; but the Papists at a meeting at the Earl of Bristol's house, agreed to do whatever they could to keep the Non-Conformists in England, and buoy them up with hopes of a toleration.

King
Charles II.
1662.

Views of
the several
Parties.
Of the
Non-Con-
formists.

Burnet,
p. 193.

The King was a concealed Roman Catholick, and had swarms of those creatures about his person and Court, who had fought for his father in the wars, or been civil to him in his exile; their design was to introduce a toleration of their Religion, by the Royal indulgence, in common with other Dissenters from the Establishment; and the King was so far in their measures that he declared openly, He would give liberty to all or none. The Court was therefore content that the Act of Uniformity should pass in the severest terms, on purpose to make the numbers of Dissenters more considerable; and when this was objected, it was replied, the more Dissenters the better, because it will make a Toleration more necessary, in which the Papists will have a share. The Papists had two Maxims from which they never departed; one was, "to keep themselves united, and promote a general Toleration, or a general Prosecution. The other, "To divide the Protestants as much as possible among themselves." For this reason the sword was put into the Hands of such Magistrates as would inflame the differences, and exasperate their

Of the King
and Court.

Burnet.

King
Charles II.
1662.

their spirits one against the other. Nor were there wanting some hot-headed young Clergymen, who run greedily into the snare, and became the Tools of Popery and arbitrary power, till the Protestant Religion was expiring, and must inevitably have been lost, if it had not been rescued almost by a miracle. With a like view the laws against prophaneness and immorality were relaxed, Mens Morals were neglected, Interludes, Masquerades, promiscuous Dancing, prophane Swearing, Drunkenness, and an unusual dissolution of Manners, was connived at, and the very Name of Godliness became a Reproach.

Of the Par-
liament.

The Parliament being made up of a mercenary Set of Pensioners went into all the Court Measures, and made more Penal Laws for Religion, than, it may be, all the Parliaments put together since the Reformation. They passed the Act of Uniformity with unrelenting rigour, and enforced it with so many other Penal Laws, that under their wings Popery grew to such a height as to threaten the extirpation of the Northern Heresy. At length many of the members being dead, and others grown fat with the spoils of the Publick, they would have retrieved their errors, and distinguished between Protestant Non-Conformists and Popish Recusants, but it was too late; and the King having found ways and means to live without Parliaments, resolved to abide by his standing Maxim. To give Ease to all Dissenters or to none.

Of the
Cergy.

'Tis impossible to excuse the Clergy from their share in the troubles of this reign. If the Convocation of 1662. in their review of the Liturgy, had made any amendments for the relief of the Presbyterians, they would undoubtedly have passed both houses of Parliament, and healed in some measure the divisions of the Church; but they were full of revenge, and not only promoted the enacting such laws as might put it out of the power of the Presbyterians to hurt them for the future; but assisted in putting them in execution. None had a greater share in inflaming the minds of the people, and in sounding the trumpet to persecution. But here the Reader must distinguish between these furious Zealots, who from resentment, or other private views, set themselves to encourage and promote all the methods of Oppression and Tyranny; and those, who though they complied with the times, were for an accommodation with the Protestant Non-Conformists upon moderate terms.

The

The Bishops were generally of the former sort; they were old and peevish, fond of their persecuting Principles, and fearful of every Thing that tended to relieve the Presbyterians. They went with zeal into all the slavish doctrines of the Prerogative, and voted with the Court in every thing they required; nay, they pushed them forward to execute the penal laws against the Presbyterians with unrelenting rigour. But even some of these Bishops, who had been very zealous to throw the Presbyterians out of the Church, afterwards grew more temperate; Dr. Laney, Bishop of Peterborough who made a great bustle in the Savoy Conference, was willing afterwards to wipe his hands of the dirty Work, and (to use his own Expression) could look through his fingers, and suffer a worthy Non-Conformist to preach publicly near him for years together—Bishop Saunderson had a roll of Non-Conformist Ministers under his angry eye, designed for discipline, but when he was near his end he ordered the roll to be burnt, and said, he would die in peace—And most remarkable is the passage in the last Will and Testament of Dr. Cosins, Bishop of Durham, a zealous Enemy of the Presbyterians, and who had met with ill usage in the late times.—“I take it to be my duty (says he) and that of all the Bishops and Members of the Church, to do our utmost endeavour, that at last an end may be put to the differences of Religion, or at least, that they may be lessen’d.” Such was the different Temper of this learned Prelate in the vigour of life, and when he came to review things calmly on his dying Bed. To these might be added Bishop Gauden, Wilkins, Reynolds, and a few others, who are said to carry the wounds of the Church in their hearts to the grave; but the far greater majority of the Bench of Bishops, especially those that frequented the Court, were of a different stamp.

The like may be observed of the inferior Clergy, who were divided a few Years after, into those of the Court and the Country; the former were of an angry superstitious Spirit, and far more zealous for a few indifferent ceremonies, than for the Peace of the Church, or its more important Articles; their Sermons were filled with the reverence due to their Holy Mother, with the sacred dignity of their own indelible characters, with the slavish doctrines of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance, and with the most bitter raillery and invectives against the poor routed Presbyterians;

King
Charles II.
1662.

The Bishops.

The inferior
Clergy.
High
Church.

King
Charles II.
1662.

And low
Church.

Remarks

Bishop Burnet's
Remarks.

terians; they encouraged the enacting severe laws, and carried them into execution as long as their Superiors would permit, without any Regard to Mercy or Merit; but took little or no care, by their Doctrine or Example, of the morals of the People, which were shamefully neglected throughout the Nation. The Clergy of this character were by far the more numerous, for twenty Years after the Restoration; the Tide of Church Preferments ran into this Channel, and their Doctrines were the most fashionable.

The Country Clergy were of a quite different Spirit they were zealous Protestants and true Churchmen, but more disposed to an Accommodation with Protestant dissenters than with Papists: Among these were the Tillotsons, Stillingtons, Whitchcots, Wilkins, Cudworths, &c. Men of the first rank for Learning, Sobriety and Virtue; they were the most eminent preachers of the Age, whose Sermons and writings did Honour to the Church of England, and supported its character in the worst of Times. They lamented the Corruptions and Vices of the People, and stood in the Gap against an Inundation of Popery and Tyranny; but their numbers were small, because the road to preferment lay another way: But when the high Church Clergy had betrayed the liberties of their Country, and the Protestant Religion, into the hands of the Papists, these appeared boldly in their Defence, disarm'd their Adversaries, and saved the Nation.

When therefore we speak of the furious proceedings of the Bishops and Clergy, it must not be understood of the whole Body, but only of those who were tools of a corrupt Court and Ministry, and who out of Ignorance, or other private and personal motives went blindfold into all their destructive Measures. If the Reader will keep in mind these general Remarks, he will more easily account for all the Springs of publick Actions throughout the Course of this Reign, especially those which relate to the Church and Dissenters, and readily discover to whose Account the Severities against them ought to be placed.

Bishop Burnet, in his Book against the Author of *Parliamentum Pacificum*, has the following remarkable Passage: "It is well known, that those who were secretly Papists, and disguised their Religion, as the King himself did, animated the chief Men of the Church to carry the points of Uniformity as high as possible——That there might be many Non-Conformists, and great Occasion

“ sion for a Toleration, under which Popery might creep
 “ in; for if the King’s Declaration from Breda had took
 “ place, of two thousand Ministers that were turned out,
 “ above seventeen hundred had stay’d in; But the Practices
 “ of the Papists had too great an Influence on the Church-
 “ Men, whose Spirits were too much sower’d by their ill
 “ Usage during the War, nor were they without Success
 “ on the Dissenters, who were secretly encouraged to
 “ stand out, and were told, that the King’s Temper and
 “ Principles, and the consideration of Trade, would cer-
 “ tainly procure them a Toleration. Thus they tamper’d
 “ with both Parties; Liberty of Conscience was their
 “ profession, but when a Session of Parliament came, and
 “ the King wanted Money, then a new severe Law against
 “ the Dissenters was offered to the angry Men of the Church
 “ party as the Price of it; and this seldom failed to have
 “ its Effect; so that they were like the Jewels of the
 “ Crown, pawned when the King needed Money, but re-
 “ deemed at the next prorogation.”

King
 Charles II.
 1662.

The same prelate observes in another performance, “ that
 “ the first Spirit of Severity was heighten’d by the pra-
 “ ctises of the Papists———That many Churchmen who
 “ understood not the principles of human Society, and the
 “ Rules of the English Government, writ several extra-
 “ vagant Treatises about the measures of Submission; that
 “ the Dissenters were put to great Hardships in many
 “ parts of England.” But concludes, that “ He must
 “ have the Brow of a Jesuit that can cast this wholly up-
 “ pon the Church of England and free the Court of it.
 “ Upon the whole Matter (says his Lordship) it is evident,
 “ that the Passions and Infirmities of some of the Church
 “ of England being unhappily stirred up by the Dissen-
 “ ters, they were fatally conducted by the popish Party
 “ to be the Instruments of doing a great deal of Mis-
 “ chief.

But to go on with the History: three Days after the Act of Nonconf.
 Uniformity took place the silenced Ministers presented a pe- Petition for
 tition to his Majesty for a Toleration, by the Hands of Indulgence.
 Dr. Manton, Dr. Bates, and Mr. Calamy, to this Effect; K. Chron.
 that “ having had former experience of his Majesty’s p. 753,
 “ Clemency and Indulgence, some of the London Mini-
 “ sters, who are like to be deprived of all future Usefulness
 “ by the late Act of Uniformity, humbly cast themselves
 “ at his Majesty’s Feet, desiring him of his princely
 “ Wisdom

King
Charles II.
1662.

“ Wisdom to take some effectual course, that they may be continued in their Ministry, to teach his People Obedience to God and his Majesty; and they doubt not but by their dutiful and peaceable behaviour, they shall render themselves not altogether unworthy of so great a favour.” The matter being debated next day in Council, his Majesty gave his opinion for an Indulgence if it was feasible. Others were for conniving at the more

K. Chron.
p. 730, 742.

eminent Divines, and putting Curates into their Churches to read the Service, till they should die off: This was the opinion of the Earl of Manchester, who urged it with a great deal of zeal; but Lord Clarendon was for the strict execution of the Law; “ Surely (says he) there cannot be too intent a care in Kings and Princes to preserve and maintain all decent Forms and Ceremonies both in Church and State, which keeps up the Reverence due to Religion, as well as the duty and dignity due to the Government and the Majesty of Kings.” Bishop Sheldon was of the same side, and declared, That if the Act was suspended he could not maintain his Episcopal Authority; that this would render the Legislature ridiculous, and be the occasion of endless Distractions. England is accustomed to obey Laws (says he) so that while we stand on that Ground we are safe; And to answer all Objections, he undertook to fill the vacant Pulpits more to the People’s Satisfaction than before. By such arguments, delivered with great earnestness and zeal, they prevailed with the Council to let the Law take place for the present.

Parker’s
Hist. p. 29.

Nevertheless, about four Months after his Majesty published a Declaration to all his loving Subjects, by advice of his Privy Council, dated December 26, 1662. in which, after reciting those words of the Declaration from Breda, relating to his giving liberty to tender Consciences, and his readiness to consent to an Act of Parliament for that purpose, his Majesty adds, “ As all these things are fresh in our memory, so are we still firm in the resolution of performing them to the full. But it must not be wondered at, since that Parliament to which those promises were made, never thought fit to offer us an Act to that purpose, That we being so zealous as we are (and by the Grace of God shall ever be) for the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, should give its establishment the precedency before matters of Indulgence to Dissenters from it; but that being done, we are glad to renew to all our Subjects concerned in those promises of

Burnet,
p. 192.

King’s Declaration
concerning
Indulgence.

“ Indul-

King
Charles II.
1662

“ Indulgence this Assurance. That as for what concerns
“ the penalties upon those, who (living peaceably) do not
“ conform to the Church of England through scruple, or
“ tenderness of misguided Conscience, but modestly, and
“ without scandal perform their Devotions in their own
“ way, we shall make it our special Care, as far as in us lies,
“ without invading the freedom of Parliament, to incline their
“ Wisdom at the next approaching Sessions, to concur with
“ us in making some Act for that purpose, as may enable
“ us to exercise with more universal satisfaction, that Pow-
“ er of dispensing which we conceive to be inherent in
“ us; nor can we doubt of their chearful co-operating with
“ us in a thing wherein we conceive ourselves so far en-
“ gaged both in honour, and in what we owe to the
“ Peace of our Dominions, which we profess we can ne-
“ ver think secure whilst there shall be a colour left to dis-
“ affected persons to inflame the minds of so many mul-
“ titudes upon the score of Conscience, with despair of
“ ever obtaining any effect of our promises of their ease.”

His Majesty then proceeds to obviate the objection of his
favouring Papists; and after having avowed to the World,
the due sense he had of their having deserved well from
his Royal Father, and from himself, and even from the
Protestant Religion, in adhering to them with their Lives and
Fortunes, for the maintenance of their Crown in the Re-
ligion established, he declares, “ that it is not his intenti-
“ on to exclude them from all benefit from such an Act
“ of Indulgence, but that they are not to expect an open
“ Toleration; but refers the manner to the approaching
“ Sessions of Parliament, which he doubts not will con-
“ cur with him in the performance of his promises——”
He concludes, “ with hoping that all his Subjects, with
“ minds happily composed by his Clemency, and Indul-
“ gence, (instead of taking up thoughts of deserting their
“ possessions, or transplanting) will apply themselves com-
“ fortably, and with redoubled Industry, to their several vo-
“ cations, in such a manner as the private interest of every
“ one in particular may encourage him to contribute chear-
“ fully to the general prosperity.”

“ Given at our Court at Whitehall, this 26th of
“ December, in the 14th Year of our Reign.”

This

King
Charles II.
1662.

Supported
by his Maj.
Speech to
the Parlia-
ment.
Burnet, p.
193.

This Declaration was thought to be framed at Somerset House, where the Queen-Mother kept Court, without the knowledge of Lord Clarendon or Bishop Sheldon; and according to Burnet was the result of a Council of Papists at the Earl of Bristol's (who were under an Oath of Secrecy) and of the King himself. It is modestly expressed; and though it carries in it a claim of the dispensing Power, and of good will to Popery, yet it refers all to the Parliament. Accordingly his Majesty, in his Speech at the opening of the next Sessions, Feb. 28. supported his Declaration in the following words, "That tho' he was in his Nature an enemy to all severity in Religion, he would not have them infer from thence, that he meant to favour Popery, tho' several of that Profession, who had served him and his Father well, might justly claim a share in that Indulgence, he would willingly afford to other Dissenters; nor that I intended them to hold any Places in the Government, (says his Majesty) for I will not yield to any, no not to the Bishops themselves, in my Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and my liking the Act of Uniformity; and yet if the Dissenters will behave themselves peaceably and modestly under the Government, I could heartily wish I had such a Power of Indulgence to use upon all occasions, as might not needlessly force them out of the Kingdom, or staying here, give them cause to conspire against the peace of it." This was the first open claim of a dispensing Power, which the Reader will observe did not propose a "Law for Libery of Conscience," but that his Majesty might have a legal Power of Indulgence vested in himself, which he might use or recall as he thought fit. This alarmed the House of Commons, who voted the Thanks of the House for his Majesty's Resolution to maintain the Act of Uniformity; but that it was the opinion of the House, "that no Indulgence be granted to Dissenters from it;" and an address was appointed to be drawn up, and presented to his Majesty, with the following reasons:

Address of
the Com-
mons against
it. Rapin,
p. 316.

"We have considered (say they) your Majesty's Declaration from Breda, and are of opinion, that it was not a Promise, but a gracious Declaration to comply with the Advice of your Parliament, whereas no such Advice has been given. They who pretend a right to the supposed Promise, put the right into the hands of their Representatives, who have past the Act of Uniformity—— If any shall say, a right to the benefit of the Declaration
still

King
Charles I.
1662.

“ still remains, it tends to dissolve the very Bond of Government, and to suppose a disability in the whole Legislature to make a Law contrary to your Majesty’s Declaration — We have also considered the nature of the Indulgence proposed, and are of Opinion — 1. That it will establish Schism by a Law, and make the censures of the Church of no Consideration — 2. That it is unbecoming the Wisdom of Parliament to pass a Law in one Session for Uniformity, and in another Session to pass a Law to frustrate or weaken it, the Reasons continuing the same — 3. That it will expose your Majesty to the restless importunities of every Sect who shall dissent from the established Church — 4. That it will increase Sectaries, which will weaken the Protestant Profession, and be troublesome to the Government; and in time some prevalent Sect may contend for an Establishment which may end in Popery — 5. That it is unprecedented, and may take away the means of convicting Recusants — 6. That the Indulgence proposed, will not tend to the Peace, but to the Disturbance of the Kingdom; the best way therefore to produce a settled Peace is to press vigorously the Act of Uniformity.”

The Reader will judge of the force of these Reasons, Remarks, which, in my opinion, would justify the severest Persecution in the World; however the King was convinced with a sum of Money, and therefore made no other Reply, but that he had been ill understood. The House then addressed him to put the Laws in Execution against Papists; and a Proclamation was issued out for that Purpose, but little regarded. However, this opposition to the King and the Roman Catholicks, by Lord Clarendon and his Friends in the House of Commons, laid the foundation of his Impeachment the next Year, and of his Ruin some time after. Bishop Kennet p. 258. admits, That the King was inclined to a general Indulgence, “ but whether it was from his good Nature, or a secret Inclination to introduce Popery, is not very decent to determine;” but both he and Eachard are of Opinion, “ That the King’s Clemency hardened the Dis- Eachard, p. 806. senters against the Church; whereas, if they had lost all dependance on a Court Interest, and had found the King and his Ministry intent upon the strict Execution of the Act of Uniformity, most of them (say they) would at this juncture have conformed.” A notorious Mistake! the contrary to which will be evident to a demonstration

King
Charles II.
1662.

throughout the course of this Reign. The conformity of honest Men does not depend upon the Will, but the Understanding and Judgment; and 'tis very ungenerous at this time of Day to impeach Men's Integrity, who underwent a long course of the severest Trials to retain it.

Rise of Occa-
sional
Conformity.
Baxter's
Life.

Part II.

p. 435.

Corrpl.

Hist. p. 267.

Some of the ejected Presbyterians, who were Men of Piety and Learning, went as far as they could, and made a distinction between Lay-Conformity and Ministerial; they practised the former, and went some times to their Parish-Churches before or after the exercise of their Ministry in some private Houses; and this they did, not for interest or advantage, but to all appearance, for Charity and brotherly Love. Here was the rise of occasional Conformity, practised by Dr. Bates, Mr. Baxter, and others to their Death; but this, instead of being well taken, was the occasion of bringing some of them into Trouble; for Mr. Calamy, late Minister of Aldermanbury, being at his Parish-Church December 28, the Preacher happened to disappoint them; upon which, at the importunity of the Parishioners, Mr. Calamy went up into the Pulpit and preached a Sermon upon Eli's Concern for the Ark of God; a Subject much upon their Thoughts at that time: But this was so highly resented at Court, that he was sent to Newgate next Week for Sedition, in breaking the King's Laws. It was done in Terrorem, says my Author, but there was such a clamour

Calamy,
Vol. II. p. 6.

among the People, and such a resort of Persons of Quality to the Prisoner, that his Majesty thought fit to release him in a few Days, which not being done by course of Law, the Commons resented it, and presented an Address, that the Laws for the future might have their free Course. This displeased the King, who was willing to support his Prerogative, and shew some favour to the Presbyterians, that he might cover the Papists; but Lord Clarendon, who was their implacable Enemy, and at the head of that Party which contrived their Ruin, opposed the court Measures and encouraged his Friends in both Houses to abide by the Laws.

Rapin,
p. 312, 313.

1663.
Sham Plot
in the North.

The following summer there was a fresh discourse of Liberty for the silenced Ministers; and the Court was so far in the design, as to encourage them to petition for a general Toleration, insinuating this to be the only way of Relief, and that the Legislature would go on to encrease their Burdens and lay them in Goals 'till they complied. The Independants went up to the Court to speak for themselves, but the Presbyterians refused; upon which Mr. Baxter says,

Baxter's
Life,
Part II.
p. 439, 433.

the

the Independant Brethren thought it long of them that they missed of their intended Liberty. The Court being displeased, Lord Clarendon and his Friends took the opportunity to stir them up against the Non-Conformists, by fathering upon them some new Plots against the Government. There was said to be a Conspiracy in the North among the Republicans and Separatists, to restore the long Parliament, and put Lambert and Ludlow at their Head, though the former was shut up in Prison in a remote Island, and the other in Banishment. There had been some unadvised and angry Conversation among the meaner sort of People of republican Principles, but it was not pretended that any Gentleman of character, much less that the Body of the English Non-Conformists were acquainted with it; however, about twenty were tried and condemned at York and Leeds, and several executed. Some very mean Persons were tried at the Old Baily for a branch of the same design, as Tongue, Philips, Stubbes, Hind, Sellars, and Gibbes: They were not tried separately, but set at the Bar together, and condemned in the lump. It was pretended that the fifth Monarchy Men, Anabaptists, Independants, and some Quakers, were consenting to some desperate designs, but the Authors were never discovered; however, four of these pretended Conspirators were executed, who confessed at the Place of Execution, that they had heard some treasonable Expressions in Company, but denied to the last, that they were acquainted with any Conspiracy against the King; and whoever reads their Trial will be inclined to think, that it was a design of those who were at the head of Affairs, to enflame the Populace against the Non-Conformists, in order to bring them under greater Severities.

King
Charles II.
1663.

K. Chron.
p. 840,
841.
Calamy,
p. 305.
Rapin,
p. 310.

“ An Act was passed this Summer for the relief of such
“ Persons as by Sickness, or other Impediments, were dis-
“ abled from subscribing the declaration in the Act of Uni-
“ formity, and Explanation of the said Act.” The Pre-
ambie sets forth, “ That divers Persons of eminent Loyalty,
“ and known Affection to the Liturgy of the Church of
“ England, were out of the Kingdom; and others, by
“ reason of Sickness, disability of Body, or otherwise,
“ could not subscribe within the time limited, and were
“ therefore disabled, and Ipso facto deprived of their Preben-
“ daries or other Livings, therefore further time is given
“ to them to the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord next
“ ensuing; or if out of England, forty Days after their
“ return:”

Act for
Relief of
Non-Sub-
scribing
Loyalists,
15 Car. II.
Chap. 6.

King
Charles II.
1664.

“ return :” Which shews, that the time limited by the Act of Uniformity was not sufficient. The Journal of the House of Lords mentions a Clause inserted by their Lordships, explaining the subscription and declaration to relate only to practice and obedience to the Law, which passed the upper House, tho’ several Lords protested against it, as destructive to the Church of England, but none of the Bishops ; however, when it came down to the Commons, the Clause was rejected, and the Lords did not think fit to insist upon it.

1664.
Conventi-
cle Act.
16 Car. 2.
Chap. 4.

While the Parliament were relieving the Loyalists, they encreased the Burdens of the Non-Conformists, for taking advantage of the late pretended Plots, they passed an Act for suppressing seditious Conventicles ; the Preamble to which having set forth, that the Sectaries, under pretence of tender Consciences, at their meetings had contrived Insurrections, the Act declares the 35th of Queen Elizabeth to be in full force, which condemns all Persons refusing peremptorily to come to Church, after Conviction, to Banishment, and in case of return, to Death, without Benefit of the Clergy. It enacts further, “ That if any Person above the age of
“ sixteen, after the first of July, 1664, shall be present at any
“ Meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of Religion, in any other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy or Practice of the Church of England, where shall
“ be five or more Persons than the Household, shall for the
“ first offence suffer three Months Imprisonment, upon record made upon Oath under the hand and seal of a Justice
“ of Peace ; or pay a sum not exceeding five Pounds ; for
“ the second offence six Months Imprisonment, or ten
“ Pounds ; and for the third offence the Offender to be
“ banished to some of the American Plantations for seven
“ Years, or pay one hundred Pounds, excepting New
“ England and Virginia ; and in case they return, or make
“ their escape, such Persons are to be adjudged Felons, and
“ suffer Death without benefit of Clergy. Sheriffs, or
“ Justices of Peace, or others commissioned by them, are
“ empowered to dissolve, dissipate, and break up all unlawful Conventicles, and to take into Custody such of
“ their Number as they think fit. They who suffer such
“ Conventicles in their Houses or Barns, are liable to the
“ same Forfeitures as other Offenders. The prosecution is
“ to be within three Months. Married Women taken at
“ Conventicles are to be imprisoned for twelve Months, un-
“ less

“ less their Husbands pay forty Shillings for their Redemption.
 “ This Act to continue in force for three Years after the next
 “ Session of Parliament.”

King
 Charles II.
 1664.

This was a terrible scourge upon the Laity, put into the hands of a single Justice of Peace, without the Verdict of a Jury, the Oath of the Informer being sufficient. The design of the Parliament (says Rapin) was to drive them to Despair, and to force them into real Crimes against the Government. By virtue of this Act the Goals in several Counties were quickly filled with dissenting Protestants, while the Papists had the good fortune to be covered under the Wing of the Prerogative. Some of the Ministers who went to Church in sermon time, were disturbed for preaching to a few of their Parishioners after the publick Service was over ; their Houses were broke open, and their Hearers taken into Custody : Warrants were issued out for levying twenty Pounds on the Minister, twenty Pounds upon the House, and five Shillings upon each Hearer. If the Money was not immediately paid, there was a Seizure made of their Effects, the Goods and Wares was taken out of the Shops ; and in the Country, Cattle were driven away and sold for half Value. If the Seizure did not answer the Fine, the Minister and People were hurried to Prison, and put under close Confinement for three or six Months. The trade of an Informer began to be very painful, by the encouragement of the spiritual Courts. At every Quarter Sessions, several were fined for not coming to Church, and others excommunicated ; nay, some have been sentenced to abjure the Realm, and fined in a Sum much larger than all they are worth in the World.

Sad Consequences of it to Ministers and People.

Before the Conventicle Act took place the People were courageous, and exhorted their Ministers to preach 'till they went to Prison ; but when it came home to themselves, and they had been once in Goal, they began to be more cautious, and consulted among themselves, how to avoid the edge of the Law in the best manner they could ; for this purpose their Assemblies were frequently held at midnight, and in the most private Places ; and yet, notwithstanding all their caution, they were frequently disturbed ; but 'tis remarkable, that under all their Hardships they never made the least Resistance, but went quietly along with the Soldiers or Officers, when they could not fly from them. The Distress of so many Families made some confine themselves within their own Houses, some remove to the Plantations, and others have recourse to occasional Conformity, to avoid the Penalty

Their cautious Conduct.
 Baxter,
 p. 436.

King
Charles II.
1664.

for not coming to Church ; but the Independants, Anabaptists, and Quakers, declined the Practice, for they said, If Persecution was the mark of a false Church, it must be absolutely unlawful to join with One that was so notoriously guilty.

Sufferings
of the Qua-
kers.
Sewel.
P. 445.

Indeed the Quakers gloried in their Sufferings, and were so resolute as to assemble openly at the Bull and Mouth near Aldersgate, from whence the Soldiers and other Officers, dragged them to Prison, 'till Newgate was filled, and Multitudes died by close Confinement in the several Goals. The account published about this time says, there were six hundred of them in Prison, merely for Religion sake, of whom several were banished to the Plantations. Sometimes the Quakers met and continued silent, upon which it was questioned, whether such an Assembly was a Conventicle for religious Exercise ; and when some were tried for it in order to Banishment, they were acquitted of the Banishment, and came off with a Fine, which they seldom paid, and were therefore continued in Prison. In short, the Quakers about London gave such full employment to the Informers, that they had less leisure to attend the Meetings of any other Dissenters.

And Others. So great was the Severity of these times, and the arbitrary Proceedings of the Justices, that many were afraid to pray in their Families, if above four of their Acquaintance who came only to visit them were present. Some scrupled asking a Blessing on their Meat, if five Strangers besides the Family were at Table. In London, where the Houses join, it was thought the Law might be evaded if the People were in several Houses, and heard the Minister through a Window or hole in the Wall ; but it seems this was over-ruled, the determination being (as has been observed) in the breast of a single mercenary Justice of Peace. And while conscientious People were thus oppressed, the common People gave themselves up to Drunkenness, prophane Swearing, Gaming, Lewdness, and all other kinds of Debauchery, which brought down the Judgment of Heaven upon the Nation.

War with
the Dutch.

The first general Calamity that beset the Kingdom, was a War with the Dutch, which the King entered into this Winter, by the instigation of the young French Monarch, Lewis XIV. who being grown rich by a long Peace, sought for an opportunity to make new Conquests in the Spanish Flanders ; for this purpose he engaged the maritime Powers in a War, that by weakening each others hands they might

not

not be at leisure to assist the Spaniards whom he intended to assault. The English made complaints of the encroachments of the Dutch upon their Trade, and indignities offered to his Majesty's Subjects in India, Africa, and elsewhere; the French promoted these Misunderstandings, and promised to supply the King with what sums of Money he wanted; 'till at length War was proclaimed, Feb. 22, 1664-65, in the course of which sundry bloody Engagements happened at Sea; the two Nations were drained of their Blood and Treasure, and the Protestant Interest almost ruined, while the French did little more than look on. The War continued about two Years and a half, and then ended with no manner of advantage to either Nation.

King
Charles II.
1665.

The next Judgment which befel the Nation was the most dreadful Plague that had been known within the memory of Man. This was proceeded by an unusual Drought; the Meadows were parched and burnt up like the Highways, in so much that there was no food for the Cattle, which occasioned first a Murrain among them, and then a general Contagion among Mankind, which increased in the City and Suburbs in London 'till eight or ten Thousand died in a Week. The richer Inhabitants fled into the remoter Counties; but the Calamities of those who stayed behind, and of the poorer sort, are not to be expressed. Trade was at a full stand; all Commerce between London and the Country was entirely cut off; no body would receive their Wares. Nay, the country House-keepers and Farmers durst not entertain their City Friends or Relations 'till they had performed Quarantine in the Fields or Out-Houses. If a Stranger passed through the Neighbourhood they fled from him as an Enemy. In London the Shops and Houses were quite shut up, and many of them marked with a red Cross, and an Inscription over the Door, Lord have Mercy upon us! Grass grew in the Streets; and every Night the Bell-Man went his rounds with a Cart, crying, Bring out your Dead. From London the Plague spread into the neighbouring Towns and Villages, and continued near three quarters of a Year, 'till it had swept away almost one hundred thousand of the Inhabitants.

1665.
The Plague.

Some few of the established Clergy, with a commendable Zeal, ventured to continue in their Stations, and preach to their Parishioners throughout the course of the Plague, as Dr. Walker, Dr. Horton, Dr. Meriton, and a few others; but most of them fled, and deserted their Parishes at a time when their Assistance was most wanted; upon this some of

Ejected
Ministers
ventured to
preach
publickly.
Baxter's
Life.
Part III.

King
Charles II.
1665.

the ejected Ministers ventured to preach in the vacant Pulpits, imagining that so an extraordinary a Case would justify their disregard to the Penal Laws. The Ministers who ventured on this undertaking were the Reverend Mr. Thomas Vincent, Mr. Chester, Mr. Janeway, Mr. Turner, Grimes, Franklin, and others. The face of Death, and the arrows that flew among the People in darkness at noon day, awakened both preachers and hearers : Many who were at church one day were thrown into their graves the next ; the cry of great numbers was, What shall we do to be saved ? Such an awful time England never saw !

Which
brings them
under fur-
ther Hard-
ships.

Baxter's
Life.
Part II.

p. 3.

But it will amaze all Posterity, that in a time both of War and of the Plague, and when the non-conformist Ministers were hazarding their lives in the service of the poor distressed Citizens of London, that the prime Minister and his Creatures, instead of going into mourning for the Nation's Sins, and meditating a reformation of manners, should pour out all their vengeance upon the Non-Conformists, in order to make their condition more unsufferable. One would have thought such a judgment from Heaven, and such a behaviour of the ejected Ministers, should have softened the minds of their most cruel Enemies ; but the Presbyterians must be crushed, let God or Providence say what they will to the contrary. Bishop Kennet and Mr. Eachard would excuse the Ministry, by alledging, that some of the old Oliverian Officers were listed in the Dutch Service ; which, if true, was nothing to the Presbyterians, tho' Lord Clarendon did what he could to incense the Parliament, and make them believe they were in confederacy with the Enemies to the Government. In his harangue to the Houses he says,

Eachard.
p. 824.

Lord Cla-
rendon's
Speech for it.

“ Their countenances were more erect, and more insolent
“ since the beginning of the War than before ; that they
“ were ready, if any misfortune had befallen the King's
“ Fleet, to have brought the War into our Fields and
“ Houses. The horrid Murderers of our late royal Master
“ have been received into the most sacred Councils in Hol-
“ land ; and other infamous Persons of our Nation are ad-
“ mitted to a share in the conduct of their affairs with liberal
“ Pensions. Too many of his Majesty's Subjects have
“ been listed in their service for a maintenance ———
“ Their friends at home made no doubt of doing
“ the business themselves, if they could pitch upon a
“ lucky day to begin their work ——— If you care-
“ fully

“ fully provide for suppressing your Enemies at home,
 “ you will find your Enemies abroad enclined to
 “ Peace ———” Is it possible that such a speech could
 proceed from the lips of a faithful Counsellor who was
 to ask for money to carry on the War? Could the Chan-
 cellor think, that the way to conquer abroad was to
 divide and oppress the King’s Subjects at home, in the
 midst of a terrible Plague? He confessed afterwards, that
 he was most averse to this War, and abhorred it from his
 very Soul, and yet he makes an handle of it to rain down
 vengeance on the Presbyterians, who had no concern in it;
 but it happened to them as in popish Countries, when any
 general calamity befalls the People, it is imputed to too
 great indulgence to Hereticks, and the vengeance falls upon
 their heads. Bishop Burnet is of opinion, that the Oxford
 Act was rather owing to the liberty the Non-Conformists
 took in their sermons to complain of their own hardships,
 and to lament the vices of the Court, as the causes of their
 present Calamities. And if this were true, it was not with-
 out just reason.

King
Charles II.
1665.


Ib. p. 846.

However, the load was to lie on the dissenting Ministers,
 and therefore an Act was brought into the house, to banish
 them from their friends, which had the royal Assent, Oc-
 tober 31, 1665. It was entituled, An Act to restrain Non-
 Conformists from inhabiting Corporations; the preamble
 to which sets forth, “ That divers Parsons, and others in
 “ holy Orders, not having subscribed the Act of Unifor-
 “ mity, have taken upon them to preach in unlawful as-
 “ semblies, and to intill the poisonous principles of Schism
 “ and Rebellion into the Hearts of his Majesty’s Subjects,
 “ to the great danger of the Church and Kingdom. Be
 “ it therefore enacted, that all such Non-Conformist Mi-
 “ nisters shall take the following Oath: I A. B. do swear,
 “ that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to
 “ take up Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that
 “ traiterous position of taking Arms by his Authority,
 “ against his Person, or against those that are commissi-
 “ oned by him, in pursuance of such commissions; and
 “ that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration
 “ of Government either in Church or State. And all such
 “ Non-Conformist Ministers shall not after the 24th of
 “ March, 1665. unless in passing the road, come, or be
 within

The Oxford
Five Mile
Act.
17 Car. II.
Chap. 2.

The Oath.

King
Charles II.
1665.

“ within five miles of any City, Town Corporate or Borough
“ that sends Burgeſſes to Parliament ; or within five miles of
“ any Pariſh, Town, or Place wherein they have ſince the
“ Act of Oblivion been Parſon, Vicar or Lecturer, &c.
“ or when they have preached in any Conventicle on any
“ pretence whatſoever, before they have taken and ſub-
“ ſcribed the aboveſaid Oath before the Quarter Sessions
“ for the County, in open Court ; upon forfeiture for eve-
“ ry ſuch offence of the Sum of forty pounds, one third
“ to the King, another to the poor, and a third to him that
“ ſhall ſue for it. And it is further enacted, That ſuch as
“ ſhall reſuſe the Oath aforeſaid, ſhall be incapable of teach-
“ ing any publick or private Schools, or of taking any
“ Boarders or Tablers to be taught or inſtructed, under
“ pain of forty pounds, to be diſtributed as above. Any
“ two Juſtices of the Peace, upon Oath made before them
“ of any offence committed againſt this Act, are empower-
“ ed to commit the offender to priſon for ſix Months, with-
“ out bail or mainprize.”

Baxter,
Part III.
p. 3.
Burnet. p.
225.

The Earl of Southampton, Lord Wharton, Aſhley, Dr.
Earl Biſhop of Salisbury, and others, vehemently oppoſed
this Bill, out of compaſſion to the Non-Conformiſts, and
as it enforced an unlawful and unjuſtifiable Oath, which
(as the Earl of Southampton obſerved) “ No honeſt Man
“ could take ;” but the madneſs of the times prevailed a-
gainſt all reaſon and humanity, the promoters of the Act
were Lord Chancellor Clarendon, Archbiſhop Sheldon,
Ward Biſhop of Salbury, and their creatures, with all
that were ſecret favourers of Popery (ſays Biſhop Burnet.)
It was moved that the word Legally might be inſerted in the
Oath, before the word Commiſſioned ; and that before the
words “ Endeavour to change the Government,” might be
inſerted the word “ Unlawfully,” but all was rejected ; how-
ever, one of the Judges on the Bench declaring, that the
Oath muſt be ſo underſtood, Dr. Bates and above twenty
others took it, to avoid the imputation of Sedition ; but
they had ſuch a Lecture afterwards from the Bench for
their ſcruples, that they repented of what they had done
before they went out of Court. Mr. Howe, and about twelve
in Devonſhire, took it, and a few in Dorſetſhire, with a
Declaration in what ſenſe and with what limitations they un-
derſtood it.

Baxter,
p. 15.

Some few
take the
Oath.
Howe's
Life.

But

But the body of Non-Conformist Ministers refused the Oath, choosing rather to leave their habitations, their relations and friends and all visible support, than destroy the peace of their Consciences. Those Ministers who had some little Estate or Subsistence of their own, retired to some remote and obscure Villages, or such little Market Towns as were not Corporations, and more than five miles from the places where they had preached; but in many Counties it was difficult to find such places of retirement, for either there were no houses untenanted, or they were annexed to Farms, which the Ministers were not capable of using; or the People were afraid to admit the Ministers into their houses, lest they should be suspected as favourers of Non-Conformity. Some took advantage of the Ministers necessities, and raised their Rents beyond what they were able to give. Great numbers were thus buried in obscurity, but others who had neither money nor friends, went on preaching as they could; till they were sent to prison, thinking it more eligible to perish in a Goal than to starve out of one; especially when by this means they had some occasional relief from their hearers, and hopes that their Wives and Children might be supported after their death. Many who lay concealed in distant places from their Flocks in the day-time, rid thirty or forty miles to preach to them in the Night, and retired again before day-light. These hardships tempted some few to conform (says Mr. Baxter) contrary to their former judgments; but the body of Dissenters remained stedfast to their Principles, and the Church gained neither Reputation nor Numbers. The Informers were very diligent in hunting after their Game; and the Soldiers and Officers behaved with great rudeness and violence: When they missed of the Ministers they went into the Barns and Out-houses, and sometimes thrust their Swords up to the hilts in the hay and straw, where they supposed they might lie concealed; they made havock of their goods, and terrified the Women and Children almost out of their lives. These Methods of Cruelty reduced many Ministers with their Families to the necessity of living upon brown Rye Bread and Water; but few were reduced to publick Beggary (says Mr. Baxter) the Providence of God appearing wonderfully for their relief, in their greatest extremities.

But as if the Judgments of Heaven upon this Nation were not heavy enough, nor the Legislature sufficiently severe, the Bishops must throw their weight into the scale;

King
Charles II.
1665.

But the generality refuse and get into Banishment.

Baxter,
Part III.

p. 4.

Burn, p. 226.

Baxter's
Life,
Part III.
part 15.

Names of
Non-con-
Ministers re-
gistered in
the Bps.

Courts.
Comp. Hist.
Vol. III. p.

for 279.

King
Charles II.
1665.

for in the very midst of the Plague, July 7, 1665. Archbishop Sheldon sent orders to the several Bishops of his Province to make a return of the Names of all ejected Non-Conformist Ministers, with their places of abode, and manner of Life; and the returns of the several Bishops are still kept in the Lambeth Library; the design of the scrutiny was to gird the Laws closer upon the Dissenters, and to know by what means they got their Bread; and if this tender-hearted Archbishop could have had his Will, they must have starved, or gone into foreign Countries for a livelihood.

Death of Dr.
Buges.

This year put an end to the Life of Dr. Cornelius Burges, a Divine of the Puritan stamp educated at Oxford, and Chaplain to King Charles I. He suffered much by the High Commission Court, but taking part with the Parliament he was chosen one of those pacifick Divines that met at the Jerusalem Chamber to accommodate differences in the Church: He often preached before the House of Commons, and was one of the Assembly of Divines, but refused to take the Covenant till he was suspended. He was ejected at the Restoration from St. Andrews in the City of Wells in Somersetshire, but having laid out all his Money in Bishop's Lands, he was reduced to poverty and want. He appeared at the head of the London Divines against bringing the King to his Trial, and was esteemed a very learned and judicious Divine. He died at his house at Waterford, June 1665.

And of Dr.
Cheynel.

We have already remembered Dr. Cheynel among the Oxford Professors, a Man of great abilities, and a Member of the Assembly of Divines. He quitted his preferments in the University for refusing to take the Engagement, and was ejected from the rich Living of Petworth at the Restoration, but never advanced his fortune by any of his preferments. 'Tis reported that he was sometimes disordered in his head, but he was perfectly recovered some years before his death, which happened at his house near Brighthelmston in Sussex, Sept. 1665.

1666.
The Fire of
London.

The Vices and Immoralities of the Nation not being sufficiently punished by the War and Plague, it pleased Almighty God this year to suffer the City of London to be laid in ashes by a dreadful Conflagration, which began behind the Monument in Pudding-Lane, September 2, and within three or four days consumed thirteen thousand two hundred Dwelling-houses, and eighty nine Churches, among which was the Cathedral of St. Paul's; many public

lick Structures, Schools, Libraries, and stately Edifices. Multitudes of People lost their Estates, their Goods, and Merchandize, and some few their Lives; the King, the Duke of York, and many of the Nobility, were Spectators of the Desolation, but had not Power to stop it, till at length it ceased almost as wonderfully as it began. Moorfields was filled with Household Goods, and the People were forced to lie in Huts and Tents: Many families who the last week were in large Circumstances, were now reduced to beggary, and obliged to begin the World again. The Authors of this Fire were said to be the Papists, as appears by the Inscription upon the Monument. The Parliament being of this persuasion petitioned the King to issue out a Proclamation, requiring all Popish Priests and Jesuits to depart the Kingdom within a Month, and appointed a Committee who received evidence of some Papists that were seen to throw Fire-balls into houses, and of others who had materials for it in their pockets; but the Men were gone, and none suffered but one Hubert a French Man by his own confession.

King
Charles II.
1666.

In this general confusion, the Churches being burnt, and many of the Parish Ministers gone, for want of Places of Worship, the Non-Conformists resolved again to supply the necessities of the People; and it was thought hard to hinder Men from worshipping God any way they could at this time; some Churches were raised of boards, which they called Tabernacles; and the Dissenters fitted up large Rooms with Pulpits, Seats and Galleries, for the reception of as many as would come. Dr. Manton had his Rooms full in Covent-Garden; Mr. Tho. Vincent, Mr. Doolittle, Dr. Turner, Mr. Grimes, Mr. Jenkyns, Mr. Nath. Vincent, Dr. Jacomb, Mr. Watson, had their separate meetings in other places. The Independents also, as Dr. Owen, Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Griffiths, Brooks, Caryl, Barker, Nye, and others, began the same practice; many Citizens frequented the Meetings, where the Liturgy was not read; though the few Parish Pulpits that remained were filled with very able Preachers; as Dr. Tillotson, Stillingsfleet, Patrick, White, Gifford, Whitchcot, Horton, Meriton, &c. But none of these Calamities had any further influence upon the Court Prelates, than that they durst not at present prosecute the Preachers so severely as before.

Produces a
sort of Liber-
ty the Non-
Conformists.

Baxter's
Life, p. 19.

Among the Non-Conformist Ministers that died this year, were the Revered Mr. Edmund Calamy, B. D. the ejected Minister of Aldermanbury, born in London, 1600. and bred

Death of
Mr. Calamy.
Abridg. p. 4.

King
Charles II.
1666.

bred in Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; he was first Chaplain to Dr. Felton, Bishop of Ely; and afterwards settled at St. Edmundsbury, from whence after ten years, he with thirty other Ministers, were driven out of the Diocese by Bishop Wren's Visitation Articles and the Books of Sports. Upon the death of Dr. Stoughton, 1639. he was chosen to Aldermanbury, where he soon gained a vast reputation. He was one of the Divines that met in the Jerusalem Chamber for accommodating Ecclesiastical Matters, in the year 1641. He was afterwards a Member of the Assembly at Westminster, and an active Man in all their proceedings. He was one of the most popular Preachers in the City, and had a great share in bringing home the King, but soon repented his having done it without a previous Treaty. He refused a Bishoprick because he could not have it upon the terms of the King's Declaration; and soon after the Bartholomew Act was put into Newgate for preaching an occasional Sermon to his Parishioners. He afterwards lived pretty much retired till this year, when being driven in a Coach through the ruins of the City of London, it so affected him, that he went home and never came out of his Chamber more, but died within a Month, in the 67th year of his age.

Of Mr. Jackson.
Calamy's
Abridg.
p. 3.

Mr. Arthur Jackson, M. A. the ejected Minister of St. Faith's was born about the year 1593. and educated in Cambridge. He became Minister of St. Michael's Woodstreet in the year 1625. when the Pestilence raged in the City; and continued with his Parish throughout the whole course of the Distemper. He was fined five hundred Pounds for refusing to give Evidence against Mr. Love, and committed prisoner to the Fleet, where he continued seventeen weeks. At the Restoration he was chosen by the Provincial Assembly of London to present a Bible to the King at his publick entrance. He was afterwards one of the Commissioners of the Savoy; and when the Uniformity Act took place, being old, he retired to a private Life, and died with great satisfaction in his Non-conformity, Aug. 5, 1665. in the seventy fourth year of his age.

Dr. Spurston.

Dr. William Spurston, the ejected Minister of Hackney, was sometime Master of Katherine Hall, Cambridge, but turned out for refusing the Engagement. He was one of the Authors of Smectymnuus, a Member of the Assembly of Divines, and afterwards one of the Commissioners of the Savoy; a Man of great Learning, Humility, and Charity, and of a chearful Conversation: He lived through the

the Sickness this year, but died the year following in an advanced age.

This year was memorable for the Fall of the great Earl of Clarendon Lord High Chancellor of England, who attended the King in his Exile, and upon his Majesty's Restoration was made a Peer, and advanced to the high Dignity of Chancellor of England. He governed with a sovereign and absolute Sway as prime Minister for about two years; but in the year 1663. he was impeached of High Treason by the Earl of Bristol; and though the Impeachment was dropt for want of some Form, his Interest at Court declined at that time, and after the Oxford Parliament in 1665. his Lordship was out of all credit. This Summer the King took the Seals from him, and on the 12th of November Sir Edward Seymour impeached him at the Bar of the House of Lords, in the Name of all the Commons of England of High Treason, for sundry arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings contrary to Law, by which he had acquired a greater Estate than could be honestly gotten in that time—For procuring Grants of the King's Lands to his Relations, contrary to Law—For corresponding with Cromwel in his Exile—For advising and effecting the Sale of Dunkirk—For issuing out Quo Warranto's to obtain great Sums of Money from the Corporations—For determining People's Titles to their Lands at the Council Table, and stopping proceedings at Law, &c. The Earl had made himself obnoxious at Court by his magisterial Air towards the King, and was grown very unpopular by his new and stately Palace at St. James's, built in a time of War and Pestilence, which cost him fifty thousand Pounds: Some called it Dunkirk House, as being built with his share of the price of that Fortrefs; and others Holland House, as if he had received Money from the King's Enemies in time of War. The King's Marriage, which proved barren was laid to his charge, and said to be contrived for the advancement of his Grand-Children by the Dutchess of York. When his Majesty enclined to get rid of his Queen, and if possible to legitimate his addresses to Miss Steward, the Chancellor got her married privately to the Duke of Richmond, without the King's Knowledge, which his Majesty was told was to secure the Succession of the Crown to his Family. These things together with his high opposition to the Roman Catholicks, and to all that were not of his Principles in Religion, procured him a great many Enemies,

King
Charles II.
1667.

The fall of
the Earl of
Clarendon.

Burnet, p.
251, 252.

King
Charles II.
1667.

mies, and struck him quite out of the King's Favour. The Earl did not think fit to abide the Storm, but withdrew to France, leaving a paper behind him, in which he denied almost every Article of his charge; but the Parliament voted it scandalous, and ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common Hangman. December 18, his Lordship was banished the King's Dominions for Life by Act of Parliament; he spent the remaining seven years of his Life at Roan in Normandy, among Papists and Presbyterians, whom he would hardly suffer to live in his own Country, and employed the chief of his time in writing the History of the grand Rebellion, which is in every one's hands.

His charac-
ter.

P. 95.

The Earl of Clarendon was a Protestant of Laudean Principles in Church and State, and was at the head of all the penal Laws against the Non-conformists to this time. Bishop Burnet says, "He was a good Chancellor, but a little too rough; that he meddled too much in foreign affairs, which he never understood well; that he had too much Levity in his Wit, and did not observe the Decorum of his post." Mr. Rapin adds, "That from him came all the blows aimed at the Non-conformists since the beginning of his Reign. His immoderate Passion against Presbyterianism was this great Man's Foible. He gloried in his hatred of that People; and, perhaps contributed more than any other Person to that excess of animosity which subsists against them at this day among the followers of his Maxims and Principles." Mr. Eachard says, "His removal was a great Satisfaction to the Dissenters;" directly contrary to Mr. Baxter, "who observes a remarkable Providence of God, that he who had dealt so cruelly by the Non-conformists should be banished by his own Friends, while the others, whom he had persecuted, were most moderate in his cause, and many of them for him. It was a great Ease that befel good Men by his fall (says he) for his way was to decoy Men into conspiracies, or pretended plots, and upon those rumours innocent People were laid in prison, so that no Man knew when he was safe; whereas since his time, though the Laws have been made more severe, yet Men are more safe." His Lordship was a person of very considerable abilities, which have been sufficiently displayed by his admirers, but I have not been able to discover any of his great or generous actions for the service of the publick; and how far his conduct with regard to the Non-conformists was consistent

Baxter.
Part III.
p. 20, 21.

consistent with Honesty, Religion or Honour, must be left with the Reader.

King
Charles II.
1667.

C H A P. VIII.

From the Banishment of the Earl of Clarendon to the King's Declaration of Indulgence in the year 1672.

UPON the Fall of the great Earl of Clarendon the Discourse of a Toleration began to revive: The King in his Speech to his Parliament, Feb. 10. has this Passage, "One thing more I hold myself obliged to recommend to you at this present, that is, that you would seriously think of some course to beget a better Union and composure in the Minds of my Protestant Subjects in matters of Religion, whereby they may be induced not only to submit quietly to the Government, but also chearfully give their assistance to the Support of it." Sundry Pamphlets were published upon this Head; and the Duke of Buckingham being now prime Minister, the Non-conformists about London were connived at, and People went openly to their Meetings without fear.

King moves
for a Gen.
Tol. Cal.
316.

But the House of Commons, who were yet governed by the pernicious maxims of the late Chancellor, petitioned the King to issue out his Proclamation, for enforcing the Laws against Conventicles, and for preserving the Peace of the Kingdom, against unlawful Assemblies of Papists and Non-conformists. Accordingly his Majesty issued out his Proclamation, that "upon consideration of the late Petition, and upon Information that divers Persons in several parts of the Realm (abusing his Clemency, even while it was under consideration to find out a way for the better Union of his Protestant Subjects) have of late frequently and openly, in great Numbers, and to the great disturbance of the Peace, held unlawful Assemblies and Conventicles, his Majesty declares, that he will not suffer such notorious contempt of the Laws to go unpunished, but requires, charges, and commands all Officers to be circumspect and vigilant in their several Jurisdictions, to enforce and put the Laws in Execution against unlawful Conventicles, commanding them to take particular care to preserve the Peace."

Parliament
petition to
put the penal
Laws in
Execution.
Gazette,
No. 242.

King
Charles II.
1667.

The ill be-
haviour of
the Bishops
and Clergy.

p. 253, 258.

But the Sufferings of the Dissenters began to raise com-
passion in the minds of the People, insomuch that their
numbers visibly encreased, partly through the indulgence of
the Court, and the want of Churches since the fire of Lon-
don, and partly through the poverty of the common Peo-
ple, who having little to lose, ventur'd to go publickly to
Meetings in defiance of the Laws. Besides the indolence
of the established Clergy, and the vigilance of the Non-
conformist Ministers, contributed very much to it. Bishop
Burnet says, "The King was highly offended at the be-
haviour of most of the Bishops; Archbishop Sheldon
and Morley, who kept close by Lord Clarendon, the
great Patron of persecuting Power, lost the King's
Favour; the former never recovered it, and the latter
was sent from Court into his Diocese. When complaint
was made of some Disorders and Conventicles, the King
said the Clergy were chiefly to blame, for if they had
lived well, and gone about their Parishes, and taken pains
to convince the Non-conformists, the Nation might have
been well settled, but they thought of nothing but to get
good Benefices, and keep a good Table." In another
conversation with the Bishop, about the ill State of the
Church, his Majesty said, "If the Clergy had done their
Parts it had been easy to run down the Non-conformists,
but they will do nothing (says the King) and will have
me do every thing; and most of them do worse than
if they did nothing. I have a very honest Chaplain (says
he) to whom I have given a Living in Suffolk, but he is
a very great Blockhead, and yet has brought all his Pa-
rish to Church; I can't imagine what he could say to
them, for he is a very silly Fellow; but he has been
about from House to House, and I suppose his Nonsense
has suited their Nonsense; and in reward of his diligence
I have given him a Bishoprick in Ireland." About this
time Ralph Wallis, a Cobler of Gloucester, published an
account of a great number of scandalous conformist Mini-
sters, and named their Scandals, to the great displeasure of
the Clergy; and I fear (says Mr. Baxter) to the temptation
of many Non-conformists, who might be glad of any thing
to humble the Prelatists.

p. 23.

Death of
Dr. Seaman.

The learned Dr. Lazarus Seaman, the ejected Minister
of Allhallows Breadstreet died this year, of whom we have
given some account among the Cambridge Professors; he
was educated in Emanuel College, and by his indefatigable
Industry gained an high Reputation in the learned World
for

for his exact acquaintance with the oriental Languages ; he was an able Divine ; an active Member of the Assembly at Westminster, and was taken notice of by King Charles I. at the Treaty of the Isle of Wight, for his singular Abilities in the Debates about Church Government. He was also Master of Peter House, Cambridge, but lost all at the Restoration ; he underwent strong pains with admirable patience, and at length died in peace in the Month of September, 1667.

King
Charles II.
1667.

Mr. George Hughes, B. D. the ejected Minister of Plimouth, born in Southwark, and educated in Corpus Christi College in Cambridge. He was called to a Lecture in London, but was silenced for Non-conformity by Archbishop Laud. After some time he went to Tavistock, and last of all settled at Plimouth, having Institution and Induction from Dr. Brownrigge Bishop of Exeter, in the year 1644. Here he continued till the year 1662. whence he was ejected a Week before the Act of Uniformity took Place. He was afterwards imprisoned in St. Nicolas Island, where he contracted an incurable Scurvy and Dropsy, which at length put an end to his Life. He was well read in the Fathers, an acute Disputant, a most faithful Pastor to a large Flock under his care, and a most holy pious and exemplary Christian. He had the greatest interest and influence of any Minister in the West Country, and was offered a rich Bishoprick at the Restoration, but refused it. He was both charitable and hospitable when it was in his power, and died at length in a most heavenly manner, in the Month of July, 1667. and in the sixty fourth year of his Age. The Reverend Mr. John Howe, his Son-in-law, composed a Latin Epitaph for him, which is inscribed on his Tomb.

Of Mr. G.
Hughes.

The Kingdom was at this time full of Factions and Discontents, arising from the late calamities of Fire and Plague, as well as the burden of the War with the Dutch : Trade was at a stand, and great numbers of his Majesty's Subjects were impoverished by the penal Laws ; but that which struck all considerate Men with a panick, was the danger of the Protestant Interest, and the Liberties of Europe, from the formidable Armies of the French, which this very Summer over-run the Spanish Flanders, and took the strong Towns of Charleroy, Binch, Aeth, Douay, Tournay, Audenard, Lisle, Courtray, Furnes, &c. which, with their Dependencies, were yielded in full Sovereignty to France, by the Treaty of Aix la Chapel. The English Court seem-

1668.

Unhappy
State of the
Nation.

King
Charles II.
1663.

ed unconcerned at the French Conquests till they were awakened by the Clamours of the whole Nation ; upon this Sir William Temple was sent into Holland, who in a few Weeks concluded a tripple Alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden, which strengthened the Protestant Interest while it subsisted ; but the French Mistresses and Money could dissolve the strongest bonds.

Project of a
Comprehension.
Burnet, p.
259.

In this critical situation of affairs abroad, some attempts were made to quiet the minds of his Majesty's Protestant Subjects at home, for Men began to think it high time for Protestants to put a stop to the pulling down their Neighbours Houses, when the common Enemy was threatening the Destruction of them all ; therefore Lord Keeper Bridgman, Lord Chief Justice Hales, Bishop Wilkins, Reynolds, Dr. Burton, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and others, set on foot a Comprehension of such as could be brought into the Church by some abatements, and a Toleration for the rest. But the project was blasted by the Court Bishops, and Lord Clarendon's Friends, who took the alarm, and raised a mighty Out-cry of the danger of the Church. No body (says they) knows where the demands of the Presbyterians will end ; the cause of the Hierarchy will be given up if any of those points are yielded, which have been so much contested ; besides, it is unworthy of the Church to court, or even treat with her Enemies, when there is so little reason to apprehend that we should gain much by it. But to this it was replied, that the prodigious increase of Popery and infidelity was a loud call of Providence, to attempt every thing that could be done without Sin for healing our divisions. That tho' the Non-conformists could not legally meet together to bring in their concessions in the name of the Body, it was well enough known what they scrupled, and what would bring most of them into the Church. That a compliance in some lesser matters of indifference would be no reproach, but an honour to her, how much superior soever the Church might be in point of argument and power.

Abstract of
the Propo-
sals.
Baxter's
Life,
Part III.
p. 25.

The Proposals were drawn up by Bishop Wilkins and Dr. Burton, and communicated by the Lord Keeper to Dr. Bates, Manton, and Baxter, and by them to their Brethren, under the following Particulars ;

I. That such Ministers who in the late times had been ordained only by Presbyters, should have the imposition of the hands of a Bishop, with this Form of Words, " Take thou authority to preach the word of God, and administer the Sacraments in any Congregation of the Church

of

" of England, when thou shalt be lawfully appointed
" thereunto.

King
Charles II.
1668.

2. That instead of all former Subscriptions, after the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, they subscribe the following Declaration: I A. B. do hereby profess and declare, that I approve the Doctrine, Worship, and Government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to Salvation ; and that I will not endeavour by myself, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Doctrine contrary to that which is so established. And I do hereby promise, that I will continue in the Communion of the Church of England, and will not do any thing to disturb the peace thereof.

3. That the gesture of kneeling at the Sacrament, the Cross in Baptism, and bowing at the Name of Jesus, be left indifferent, or taken away.

4. That if the Liturgy and Canons be altered in favour of Dissenters, then every Preacher upon his Institution shall declare his assent to the Lawfulness of the Use of it, and promise, that it shall be constantly used at the time and place accustomed.

The Alterations proposed to be made in the Liturgy, were these ;

Alterati-
in the Li-
turgy.
Baxter's
Life, p. 34.

To read the Psalms in the new Translation.

To appoint Lessons out of the Canonical Scripture instead of the Apocrypha.

Not to enjoin God-Fathers and God-Mothers, when either of the Parents are ready to answer for the Child in Baptism. To omit that expression in the Prayer, " By spiritual Regeneration." To change the Question, " Wilt thou be baptized ? into, wilt thou have this Child baptized ?" To omit those Words in the Thanksgiving, " To regenerate this Infant by thy holy Spirit, and to receive him for thy Child by Adoption." And the first Rubrick after Baptism, " It is certain by God's Word, &c." In the Exhortation after Baptism, instead of, " Regenerate and grafted into the Body, to say, " Received into the Church of Christ." No part of the Office of Baptism to be repeated in publick when the Child has been lawfully baptized in private.

To omit this Passage in the Office of Confirmation, " After the example of thy holy Apostles, and to certify them by this Sign of thy favour, and gracious goodness towards them." And instead of, " Vouchsafe to regenerate, read, " Vouchsafe to receive into thy Church by Baptism.

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To omit the Expression in Matrimony, "With my Body
" I thee worship;" and that in the Collect, "Thou^u
" hast consecrated, &c."

In the Visitation of the Sick, Ministers to be allowed to
make use of such Prayers as they judge expedient.

In the Burial of the Dead, instead of, "Forasmuch as
" it hath pleased Almighty God, of his great Mercy, to
" take unto himself, &c. read, "Forasmuch as it has pleased
" Almighty God to take out of this World the Soul, &c.
" Instead of, in sure and certain hope, to read, "in a full
" assurance of the Resurrection by our Lord Jesus Christ."
To omit the following Words, "We give thee hearty
" thanks, for that it has pleased thee to deliver this our
" Brother out of the miseries of this sinful World;" and
these other, "As our hope is this our Brother doth."

In the Communion Service to change, "That our sinful
" Bodies may be made clean by his Body," into, "Our sin-
" ful Souls and Bodies may be cleansed by his precious
" Body and Blood."

The Commination not to be enjoined.

The Liturgy to be abbreviated, especially as to the Morn-
ing Service, by omitting all the Responsal Prayers, from
"O Lord, open thou, &c." to the Litany; and the Li-
tany, and all the Prayers, from, "Son of God, we be-
" seech thee, &c. to, "We humbly beseech thee, O Father.

The Lord's Prayer not to be enjoined more than once
(viz. after the absolution, except after the Minister's Prayer
before Sermon.

The Gloria Patri to be used but once, after reading the
Psalms.

The Venite Exultemus to be omitted, unless it be thought
fit to put any, or all of the first seven among the Sentences
at the beginning.

The Communion Service to be omitted when there are
no Communion-days, except the Ten Commandments,
which may be read after the Creed; and enjoining the
Prayer, "Lord have Mercy upon us, and incline our
" Hearts to keep these Laws," only once, at the End.

The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, to be omitted, ex-
cept on particular Holy Days.

The Prayers for the Parliament to be inserted immedi-
ately after the Prayer for the Royal Family, in this or the
like Form, "That it may please thee to direct and prosper all
" The Consultations of the High Court of Parliament

"to

“ to the advantage of thy glory, the good of the Church,
 “ the Safety, Honour, and welfare of our Sovereign and
 “ his Kingdoms.”

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 1668.

To omit the two Hymns in the Consecration of Bishops,
 and ordination of Priests.

In the Catechism, after the first Question, “ What is
 “ thy Name? It may follow, “ When was this Name given
 “ thee?” after that, “ What was promised for you in Bap-
 “ tism?” Answ. “ Three things were promised for me.” In
 the question before the commandments, it may be altered thus,
 “ You said it was promised for you.” To the fourteenth
 question, “ How many Sacraments hath Christ ordained?”
 The answer may be, “ two only, Baptism and the Lord’s
 “ Supper.”

Mr. Baxter proposed further, That the Subscription
 might be only to the Doctrinal Articles of the Church.
 That the power of Bishops, and their Courts, to suspend
 and silence men, might be limited. That the baptismal
 Covenant might be explicitly owned by all that come to
 the Sacrament. But it was replied, that more than what
 was above-mentioned would not pass with the Parliament.

The proposals for a toleration were communicated by
 Mr. Baxter to the Independants by Dr. Owen, and were
 to the following effect.

1. That such Protestants who could not accept of the
 Proposals for a comprehension might have liberty for the
 exercise of their Religion in publick, and to build, or to
 procure places for their publick worship at their own
 charges, either within or near towns, as shall be thought
 most expedient.
2. That the names of all such persons who are to have
 this liberty be register’d, together with the Congregations
 to which they belong; and the Names of their Teachers.
3. That every one admitted to this liberty be disabled
 from bearing any publick Office, but shall sine for offices
 of burden.
4. Upon shewing a Certificate of being listed among
 those that are indulged, they shall be freed from such legal
 penalties as are to be inflicted on those who do not frequent
 their Parish Churches.
5. Such Persons so indulged shall not for their meeting
 in Conventicles be punished by confiscation of estates.
6. Provided they pay all publick duties to the Parish
 where they inhabit, under penalty of—
7. This Indulgence to continue three Years.

An Indul-
 gence for
 such as
 could not be
 comprehen-
 ded.
 Baxter’s
 Life, Part
 III. p. 34,
 36.

King
Charles II.
1668.

They are
quashed by
the Bps.
Burnet, p.
p. 260.

According to these heads of Agreement a Bill was prepared for the Parliament by Lord Chief Justice Hales; but Bishop Wilkins, an honest open-hearted Man, having disclosed the affair to Bishop Ward, in hopes of his assistance, alarmed the Bishops, who instead of promoting the design, consulted measures to defeat it; for as soon as the Parliament met, notice was taken that there were rumours without doors, of an Act to be offered for Comprehension and Indulgence, upon which a Vote was passed, that no Man should bring such an Act into the House. And to crush the Non-Conformists more effectually, Archbishop Sheldon writ a circular Letter to the Bishops of his Province, dated June 8. to send him a particular Account of the Conventicles in their several Dioceses, and of the numbers that frequented them; and whether they thought They might be easily suppressed by the Civil Magistrates. When he was provided with this information he went to the King, and obtained a Proclamation to put the Laws in Execution against the Non-Conformists, and particularly against the Preachers, according to the Statute of 17th King Charles II. which forbids their inhabiting Corporations.

And the
Persecution
revived.

Burnet, p.
98.

Gazette,
No. 415.

Mr. Baxter
and others
imprisoned.
Life, Part
III. p. 4

Thus the persecution was revived, and the Parliament still bent on severities, appointed a Committee to enquire into the behaviour of the Non-Conformists, who reported to the House, that divers Conventicles, and other seditious Meetings, were held in their very neighbourhood, in defiance of the Laws, and to the danger of the peace of the Kingdom. General Monk, who was near his end, and sunk almost into contempt, was employed to disperse them, and received the thanks of the House for his zeal in that important service, wherein he was sure to meet with no opposition. They also returned his Majesty Thanks, for his Proclamation for suppressing Conventicles, desiring him to take the same care for the future. By this means the private Meetings of the Dissenters, which had been held by connivance, were broken up again. Mr. Baxter was committed to Clerkenwell Prison, for preaching to his neighbours in his own House at Acton, and for refusing the Oxford Oath; but upon demanding an Habeas Corpus, his Mittimus was declared invalid for want of naming the Witnesses. The Justices would have mended their Mittimus and sent him to Newgate, but Mr. Baxter being released wisely kept out of the way. Mr. Tavernor of Uxbridge was sentenced to Newgate for teaching a few Children at Brentford. Mr. Button, late University Orator,

Orator, was sent to Prison for teaching two Knights Sons in his own House; and multitudes in many Counties had the like usage, suffering imprisonment for six Months.

But this was contrary to the King's inclinations, who was only for playing the Dissenters against the Parliament for a sum of Money; when the House therefore was up, his Majesty ordered some of the Non-Conformists to be told, that he was desirous to make them easy, and that if they would petition for relief they should be favourably heard. Sir J. Barber, Secretary of State, acquainted Dr. Manton with the King's intention, upon which an Address was drawn up and presented to his Majesty at the Earl of Arlington's lodgings by Dr. Jacomb, Manton, and Bates; the King received them graciously, and promised to do his utmost to get them comprehended within the Establishment. He wished there had been no bars at all, but that he was forced to comply for Peace sake, but that he would endeavour to remove them, tho' it was a work of difficulty. He complained of the umbrage that their numerous assemblies gave to clamorous People, and advised them to use their liberty with more discretion hereafter. When the Ministers promised obedience, and assured his Majesty of their steady loyalty, and constant prayers for the prosperity of his Person and Government, he dismissed them with a smile, and told them, that "He was against Persecution, and hoped e'er long to be able to stand upon his own Legs." But his Majesty's Promises were always to be brought off by a Sum of Money to support his pleasures.

The Controversy of the Reasonableness of Toleration was now warmly debated without doors; many illnatured Books were writ to expose the doctrine of the Presbyterians, as leading to Antinomianism and licentiousness of manners. Others exposed their characters and manner of Preaching. Among these must be reckoned The Friendly Debate, which, tho' writ by a good Man (says Bishop Burnet) had an ill effect in sharpening People's spirits too much against the Dissenters: The Author was Dr. Simon Patrick, afterwards Bishop of Ely, but now in the heat of his Youth; who by aggravating some weak and unguarded expressions endeavoured to expose the whole Body of Non-Conformist Ministers to contempt. But I must do this Prelate so much Justice as to inform the Reader, that in his advanced age he declared his Dissatisfaction with this part of his conduct; for in a debate in the House of Lords about the Occasional Bill, he said, "He had been known

King Charles II. 1668.

Not agreeable to the King's Inclinations, Baxter's Lite, Part III. p. 37, 87.

Debates without Doors. Baxter, Part III. p. 39.

The Friendly Debate. Burnet, p. 260.

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Charles II.
1668.

“ to write against the Dissenters with some warmth in
“ his younger years, but that he had lived long enough to
“ see reason to alter his opinion of that people, and that
“ way of writing.” A rare Instance of Ingenuity and
Candor ! We shall have occasion to mention Sir Roger L’
Estrange hereafter.

Sam. Par-
ker and
And. Mar-
vel.
Burnet, p.
260.

But one of the most virulent writers of his time, under
the form of a Clergyman, was Samuel Parker, afterwards
Bishop of Oxford, a Man of considerable learning and
satirical vivacity, but of no Judgment, and as little virtue;
as to Religion (says Bishop Burnet) rather impious than
otherwise; but at length Andrew Marvel, the liveliest wit
of the age, attack’d him in a burlesque strain, and with
a peculiar and entertaining manner, that from the King
down to the Tradesman, his books were read with great
pleasure. He had all the men of wit on his side, and not
only humbled Parker more than the serious and grave
writings of Dr. Owen, but silenced the whole Party;
one of whom concluded his Letter to Mr. Marvel with
these words, “ If thou darest to print or publish any Lie
“ or Libel against Dr. Parker, by the eternal God I will
“ cut thy Throat.” Subscribed J. G. All sober men
were of opinion, that it was ungenerous and cruel to treat
a number of peaceable men, whom the laws had put almost
out of their Protection, in so ludicrous a manner. Religi-
on it self suffer’d by it. I remember, says Lord Chief
Justice Hales, that when Ben Johnson in his Play of the
Alchymist introduced Anartus in derision of the Puritans,
with many of their phrases taken out of Scripture, in
order to render that People ridiculous, the Play was detest-
ed and abhorred, because it seemed to reproach Religion
it self; but now, when the Presbyterians were brought
upon the Stage in their peculiar habits, and with their
distinguishing phrases of Scripture, exposed to the laughter
of Spectators, it met with applause and approbation.

Rehearsal
Transposed
Part II.
in Tit.

Rapin. p.
406.

Licentious-
ness of the
Court and
City
Burnet, p.
262, 267
Rapin, p.
403.

But such was the complexion of the Court, that they
bid defiance to Sobriety and Virtue, and continued to give
countenance to all manner of extravagance. The Play-
Houses were become nests of Prostitution (says Burnet) and
the Stage was defiled beyond Example; the King, Queen,
and Courtiers, went about in Masks, and came into Citizens
Houses unknown, where they danced with a great deal of
wild Frolick, and committed indecencies not to be mentio-
ned. They were carried about in Hackney Chairs, and none
could

could distinguish them but those who were in the secret. Once the Queen's Chairman not knowing who she was, left her to come home in a hackney Coach, some say in a Cart, Buckingham who gloried in his debaucheries, and Wilmot Earl of Rochester, the most licentious wit of his age, were the principal favourites. To support these extravagancies the House of Commons supplied the King with what money he wanted, and were themselves so mercenary, that the purchase of every man's vote was known; for as a man rose in credit in the House he advanced his price, and expected to be treated accordingly.

King
Charles II.
1669.

The University was no less corrupt, there was a general licentiousness of manners among the Students; the Sermons of the younger Divines were filled with encomiums upon the Church, and Satyr against the Non-Conformists; the Evangelical Doctrines of Repentance, Faith, Charity, and practical Religion were out of fashion. The Speeches and Panegyrics pronounced by the Orators and Terrae Filius, on publick occasions, were scurrilous, and little less than blasphemous; as appears by the letter in the Margin from Mr. Wallis to the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq; * of the proceedings at the opening of Archbishop Sheldon's Theatre, which is copied verbatim from the Original under his own Hand,

1669.
And University.

About

* Letter from Mr. John Wallis to the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq; dated from Oxford, July 17. 1669.

S I R,

AFTER my humble thanks for the honour of yours of July 3. I thought it not unfit to give you some account of our late proceedings here. Friday, July 9. was the Dedication of our new Theater. In the morning was held a Convocation in it, for entering upon the possession of it; wherein was read, first the Archbishop's instrument of Donation (sealed with his Archiepiscopal Seal of the Theater, with all its furniture, to the end that St. Mary's Church may not be further profaned by holding the A&T in it. Next, a Letter of his, declaring his intention to lay out 2000l. for a purchase to endow it. Then a Letter of thanks to be sent from the University to him, wherein he is acknowledged to be both our Creator and Redeemer, for having not only built a Theater for the A&T, but, which is more, delivered the blessed Virgin from being so profaned for the future: He doth (as the words of the letter are) Non tantum condere, hoc est creare, sed etiam redimere. These Words (I confess stopped my mouth from giving a Placet to that Letter when it was put to the vote. I have since de-

fired

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1669.

Death of
Mr. New-
comen.

About this time died the Reverend Mr. Matthew Newcomen, M. A. the ejected Minister of Dedham in Essex; he was educated in St. John's College, Cambridge, and succeed

ed
fired Mr. Vice-chancellor to consider, whether they were not liable to a just exception. He did at first excuse it; but, upon further thoughts, I suppose he will think fit to alter them, before the Letter be sent and register'd. After the voting of this Letter, Dr. South (as University Orator made a long Oration; the first part of which consisted of satyrical invectives against Cromwel, Fanaticks, the royal Society, and new Philosophy. The next of Encomiasticks; in praise of the Archbishop, the Theater, the Vice-chancellor, the Architect, and the Painter. The last of Execrations; against Fanaticks. Conventicles, Comprehension, and new Philosophy; damping them *Ad Inferos, Ad Gehennam*, The Oration being ended. some honorary Degrees were conferred, and the Convocation dissolved. The Afternoon was spent in panegyrick Orations, and reciting of Poems in several sorts of Verse, composed in praise of the Archbishop, the Theater, &c. and crying down Fanaticks. The whole action began and ended with a noise of Trumpets; and twice was interposed variety of Musick, vocal and instrumental; purposely composed for this occasion. On Saturday and Monday, those exercises appertaining to the Act and Vespers. which were wont to be performed in St. Mary's Church, were had in the Theater. In which, beside the number of proceeding Doctors (nine in Divinity, four in Law, five in Physick; and one in Musick) there was little extraordinary; but only that the *Terrae Filius* for both days were abominably scurrilous; and so suffered to proceed without the least check or interruption from Vicechancellor, Pro-Vicechancellors, Professors, Curators, or any of those who were to govern the Exercises; which gave so general offence to all honest Spectators, that I believe the University hath thereby lost more reputation than they have gained by all the rest: All, or most of the heads of houses, and eminent Persons in the University, with their relations, being represented as a company of Whore Masters, Whores and Dunces. And, among the rest, the excellent Lady which your Letter mentions, was, in the broadest Language, represented as guilty of those Crimes, of which (if there were occasion) you would not stick to be her Compurgator; and (if it had been so) she might (yet) have been called Whore in much more civil language. During this Solemnity (and for some days before and since) have been constantly acted (by the Vice-chancellor's Allowance) two Stage Plays in a Day (by those of the Duke of York's House) at a Theater erected for that purpose at the Town-Hall; which (for ought I hear) was much the more innocent Theater of the two. It hath been here a common fame for divers Weeks (before, at, and since the Act) that the Vice-chancellor had given 300 l. Bond (some say 500 l. Bond) to the *Terrae Filius*, to save them harmless, whatever they should say, provided
it

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ed the famous Mr. John Rogers. He was a most accomplished Scholar and Christian, a Member of the Assembly of Divines, and together with Dr. Arrowsmith and Tuckney, drew up their Catechism. He was one of the Commissioners of the Savoy, and had many offers of preferment in the late times, but would not desert his Church at Dedham, till he was turned out by the Act of Uniformity; after which he retired to Holland, and became Pastor of the English Church at Leyden, where he died about this time, universally lamented by the Professors, for his humble and pleasant Conversation, as well as his universal Learning and Piety.

Mr. Joseph Allein the ejected Minister of Taunton, and Author of the Call to the Unconverted, was born at the Devizes in Wiltshire, and educated in Lincoln College, Oxon. He was publick Preacher in the Church of Taunton about seven years, and was universally beloved for his great Piety and Devotion. After his ejection he preached as he had opportunity six or seven times a Week. May 26. 1663. he was committed to Ilchester Goal, for singing Psalms in his own house, and preaching to his family, Others being present: Here he continued a year, but upon his enlargement he returned again to his Work, which he followed with unwearied diligence. July 10. 1665. he was committed a second time to Goal with several other Ministers, and forty private Persons, where he contracted such distempers and weaknesses as brought him to his grave before he was thirty six years of age. He was an awakening lively Preacher, zealous and successful in his Master's Work, and withal of a peaceable and quiet Spirit. He died in the year 1668 or 69.

1670.
Conventicle
Act revived.

The tide in the House of Commons still run very strong on the side of Persecution, as appears by two extraordinary Clauses added to the Conventicle Act, which having expired some time since was now revived by the Parliament which met October 19. The Court went into it with a view of reducing the Presbyterians to the necessity of petitioning for a general Toleration. "If we would have opened the door to

it were neither Blasphemy nor Treason. But this I take to be a Slander. A less encouragement would serve the turn with such Persons. Since the Act (to satisfy the common Clamour) the Vice-chancellor hath imprisoned both of them; and 'tis said, he means to expel them. I am, Sir,

Your Honour's

Very humble and affectionate Servant,

John Wallis.

"let

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Part III.
P. 36.

Burnet,
p. 272.

Stat.
22 Car. II.
Chap. 1.
Rapin.
P. 420.

“ let in Popery (says Mr. Baxter) that their toleration might
 “ have been charged upon us, as done for our sakes, and by
 “ our procurement, we might in all likelihood have had our
 “ part in it; but I shall never be one of them who by any
 “ new pressures shall consent to petition for the Papists liber-
 “ ty; no Craft of Jesuits or Prelates shall make me believe,
 “ that it is necessary for the Non-Conformists to take this odi-
 “ um upon themselves.” The Court Bishops were for the
 Bill, but the moderate Clergy were against it. Bishop Wil-
 kins spoke against it in the House; and when the King desi-
 red him in private to be quiet, he replied, That he thought it
 an ill thing both in Conscience and Policy, therefore as he was
 an English-Man, and a Bishop, he was bound to oppose it;
 and since by the Laws and Constitution of England, and by
 his Majesty’s favour, he had a right to debate and vote, he
 was neither afraid nor ashamed to own his opinion in that
 matter. However, the Bill past both Houses, and received
 the Royal Assent April 11. 1670. It was to the following
 effect; “ That if any Persons upwards of sixteen years, shall
 “ be present at any Assembly, Conventicle or Meeting, un-
 “ der colour or pretence of any Exercise of Religion, in any
 “ other manner, than according to the Liturgy and Practice
 “ of the Church of England, where there are five persons or
 “ more present, besides those of the said Household, in such
 “ cases the Offender shall pay five shillings for the first Of-
 “ fence; and ten shillings for the second. And the Preach-
 “ ers or Teachers in any such Meetings shall forfeit twenty
 “ pounds for the first, and forty for the second Offence.
 “ And lastly, Those who knowingly suffer any such Con-
 “ venticles in their Houses, Barns, Yards, &c. shall forfeit
 “ twenty pounds. Any Justice of the Peace on the oath of
 “ two Witnesses, or any other sufficient proof, may record
 “ the offence under his Hand and Seal, which Record shall
 “ be taken in Law for a full and perfect Conviction, and
 “ shall be certified at the next Quarter Sessions. The Fines
 “ above-mentioned may be levied by distress and sale of the
 “ Offender’s Goods and Chattels, and in case of the poverty of
 “ such Offender, upon the Goods and Chattels of any other
 “ Person or Persons that shall be convicted of having been
 “ present at the said Conventicle, at the discretion of the
 “ Justice of Peace, so as the sum to be levied on any one
 “ Person, in case of the poverty of others, do not amount
 “ to above ten pounds for any one Meeting; the Consta-
 “ bles, Headboroughs, &c. are to levy the same by War-

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1670.

“ rant from the Justice, and to be divided,” one third for the
 “ use of the King, another third for the poor, and the other
 “ third to the Informer or his Assistants, regard being had to
 “ their diligence and industry in discovering, dispersing, and
 “ punishing the said Conventicles. The fines upon Minis-
 “ ters for preaching are to be levied also by distress; and in
 “ case of poverty, upon the Goods and Chattels of any
 “ other present; and the like upon the House where the
 “ Conventicle is held, and the money to be divided as above.
 “ And it is further enacted, That the Justice or Justices
 “ of Peace, Constable, Headboroughs, &c. may by warrant,
 “ with what aid, force and assistance they shall think necessa-
 “ ry, break open, and enter into any House or Place
 “ where they shall be informed of the Conventicle, and
 “ take the persons so assembled into custody—And the
 “ Lieutenants, or other commissioned Officers of the Militia,
 “ may get together such force and assistance as they think ne-
 “ cessary to dissolve, dissipate, and disperse such unlawful
 “ meetings, and take the persons into custody.

Then follow two extraordinary Clauses, “ That if any Justice of Peace refuse to do his duty in the execution of this Act, he shall forfeit five pounds. The additional Clauses.

“ And be it further enacted, That all Clauses in this Act
 “ shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the sup-
 “ pressing Conventicles, and for the justification and encour-
 “ agement of all persons to be employed in the execution
 “ thereof. No Warrant or Mittimus shall be made void, or
 “ reversed, for any default in the form; and if a person fly
 “ from one County or Corporation to another, his Goods
 “ and Chattels shall be seizable where-ever they are found.
 “ If the party offending be a Wife cohabiting with her
 “ Husband, the fine shall be levied on the Goods and Chat-
 “ tels of the Husband, provided the prosecution be within
 “ three months.”

The wit of man could hardly invent any thing short of capital punishment more cruel and inhuman. One would have thought such a merciful Prince as King Charles II. who had often declared against persecution, should not have consented to it, and that no christian Bishop should have voted for it. Mens houses are to be plunder'd, their persons imprison'd, their Goods and Chattels carried away, and sold to those who would bid for them. Encouragement is given to a vile set of Informers, and others, to live upon the labour and industry of their conscientious neighbours. Multitudes of these sordid creatures spent their profits in ill houses, and upon
Remarks.
But act p.
270.
 lewd

King
Charles II.
1670.

lewd women, and then went about the streets again to hunt for further prey. The Law is to be construed in favour of these wretches, and the power to be lodged in the hand of every single Justice of Peace, who is to be fined five pounds if he refuses his warrant. Upon this many honest Men who would not be the instruments of such severities left the bench, and would sit there no longer. Mr. Eachard being ashamed to charge these cruelties to the influence of the Bishops, says, "This and all the penal laws made against the Dissenters were the Acts of the Parliament, and not of the Church, and were made more on a civil and political, than upon a moral or religious account; and always upon some fresh provocation in reality or appearance." This is the language by which the Patrons of high Church cruelty endeavour to excuse themselves from the guilt of persecution; but it must fall somewhere; and that it may not fall too heavy upon the Church, it is artfully, and with great good manners cast entirely upon the Legislature, and put upon the score of sedition, whereas it was well known the Dissenters behaved peaceably, and were very far from disturbing the State. Nor does the preamble to the Act charge them with disloyalty, but only says, "That for the providing speedy remedies against the practices of seditious Sectaries, and others, who under pretence of tender consciences, have or may at their Meetings contrive insurrections, be it enacted, &c." as if it was possible to do this in the company of women and servants, who were always present in their assemblies. It is therefore evident that the Act was levell'd purely against liberty of conscience in matters of Religion, and was so severely executed, (that as Sir Harry Capel observes) there was hardly a Conventicle to be heard of, all over England. The two Houses (says our Church Historian) were express for the execution of these laws; the Bishops and Clergy were sincerely zealous in it, and the honest Justices and Magistrates (as he calls them) bore the more hard upon them, because they saw them so bold in despising and evading the Justice of the nation.

p. 286.

Methods of
Persecution.

Great numbers were prosecuted on this Act, and many industrious families reduced to poverty. Many Ministers were confined in Goals and close Prisons; and Warrants were issued out against them and their hearers, to the amount of great sums of Money. In the Diocese of Salisbury the persecution was hottest, by the instigation of Bishop Ward; many hundreds being prosecuted with great industry, and driven from their families and trades. The Act was executed with such

Baxter's
Life,
Part II.
p. 4.

uch severity in Starling's Mayoralty that many of the trading men in the City were removing with their effects to Holland, till the King put a stop to it. Informers were every where at work, and having crept into religious Assemblies in disguise, levied great sums of money upon Minister and People. Soldiers broke into the houses of honest Farmers, under pretence of searching for Conventicles, and where ready money was wanting they plunder'd their goods, drove away their cattel, and sold them for half price. Many were plunder'd of their household furniture; the sick have had their beds taken from under them, and themselves laid on the floor. Should I sum up all the particulars, and the accounts I have received (says Mr. Sewel) it would make a volume of it self. These vile creatures were not only encouraged, but pushed on vehemently by their spiritual guides; for this purpose Archbishop Sheldon sent another circular letter to all the Bishops of his province, dated May 7, 1670, in which he directs all ecclesiastical Judges and Officers, "to take notice of all Non-conformists, Holders, Frequenters, Maintainers, and Abettors of Conventicles, especially of the Preachers or Teachers in them, and of the places wherein they are held; ever keeping a more watchful eye over the Cities and greater Towns, from whence the mischief is for the most part derived unto the lesser Villages and Hamlets. And wheresoever they find such wilful offenders, that then with an hearty affection to the worship of God, the honour of the King and his laws, and the peace of the Church and Kingdom, they do address themselves to the civil Magistrates, Justices, and others concerned, imploring their help and assistance for preventing and suppressing the same, according to the late Act in that behalf made and set forth——And now, my Lord, what the success will be we must leave to God Almighty; yet, my Lord, I have this confidence under God, that if we do our parts now at first seriously, by God's help, and the assistance of the civil Power, considering the abundant care and provision the Act contains for our advantage, we shall in a few months see so great an alteration in the distractions of these times, as that the seduced people returning from their seditious and self-seeking Teachers to the unity of the Church, and uniformity of God's worship, it will be to the glory of God, the welfare of the Church, the praise of his Majesty and Government, and the happiness of the whole Kingdom." Can this be the language of a Christian and Protestant Bishop? Or is it not more

King Charles II. 1670.

Burnet, p. 270. 271.

Sewel, p. 493.

Abp. Sheldon's Letter to the Bishops &c. Calamy's Abrig. Vol. II. p. 328.

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1670.

“ like a Father of the Inquisition, or the dragooning Com-
“ mission of Lewis XIVth. when he revoked the Edict of
“ Nantz ?”

Zeal of
Bishop
Gunning,
and others,
Calamy, p.
692.

Copies of this Letter were sent by the Archdeacons to the Officers of the several Parishes within their Jurisdictions, earnestly desiring them to take especial care to perform whatsoever is therein required, and to give an account at the next Visitation. Many of the Bishops chose to lie behind the Curtain, and throw off the odium from themselves to the Civil Magistrate; but some of the more zealous could not forbear appearing in person, as Bishop Ward, already mentioned, and Bishop Gunning, who often disturbed the Meetings in Person; once finding the doors shut, he ordered the Constable to break them open with a Sledge; another time he sat upon the Bench at the Quarter Sessions, upon which the Chairman desired his Lordship to give the charge, which he refusing, received a very handsome Rebuke; it being hardly consistent with one that is an Ambassador of the Prince of Peace, to set in judgment upon the consciences of his poor Countrymen and Neighbours, in order to plunder and tear them to pieces. The Bishop was so zealous in the cause, that he sunk his Character by giving a publick challenge to the Presbyterians, Independants, Anabaptists, and Quakers, and appointed three Days for the Disputation; on the first of which his Lordship went into the Pulpit in the Church, where was a considerable Congregation, and charged the former with Sedition and Rebellion out of their Books, but would hear no Reply. When the Day came to dispute with the Quakers, they summoned their Friends, and when the Bishop railed, they paid him in his own Coin; and followed him to his very House with repeated cries, “ The Hireling flyeth.”

Calamy's
Abridg.
Vol. II.
P. 334.

Distress of
the Non-
conf.
Minist'rs.

The Non-conformist Ministers did what they could to keep themselves within the compass of the Law; they preached frequently twice a Day in large Families, with only four Strangers, and as many under the age of sixteen as would come; and at other times in places where people might hear in several adjoining Houses; but after all, infinite mischiefs ensued, Families were impoverished and divided; Friendship between Neighbours was interrupted; there was a general distrust and jealousy of each other; and sometimes upon little quarrels, Servants would betray their Masters and ruin all their affairs. Among others that suffered at this time was Dr. Manton, who was apprehended on a Lord's Day in the Afternoon just as he had done Sermon,

Manton's
Life.

the

the door being opened to let a Gentleman out, the Justice and his attendants rushed in and went up Stairs; they stayed till the Doctor had ended his Prayer and then writ down the names of the principal Persons present, and took the Doctor's promise to come to them at an House in the Piazza's of Covent Garden, where they tendered him the Oxford Oath, upon his refusal of which he was committed prisoner to the Gatehouse, where he continued till he was released by the Indulgence. At another time his Meeting-house in White-hart-yard was broken up; the place was fined forty pounds, and the Minister twenty, which was paid by Lord Wharton, who was then present: They also took down the names of the hearers for the benefit of the Justices of Peace and Spiritual Courts.

The behaviour of the Quakers was very extraordinary, and had something in it that looked like the Spirit of Martyrdom. They met at the same place and hour as in times of Liberty, and when the Officers came to seize them none of them would stir; they went altogether to Prison; they stayed there till they were dismissed, for they would not petition to be set at liberty, nor pay the Fines set upon them, nor so much as the Gaol Fees. When they were discharged they went to their Meeting-house again, as before; and when the doors were shut up by order, they assembled in great numbers in the Street before the doors, saying, they would not be ashamed, nor afraid to disown their meeting together in a peaceable manner to worship God; but in imitation of the Prophet Daniel, they would do it more publicly because they were forbid. Some called this obstinacy, others firmness; but by it they carried their point, the Government being weary of dealing with so much perverseness.

Courage of
the Qua-
kers.
Burnet, p.
271.

On the first of September two of their principal Speakers, William Pen and William Mead, were tried at the Old Bailey for an unlawful and tumultuous Assembly in the open Street, wherein they spake or preached to the People who were assembled in Grace Church-street, to the number of three or four hundred, in contempt of the King's Laws, and to the disturbance of the peace. The Prisoners pleaded Not Guilty, but met with some of the severest usage that has been known in an English Court of Justice. They were fined forty Marks a-piece for coming into Court with their Hats on, tho' it was not done out of contempt, but from a principle of their Religion. It appeared by the Witnesses, that there was an assembly in Grace-church-

Trial of
Wm. Pen
and Wm.
Mead at the
Old Bailey.
State Trials.

King
Charles II.
1670.

street, but there was neither Riot, nor Tumult, nor force of Arms. Mr. Pen confessed they were so far from recanting, or declining to vindicate the assembling themselves to preach, pray, or worship the eternal, holy, just God, that they declared to all the World, that they believed it to be their duty, and that all the powers on earth should not be able to divert them from it. When it was said, they were not arraigned for worshipping God, but for breaking the Law; William Pen affirmed he had broken no Law, and challenged the Recorder to tell him upon what Law he was prosecuted. The Recorder answered, upon the common Law, but could not tell where the common Law was to be found. Pen insisted upon his producing the Law, but the Court over-ruled him, and called him a troublesome Fellow. Pen replied, "I design no affront to the Court, but if you deny
" to acquaint me with the Law you say I have broken,
" you deny me the right that is due to every English Man,
" and evidence to the whole World that your designs are
" arbitrary." Upon which he was haled from the Bar into the Bail Dock. As he was going out he said to the Jury,
" If these fundamental Laws which relate to Liberty and
" Property must not be indispensably maintained, who can
" say he has a Right to the Coat upon his Back? certainly
" then our Liberties are openly to be invaded, our Wives
" to be ravished, our Children enslaved, and our Estates
" led away in triumph by every sturdy Beggar and malicious
" Informer as their Trophies."

Injustice and
cruelty of
the Court.

William Mead being left alone at the Bar, said, "You
" Men of the Jury, I am accused of meeting by Force of
" Arms, in a tumultuous manner——Time was when I
" had freedom to use a carnal Weapon, and then I feared
" no Man; but now I fear the living God, and dare not
" make use thereof, nor hurt any Man. I am a peaceable
" Man, and therefore demand to know upon what Law my
" Indictment is founded; if the Recorder will not tell
" what makes a Riot, Coke will tell him, that it is when
" three or more are met together to beat a Man, or to enter
" forcibly into another Man's Lands, to cut his Grass or
" Wood, or break down his Pales." Upon this the Recorder having lost all patience, pulled off his Hat, and said, I thank you, Sir, for telling me what the Law is. Mead replied, thou mayest put on thy Hat, I have no Fee for thee now. The Mayor Starling told him, he deserved to have his Tongue cut out, and ordered him likewise to be carried to the Bail Dock.

When

When the Prisoners were gone, the Recorder gave the Jury their Charge, upon which William Pen stood up, and with a loud Voice said, "I appeal to the Jury, and this great Assembly, whether it be not contrary to the undoubted right of every Englishman to give the Jury their Charge in the absence of the Prisoners." The Recorder answered with a Sneer, ye are present, ye do hear, do ye not? Pen answered, No thanks to the Court; I have ten or twelve material Points to offer in order to invalidate the Indictment, but am not heard. The Recorder said, "Pull him down; pull the Fellow down." Mead replied, these were barbarous and unjust proceedings; and then they were both thrust into the hole.

After the Jury had withdrawn an hour and half, the Prisoners were brought to the Bar to hear their Verdict; eight of them came down agreed, but four remained above, to whom they used many unworthy threats, and in particular to Mr. Bushel, whom they charged with being the cause of the Disagreement. At length, after withdrawing a second time, they agreed to bring them in "Guilty of speaking in Grace Church-street;" which the Court would not accept for a Verdict, but after many menaces told them, they should be locked up, without Meat, Drink, Fire or Tobacco; nay, they should starve, unless they brought in a proper Verdict. William Pen being at the Bar, said, "My Jury ought not to be thus threatened. We were by force of Arms kept out of our Meeting-house, and met as near it as the Soldiers would give us leave. We are a peaceable People, and cannot offer violence to any Man." And looking upon the Jury, he said, "You are English Men, mind your Privilege, give not away your Right." To which some of them answered, "Nor will we ever do it." Upon this they were shut up all Night without Victuals or Fire, or so much as a Chamber-pot, tho' desired. Next Morning they brought in the same Verdict; upon which they were threaten'd with the utmost Resentments. The Mayor said, "He would cut Bushel's Throat as soon as he could." The Recorder said, "He never knew the benefit of an Inquisition till now; and that the next Sessions of Parliament a Law would be made wherein those that would not conform should not have the benefit of the Law." The Court having obliged the Jury to withdraw again, they were kept without Meat and Drink till next Morning, when they brought in the Prisoners Not Guilty; for which they were fined forty Marks a Man, and to be

The Jury
threatned.

They are
acquitted.

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Charles II.
1670.

imprisoned till paid. The Prisoners were also remanded to Newgate for their Fines in not pulling off their Hats. The Jury, after some time, were charged by Habeas Corpus returnable in the Common Pleas, where their commitment was judged illegal. This was a noble stand for the Liberty of the Subject in very dangerous times, when neither Law nor Equity availed any thing. The Conventicle Act was made to encourage Prosecutions; and a Narrative was published next year, of the oppressions of many honest People in Devonshire, and other parts, by the Informers and Justices; but the Courts of Justice out-run the Law itself.

King's De-
sign of go-
verning ab-
solutely.
Eachard, p.
864.
Rapin, p.
427.

Character of
the Cabal.

Hitherto the King and Parliament had agreed pretty well, by means of the large supplies of Money the Parliament had given to support his Majesty's Pleasures; but now having assurance of large Remittances from France, his Majesty resolved to govern by the Prerogative, and stand upon his own Legs. His prime Counsellors were Lord Clifford, Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards Lord Shaftsbury, the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Arlington, and Duke Lauderdale, who from the initial Letters of their names were called the CABAL. Lord Clifford was an open Papist, and the Earl of Arlington a concealed one. Buckingham was a Debauchee, and was reckoned a downright Atheist; he was a Man of great Wit and Parts, and of sounder Principles in the interests of Humanity (says Mr. Baxter) than the rest of the Court. Shaftsbury had a vast genius, but according to Burnet, was at best but a Deist; he had great knowledge of Men and Things, but would often change Sides as his interest directed. Lauderdale was a Man of Learning, but from an almost Republican was become a perfect Tool of the Prerogative, and would offer at the most desperate Councils. He had scarce any Traces of Religion left, tho' he called himself a Presbyterian, and had an aversion to King Charles I. to the last. By these five Ministers of State the King and Duke of York drove on their designs of introducing Popery and arbitrary Power; in order to which, a secret Treaty was concluded with France, the triple Alliance was broken, and a new War declared with the Dutch to destroy their Commonwealth, as will be seen presently; by this means the King had a plausible pretence to keep up a standing Army, which might secure him in the exercise of an absolute authority over his Subjects, to set aside the use of Parliaments, and settle the Roman Catholick Religion in the three Kingdoms. These

were

were the Maxims the Court pursued throughout the remaining part of this Reign.

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In the beginning of this year died Dr. Anthony Tuckney, born in September 1599. and educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge. He was afterwards Vicar of Boston in Lincolnshire, where he continued till he was called to sit in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. In the year 1645. he was made Master of his College, and in the year 1648, being chosen Vice-chancellor, he removed to Cambridge with his Family. He was afterwards Master of St. John's, and Regius Professor, which he held till the Restoration, when the King sent him a Letter, desiring him to resign his Professorship, which if he did, his Majesty, in consideration of the great pains and diligence of the said Doctor in the discharge of his Duty, would oblige his Successor to give him sufficient Security in Law, to pay him one hundred Pounds a year during his natural Life. Upon this notice the Doctor immediately resigned, and had his Annuity paid him by Dr. Gunning who succeeded him. After the coming out of the Five Mile Act he shifted about in several Counties, and at last died in Spittle Yard, London, February 1669. in the seventy-first year of his age, leaving behind him the character of an eminently learned and pious Man, an indefatigable Student, a candid Disputant, and an earnest Promoter of Truth and Goliness.

Death of Dr.
Tuckney.

About the same time died Mr. William Bridge, M. A. the ejected Minister of Yarmouth; he was Student in Cambridge thirteen years, and Fellow of Emanuel College. He afterwards settled in Norwich, where he was silenced by Bishop Wren for Non-conformity, 1637. He was afterwards excommunicated, and when the Writ "de Excommunicato Capiendo" came out against him he withdrew to Holland, and became Pastor to the English Church at Rotterdam, where Mr. Jer. Burroughs was Preacher. In 1642. he returned to England, and was one of the dissenting Brethren in the Assembly of Divines. He was chosen after some time Minister of Great Yarmouth, where he continued his Labours till the Bartholomew Act ejected him with his Brethren. He was a good Scholar, and had a well furnished Library, was a hard Student, and rose every Morning Winter and Summer at four of the clock. He was also a good Preacher, a candid and charitable Man, and did much good by his Ministry. He died at Yarmouth, March 12, 1670. Ætat. Seventy.

And of Mr
William
Bridge.

King
Charles II.
1671.

Causes of
the
Growth of
Popery.
Rapin, p.
42.

While the Protestant Dissenters were harass'd in all parts of the Kingdom, the Roman Catholicks were at ease under the wing of the Prerogative; there were few or no Processess against them, for they had the liberty of resorting to Mass at the Houses of foreign Ambassadors, and other Chapels, both in Town and Country; nor did the Bishops complain of them in the House of Lords, by which means they began in a few years to rival the Protestants both in Numbers and Strength. The Commons represented the Causes of this Misfortune in an Address to the King, together with the Remedies, which if the Reader will carefully consider, he will easily discover the different usage of Protestant Non-conformists and Popish Recusants.

The causes of the increase of Popery, were, 1. The great number of Jesuits who were all over the Kingdom. 2. The Chapels in great Towns for saying Mass, besides Ambassadors Houses, whither great numbers of his Majesty's Subjects resorted without controul. 3. The Fraternities or Convents of Priests and Jesuits at St. James's, and in several parts of the Kingdom, besides their Schools for the educating Youth. 4. The publick Sale of popish Catechisms, &c. 5. The general remissness of Magistrates, and other Officers, in not convicting Papists according to Law. 6. Suspected Recusants enjoying Offices by themselves or their Deputies. 7. Presentations to Livings by Popish Recusants, or by others as they direct. 8. Sending Youth beyond Sea under Tutors, to be educated in the Popish Religion. 9. The few Exchequer Processess that have been issued forth, tho' many have been certified thither. 10. The great insolence of Papists in Ireland, where Archbishops and Bishops of the Pope's Creation, appear publickly, Mass being said openly in Dublin, and other parts of the Kingdom.

Remedies
proposed by
the Parliam-
ment.

The Remedies which the House proposed against these growing Mischiefs were,

1. That a Proclamation be issued out to banish all Popish Priests and Jesuits out of the Realm, except such as attend the Queen and foreign Ambassadors. 2. That the King's Subjects be forbid going to hear Mass and other exercises of the Romish Religion. 3. That no Office or Employment of publick Authority be put into the hands of Popish Recusants. 4. That all Fraternities, Convents, and popish Schools be abolished, and the Jesuits, Priests, Friers, and School-masters punished. 5. That his Majesty require all

all the Officers of the Exchequer to issue out Proceffes against Popish Recufants convict, certified thither. 6. That Plunket the pretended Primate of Ireland, and Talbot Archbishop of Dublin, be sent for into England, to answer such Matters as should be objected against them.

King
Charles II.
1671.

The King promised to consider the Address, but hoped they would allow him to distinguish between new Converts, and those who had been bred up in the Popish Religion, and served him and his Father in the late Wars. After some time a Proclamation was issued out, in which his Majesty declares, “ that he had always adhered to the true Religion, established in this Kingdom, against all Temptations “ whatsoever ;” and that he would employ his utmost care and zeal in the defence of it. But the Magistrates knowing his Majesty’s inclinations, took no care of the execution of it. Nay, the Duke of York, the King’s Brother, having lately lost his Dutchets, Lord Clarendon’s Daughter, who died a Papist, made a formal Abjuration of the protestant Religion at this time before Father Simon, an English Jesuit, and declared himself openly a Roman Catholick ; the reason of which was, that the present Queen having no Children, the Papists gave the Duke to understand, that they were capable to effect his Majesty’s Divorce, and to set aside his Succession, by providing him with another Queen, which they would certainly attempt, unless he would make an open Profession of the Roman Catholick Religion, which he did accordingly.

Conduct of
the Court.
Gazette,
No. 559.

Duke of
York ab-
jures the
Protestant
Religion.

The House of Commons was very lavish of the Nation’s Money this Session, for though there was no danger of an Invasion from abroad, they gave the King two Millions and a half, with which his Majesty maintained a standing Army upon Blackheath, and called the Parliament no more together for almost two years. After the Houses were up, the CABAL began to prosecute their Scheme of making the King absolute ; in order to which, besides the two Millions and half granted by Parliament, they received from France the Sum of seven hundred thousand Pounds in two years, which not being sufficient to enter upon a War with the Dutch, the King declared in Council, by the advice of Clifford, that he was resolved to shut up the Exchequer, wherein the Bankers of London, who had furnished the King with Money on all occasions at great Interest, had lodged vast Sums of other People’s Cash deposited in their Hands. By this means the Bankers were obliged to make a Stand,

Projects of
the CABAL
to make the
King abso-
lute.

Exchequer
shut up

King
Charles II.
1671.

a Stand, which interrupted the course of Trade, and raised a great clamour over the whole Kingdom. The King endeavoured to soften the Bankers, by telling them it should be but for a Year, and that he would pay the Arrears out of the next subsidies of the Parliament; but he was worse than his Word; so that great Numbers of Families and Orphans were reduced to beggary, while the King got about one million four hundred thousand Pounds.

War with
the Dutch.

A second Advance of the CABAL towards arbitrary Power, was to destroy the Dutch Commonwealth; for this purpose the triple alliance was to be broken, and pretences to be found out for quarrelling with that trading people. The Earl of Shaftsbury used this Expression in his Speech to the Parliament for justifying the War, *Delendo est Carthago*, that is, The Dutch Commonwealth must be destroyed; but an occasion was wanting to justify it to the World. There had been a few scurrilous Prints and Medals struck in Holland reflecting on the King's Amours, below the notice of the English Court, which the Dutch however had caused to be destroyed. Complaints were also revived of the insolence of the Dutch in the East Indies, and of the Neglect of striking the Flag in the narrow Seas to the King's Yatch passing by the Dutch Fleet. The Cabal manag'd these complaints like men that were afraid of receiving Satisfaction, or of giving the Adversary any umbrage to prepare against the Storm. The Dutch therefore relying on the Faith of treaties pursued their traffick without fear; but when their rich Smyrna Fleet of merchant Men, consisting of seventy two sail, under convoy of six men of War, passed by the Isle of Wight, the English Fleet fell upon them and took several of their Ships, without any previous Declaration of War; a breach of Faith (says Burnet) which Mahometans and Pirates would have been ashamed of,

P. 307.

Project of a
general In-
dulgence.

Two Days after the Attempt upon the Smyrna Fleet the Cabal made the third advance towards Popery and absolute Power, by advising the King to suspend the penal Laws against all sorts of Non-Conformists. It was now resolved to set the Dissenters against the Church, and to offer them the Protection of the Crown to make way for a general Toleration. Lord Shaftsbury first proposed it in Council, which the Majority readily complied with, provided the Roman Catholicks might be included; but when the Declaration was drawn up, the Lord Keeper Bridgman refused to put the Seals to it, as judging it contrary to Law, for which he was dismissed, and the Seals given to the Earl of Shaftsbury,
who

who maintained, that the Indulgence was for the service of the Church of England. "As for the Church (says his Lordship) I conceive the Declaration is extreamly for their Interest, for the narrow Bottom they have placed themselves upon, and the measures they have proceeded by so contrary to the properties and Liberties of the Nation, must needs in a short time prove fatal to them; whereas this leads them into another Way, to live peaceably with the dissenting, and differing Protestants both at home and abroad;" which was true if both had not been undermined by the Papists. Archbishop Sheldon, Morley and the rest of their party, exclaimed loudly against the Indulgence, and alarmed the whole Nation, insomuch that many sober and good Men, who had long feared the growth of Popery began to think their Eyes were open, and that they were in good earnest; but it appeared afterwards that their chief concern was for their Spiritual Power; for tho' they murmured against the Dispensing Power, they fell in with all their other Proceedings, which if Providence had not miraculously interposed, must have been fatal to the Protestant Religion and the Liberties of Europe.

King Charles II. 1671.

How it was resented. Hist. Stu-arts, p. 166.

Des Maiz. Col. p. 677. &c.

At length the Declaration having been communicated to the French King, and received his Approbation, was published, bearing Date March 15. 1671-2. to the following Effect:

Charles Rex,

"OUR care and endeavours for the Preservation of the Rights and Interests of the Church, have been sufficiently manifested to the World by the whole course of our Government since our happy restoration, and by the many and frequent ways of Coercion that we have used for reducing all erring or dissenting Persons, and for composing the unhappy differences in matters of Religion, which we found among our Subjects upon our return; but it being evident by the sad experience of twelve Years, that there is very little Fruit of all these forcible courses, We think ourself obliged to make use of that supreme Power in Ecclesiastical matters which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recognized to be so, by several Statutes and Acts of Parliament; and therefore we do now accordingly issue this our Declaration, as well for the quieting of our good Subjects in these Points, as for inviting Strangers in this conjuncture to come and live under us; and for the better encouragement of all to
" a cheerful

A new Declaration of Indulgence.

King
Charles II.
1671.

“ a chearful following of their Trades and Callings, from
“ whence we hope, by the blessing of God, to have many
“ good and happy Advantages to our Government; as also
“ for preventing for the future the danger that might other-
“ wise arise from private meetings and seditious Conven-
“ ticles.

“ And in the first Place, we declare our expresse Resolu-
“ tion. Meaning and Intention to be, that the Church of
“ England be preserved, and remain entire in its Doctrine,
“ Discipline and Government as now it stands established by
“ Law; and that this be taken to be, as it is, the Basis,
“ Rule, and Standard of the general and publick worship
“ of God, and that the Orthodox conformable Clergy do re-
“ ceive and enjoy the revenues belonging thereunto, and
“ that no Person, tho’ of a different Opinion and Persua-
“ sion, shall be exempt from paying his Tithes, or other
“ Dues whatsoever. And further we declare, that no Per-
“ son shall be capable of holding any Benefice, Living or
“ Ecclesiastical Dignity or Preferment, of any kind in
“ this our Kingdom of England, who is not exactly con-
“ formable.

“ We do in the next place declare our Will and Plea-
“ sure to be, that the execution of all, and all manner of
“ penal Laws in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort
“ of Non-Conformists or Recusants, be immediately sus-
“ pended, and they are hereby suspended; and all
“ Judges of Assize and Goal delivery, Sheriffs, Justices of
“ Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other Officers whatsoever,
“ whether ecclesiastical nor civil, are to take Notice of it,
“ and pay due obedience thereunto,

“ And that there may be no pretence for any of our Sub-
“ jects to continue their illegal Meetings and Conventicles,
“ we do declare, that we shall from Time to Time allow a
“ sufficient Number of Places, as they shall be desired, in
“ all parts of this our Kingdom, for the use of such as do
“ not conform to the Church of England, to meet and as-
“ semble in order to their publick Worship and Devot-
“ tion, which Places shall be open and free to all Persons.

“ But to prevent such Disorders and Inconveniences as
“ may happen by this our Indulgence, if not duly regula-
“ ted; and that they may be the better protected by the
“ Civil Magistrate, our expresse Will and pleasure is, that
“ none of our Subjects do presume to meet in any place,
“ until such places be allowed, and the Teacher of that
“ Congregation be approved by us.

“ And

“ And lest any should apprehend that this Restriction
 “ should make our said Allowance and Approbation difficult
 “ to be obtained, we do farther declare, that this our In-
 “ dulgence, as to the allowance of the publick Places of
 “ Worship, and Approbation of the Preachers, shall ex-
 “ tend to all sorts of Non-conformists and Recusants, except
 “ the Recusants of the Roman Catholick Religion, to whom
 “ we shall in no wise allow publick places of Worship, but
 “ only indulge them their Share in the common exemption
 “ from the penal Laws, and the Exercise of their Worship
 “ in their private Houses only.

King
 Charles II
 1671.

“ And if after this our Clemency and Indulgence any of
 “ our Subjects shall pretend to abuse this Liberty, and shall
 “ preach seditiously, or to the Derogation of the Doctrine,
 “ Discipline or Government of the established Church, or
 “ shall meet in places not allowed by us, we do hereby give
 “ them warning and declare, we will proceed against them
 “ with all imaginable Severity. And we will let them see,
 “ we can be as severe to punish such Offenders when so
 “ justly provoked, as we are indulgent to truly tender Con-
 “ sciences.”

Given at our Court at Whitehall this 15th Day of March,
 in the four and twentieth year of our Reign.

The Protestant Non-Conformists had no opinion of the
 dispensing Power, and were not forward to accept of Liber-
 ty in this way; they were sensible the Indulgence was not
 granted out of love to them, nor would continue any longer
 than it would serve the Interests of Popery. “ The Begin-
 “ ing of the Dutch War (says one of the Writers) made
 “ the Court think it necessary to grant them an Indulgence,
 “ that there might be peace at home while there was War
 “ abroad, tho’ much to the Dissatisfaction of those who had
 “ a Hand in framing all the severe Laws against them.”

Non-Con-
 formists
 not forward
 to accept it
 by the Dis-
 pensing
 Power.
 Baxter,
 Part III.
 p. 99.
 Welw.
 Mem.
 p. 190.

Many Pamphlets were written for and against the Dissenters
 accepting it, because it was built on the Dispensing Power.
 Some maintained that it was setting up Altar against Altar,
 and that they should accept of nothing but a comprehension.
 Others endeavoured to prove, that it was the Duty of the
 Presbyterians to make use of the Liberty granted them by
 the King, because it was their natural Right, which no le-
 gislative Power upon Earth had a Right to deprive them of
 as long as they remained dutiful Subjects; that meeting in
 separate Congregations distinct from the Parochial Assem-
 blies in the present circumstances was neither schismatical

nor

King
Charles II.
1671.
Wel. Mem.
P. 102.

nor sinful. Accordingly most of the Ministers, both in London and in the Country, took out Licenses, a Copy of which I have transcribed from under the King's own Hand and Seal in the Margin *. Great Numbers of People attended the Meetings, and a cautious and moderate Address of Thanks was presented to the King for their Liberty, but all were afraid of the Consequences.

Burnet, p.
308.

It was reported further, that the Court encouraged the Non-Conformists, by some small Pensions of fifty and one hundred Pounds to the chief of their party; that Mr. Baxter returned the Money, but that Mr. Pool acknowledged he had received fifty Pounds for two years, and that the rest accepted it. This was reported to the Disadvantage of the Dissenters by Dr. Stillingfleet, and others, with an Insinuation, that it was to bribe them to be silent, and join Interest with the Papists; but Dr. Owen, in answer to this part of the Charge, in his Preface to a Book, entitled, An Enquiry &c. against Dr. Stillingfleet, declares, that "It is such a frontless malicious Lye, as impudence itself would blush at; that however the Dissenters may be traduced, they are ready to give the highest Security that can be of their Stability in the Protestant Cause; and for myself (says he) never any Person in Authority, Dignity, or Power in the Nation, nor any from them, Papist or Protestant, did ever speak or advise with me about any Indulgence or Toleration to be granted to Papists, and I challenge the whole World to prove the contrary." From this Indulgence Dr. Stillingfleet dates the Beginning of the Presbyterian Separation.

* CHARLES REX.

CHARLES by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, and others our Officers and Ministers Civil and Military, whom it may concern, Greeting. In pursuance of our Declaration of the 15th of March, 1671-2. We do hereby permit and License G S. ———— of the Congregational Persuasion, to be a Teacher of the Congregation allowed by us, in a Room or Rooms of his House in ———— for the Use of such as do not conform to the Church of England, who are of that Persuasion commonly called Congregational, with further License and Permission to him the said G. S. ———— to teach in any Place licensed and allowed by us, according to our said Declaration.

Given at our Court at Whitehall the second Day of May, in the 24th Year of our Reign 1672. By his Majesty's Command,
Arlington.
This

This year died Dr. Edmund Staunton, the ejected Minister of Kingston on Thames, one of the Assembly of Divines, and some time President of Corpus christi College in Oxford. He was Son of Sir Francis Staunton, born at Woburne in Bedfordshire, 1601. and educated in Wadham College, of which he was Fellow. Upon taking his Orders he became Minister of Bushy in Hertfordshire, but changed it afterwards for Kingston on Thames. In 1634. he took the Degrees in Divinity, and in 1648. was made President of Corpus Christi, College, which he kept till he was silenced for Non-conformity. He then retired to Richmansworth in Hertfordshire, and afterwards to a Village in that County called Bovingden, where he preached as often as he had opportunity. He was a learned, pious, and peaceable Divine. In his last Sickness he said, He neither feared Death nor desired Life, but was willing to be at God's disposal. He died July 14. 1671. and was buried in the Church belonging to the Parish.

King
Charles II.
1671.
Death of Dr.
Staunton.

Mr. Vavasor Powell was born in Radnorshire, and educated in Jesus College, Oxon. When he left the University he preached up and down in Wales, till being driven from thence for want of Presbyterial Ordination, which he scrupled, he came to London, and soon after settled at Dartford in Kent. In the year 1646. he obtained a testimonial of his religious and blameless conversation, and of his Abilities for the Work of the Ministry, signed by Mr. Herle and seventeen of the Assembly of Divines. Furnished with these testimonials he returned to Wales, and became a most indefatigable and active Instrument of propogating the Gospel in those Parts. There were but few, if any of the Churches or Chapels in Wales, in which he did not preach; yea, very often he preached to the poor Welch in the Mountains, at Fairs, and in Market Places; for which he had no more than a Stipend of one hundred Pounds per Annum, besides the advantage of some sequester'd Livings in North Wales (says my Author) which in those times of confusion turned but to a very poor Account. Mr. Powell was a bold Man, and of republican principles, for he preached against the Protectorship of Cromwel, and writ Letters to him, for which he was imprisoned, to prevent his spreading Disaffection in the State. At the dawn of the Restoration being known to be a Fifth Monarchy Man, he was secured first at Shrewsbury, afterwards in Wales, and at last in the Fleet. In the year 1662. he was shut up in South Sea Castle near Portsmouth, where he continued five years. In 1667. he was enlarged, but venturing to preach again in his own Country, he was imprisoned

And of Mr.
Vavasor
Powell-

King
Charles II.
1671.

imprisoned at Cardiff, and in the year 1669. sent up to London, and confined a prisoner in the Fleet, where he died, and was buried in Bunhill Fields, in the presence of an innumerable Croud of Dissenters, who attended him to his grave. He was of an unconquer'd resolution, and of a mind unshaken under all his troubles. The Inscription on his Tomb calls him, "A successful teacher of the past, a sincere witness of the present, and an useful example to the future Age; who in the Defection of many found Mercy to be faithful, for which being called to many Prisons, he was there tried, and would not accept Deliverance, expecting a better Resurrection." He died October 27. 1671. in the fifty third Year of his Age, and the 11th Year of his Imprisonment,

C H A P. IX.

From the King's Declaration of Indulgence to the Popish Plot in the Year 1678.

1672
The French
declare War
with the
Dutch and
over-run
their Coun-
try.

Pr. of O-
range Stadt-
holder, and
the De Wits
murdered.

THE French King having prevailed with the English Court to break the Triple Alliance, and make War with the Dutch, published a declaration at Paris, signifying that he could not without Diminution of his own Glory, any longer dissemble the Indignation raised in him, by the unhandsome Carriage of the States General of the united Provinces, and therefore proclaimed War against them both by Sea and Land. In the Beginning of May he drew together an Army of one hundred and twenty thousand Men, with which he took the principal Places in Flanders, and with rapid Fury over-ran the greatest part of the Netherlands. In the Beginning of July he took possession of Utrecht, a City in the Heart of the the United Provinces, where he kept his Court, and threaten'd to besiege Amsterdam it self. In this extremity the Dutch opened their Sluices, and laid a great part of their Country under water; the populace rose, and having obliged the States to make the young Prince of Orange Stadtholder they fell upon the two Brothers Cornelius and John de Wit, their late Pensionary, and tore them to pieces in a barbarous manner. The young prince, who was then but twenty two years old, used all imaginable Vigilance and Activity to save the remainder of his Country; and like a true hero declared, he would die in the last dike rather than become tributary to any foreign power. At length their allies came to their

their Assistance, when the young Prince, like another Scipio, abandoning his own country, besieged and took the important Town of Bonne, which opened a Passage for the Germans into Flanders, and struck such a surprize into the French, whose Enemies were now behind them, that they abandoned all their Conquests in Holland, except Maestricht and Grave, with greater swiftness than they made them.

King
Charles II.
1672.

These rapid Conquests of the French opened Peoples Mouths against the Court, and raised such discontents all over England, that his Majesty was obliged to issue out his Proclamation to suppress all unlawful and undutiful Conversation, threatening a severe Prosecution to such who should spread false News, or intermeddle with affairs of State, or promote Scandal against his Majesty's Counsellors by their common discourse in Coffee-Houses, or Places of publick resort. He was obliged also to continue the Exchequer shut up, contrary to his Royal Promise, and to prorogue his Parliament 'till next Year, which he foresaw would be in a Flame when they came together.

Proclamation against
spreading
false News.
Gazette,
No. 686.

During this interval of Parliament the declaration of Indulgence continued in force, and the Dissenters had rest; when the Presbyterians and Independants, to shew their agreement among themselves, as well as to support the Doctrines of the Reformation against the prevailing errors of Popery, Socinianism and Infidelity, set up a weekly Lecture at Pinner's-Hall in Broad-street, on Tuesday Mornings, by the contributions of the principal Merchants and Tradesmen of their persuasions in the City. Four Presbyterians were joined with two Independants to preach by turns, and to give it the greater reputation, the principal Ministers for Learning and Popularity were chosen into it; as Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Dr. Owen, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Collins, Jenkins, Mead, and afterwards Mr. Alsop, Howe, Cole, and others; and tho' there were some little misunderstandings at their first setting out, about some high points of Calvinism, occasioned by one of Mr. Baxter's first Sermons, yet the Lecture continued in this form 'till the Year 1695, when it split upon the same Rock, occasioned by reprinting Dr. Crisp's Works. The four Presbyterians removed to Salter's Hall, and set up a Lecture on the same Day and Hour. The two Independants remained at Pinner's Hall, and when there was no prospect of an accommodation, each Party filled up their numbers, as they have continued to do ever since.

The Beginning of the
Merchants
Lecture at
Pinner's
Hall.

King
Charles II.
1672.

Death of
Bishop
Wilkins.
Ath. Ox.
p. 505.

Among the Puritan Divines that died this Year, Bishop Wilkins deserves the first Place ; he was born at Fawley in Northamptonshire, in the House of his Mother's Father, Mr. J. Dod, the Decalogist, in the Year 1614, and educated in Magdalen Hall, under Mr. Tombes. He was some time Warden of Wadham College, Oxford, and afterwards Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he was deprived at the Restoration, though he conformed. He married a Sister of the Protector's, Oliver Cromwel, and complied with all the changes of the late times, being, as Wood observes, always puritanically affected ; but for his admirable abilities, and extraordinary genius, he had scarce his Equal. He was made Bishop of Chester 1668, and surely, says Mr. Eachard, the Court could not have found out a Man of greater Ingenuity and Capacity, or of more universal Knowledge and Understanding in all parts of polite Learning. Archbishop Tillotson and Bishop Burnet, who were his Intimates, give him the highest Encomium ; as, that he was a pious Christian, and an admirable Preacher, a rare Mathematician, and mechanical Philosopher ; and a Man of as great a Mind, and as true a Judgment, as eminent Virtues, and of as great a Soul, as any they ever knew. He was a Person of universal Charity, Ingenuity, Temper, and moderation of Spirit ; and was concerned in all attempts for a comprehension with the Dissenters. He died of the Stone in Dr. Tillotson's House in Chancery-Lane, Nov. 19, 1672, in the fifty ninth Year of his Age.

Of Mr.
Joseph
Caryl.

Mr. Joseph Caryl, M. A. the ejected Minister of St. Magnus, London Bridge, was born of genteel Parents in London, 1602, educated in Exeter College, and afterwards Preacher of Lincoln's-Inn ; he was a Member of the assembly of Divines, and afterwards one of the Tryers, for approbation of Ministers, in all which stations he appeared a Man of great Learning, Piety and Modesty. He was sent by the Parliament to attend the King at Holmby House, and was one of their Commissiouners in the Treaty of the Isle of Wight. After his Ejection in the Year 1662, he lived privately in London, and preached to his Congregation as the times would permit ; he was a moderate Independent, and distinguished himself by his learned Exposition upon the Book of Job.. He died universally lamented by all his Acquaintance February 7, 1672-3, and in the seventy first Year of his Age.

Of Mr.
Phil. Nye.

Mr. Philip Nye, M. A. was a Divine of a warmer Spirit : He was born of a genteel Family 1596, and was educated in

in-Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took the Degrees. In the Year 1630 he was Curate of St. Michael's Cornhill, and three Years after fled from Bishop Laud's Persecution into Holland, but returned about the beginning of the long Parliament, and became Minister of Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire. He was one of the dissenting Brethren in the Assembly; one of the Tryers in the Protector's time, and a principal manager of the meeting of the congregational Messengers at the Savoy. He was a great Politician, insomuch that it was debated in Council after the Restoration, whether he should not be excepted for Life; and it was concluded, that if he should accept or exercise any Office ecclesiastical or civil, he should to all intents and purposes in Law stand as if he had been totally excepted. He was ejected from St. Bartholomew behind the Exchange, and preached privately as opportunity offered, to a Congregation of Dissenters 'till the present Year, when he died in the Month of September, about seventy six Years old, and lies buried in the Church of St. Michael's, Cornhill, leaving behind him the Character of a Man of uncommon Depth, and one who was seldom if ever out-reached.

King
Charles II.
1672.

1673.
The Parlia-
ment a-
wakened.

When the King met his Parliament Feb. 4, after a recess of a Year and nine Months, he acquainted them with the reasonableness and necessity of a War with the Dutch, and having asked a supply told them, "He had found the good effect of his Indulgence to Dissenters, but that it was a mistake in those who said, more Liberty was given to Papists than others, because they had only freedom in their own Houses, and no publick Assemblies; he should therefore take it ill to receive Contradiction in what he had done; and to deal plainly with you (says his Majesty) I am resolved to stick to my Declaration." Lord Chancellor Shaftsbury seconded the King's Speech, and having vindicated the Indulgence magnified the King's zeal for the Church of England and the Protestant Religion. But the House of Commons declared against the dispensing Power, and argued, that tho' the King had a power to pardon Offenders, he had no right to authorize Men to break the Laws, for this would infer a Power to alter the Government, the strength of every Law being the Penalty laid upon the Offenders; if therefore the King should secure Offenders by indemnifying them before-hand, it was in vain to make any Laws at all, because according to this maxim, they had no force but at the King's discretion — But it was objected on the other side, that a difference was to be made between

Arguments
for and a-
gainst the
Dispensing
Power.

King
Charles II.
1673.

House of
Commons
vote against
it.

Eachard,
p. 889.
Burnet,
p. 347.

Ald. Love in
the Name of
the Dissen-
ters renoun-
ces the Dis-
pensing
Power.

Penal Laws in spiritual Matters and others ; that the King's Supremacy gave him a peculiar Authority over these, as was evident by his tolerating the Jews and the Churches of foreign Protestants ——— To which it was replied, That the intent of the Law in asserting the Supremacy was only to exclude all foreign Jurisdiction, and to lodge the whole Authority with the King ; but that was still bounded and regulated by Law ; the Jews were still at Mercy, and only connived at, but the foreign Churches were excepted by a particular Clause in the Act of Uniformity ; and therefore upon the whole they came to this Resolution, Feb. 10, “ That Penal Statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be “ suspended but by Act of Parliament ; that no such Power “ had ever been claimed or exercised by any of his Maje- “ ty's Predecessors, and therefore his Majesty's Indulgence “ was contrary to Law, and tended to subvert the Legisla- “ tive Power, which had always been acknowledged to reside “ in the King and his two Houses of Parliament.” Pursuant to this Resolution they addressed the King, Feb. 19, to recal his Declaration. The King answered, That he was sorry they should question his Power in Ecclesiasticks, which had not been done in the reigns of his Ancestors ; that he did not pretend to suspend Laws wherein the Properties, Rights or Liberties of his Subjects were concerned, nor to alter any thing in the established Religion, but only to take off the Penalties inflicted on Dissenters, which he believed they themselves would not wish executed according to Law. The Commons perceiving his Majesty was not inclined to desist from his Declaration, stopt their Money Bill, and presented a second Address, insisting upon a full and satisfactory Assurance, that his Majesty's Conduct in this Affair might not be drawn into Example for the future, which at length they obtained.

The Parliament was now first disposed to distinguish between Protestant Dissenters and Popish Rescuants, and to give ease to the former without including the latter, especially when the Dissenters in the House disavowed the dispensing Power, tho' it was in their Favour. Alderman Love, Member for the City of London, stood up, and in a handsome Speech declared, “ That he had rather go “ without his own desired Liberty than have it in a way “ so destructive of the Liberties of his Country and the “ Protestant Interest ; and that this was the Sense of the “ main Body of Dissenters.” Which surprized the whole House, and gave a turn to those very Men who for ten Years together had been loading the Non-Conformists with one Penal

Penal Law after another : But things were now at a Crisis ; Popery and Slavery were at the door ; the triple Alliance broken ; the Protestant Powers warring one another ; the Exchequer shut up ; the Heir apparent of the Crown an open Papist ; and an Army encamped at Blackheath under Popish Officers ready to be transported into Holland to compleat their Ruin. When the Dissenters at such a time laid aside their resentments against their Persecutors, and renounced their separate Interests for the safety of the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of their Country, all sober Men began to think it was high time to put a Mark of Distinction between them and the Roman Catholics.

King
Charles II.
1673.

But the King was of another mind, yet being in want of Money, he was easily persuaded by his Mistresses to give up his Indulgence, contrary to the Advice of the Cabal, who told him, if he would make a bold stand for his Prerogative, all would be well. But he came to the House March 8, and having pressed the Commons to dispatch the Money Bill, he added, ——— “ If there be any Scruple yet remaining with you, touching the suspension of the Penal Laws, I here faithfully promise you, that what has been done in that Particular, shall not for the future be drawn into Example and Consequence ; and as I daily expect from you a Bill for my Supply, so I assure you I shall, as willingly receive and pass any other you shall offer me, that may tend to the giving you Satisfaction in all your just Grievances.” Accordingly he called for the Declaration, and broke the Seal with his own Hands, by which means all the Licenses for Meeting-Houses were called in. Our Historians observe, that this proceeding of the King made a surprizing change in Lord Shaftsbury, who had been the Soul of the Cabal, and the master builder of the Scheme for making the King absolute ; but that when his Majesty was so unsteady as to desert him in the Project of an Indulgence, after he had promised to stand by him, he concluded the King was not to be trusted, and appeared afterwards at the Head of the Country Party.

The King
gives up his
Indulgence.

Shaftsbury
deserts the
Cabal.
Eachard,
p. 890, 891.
Burnet,
p. 348.

The Non-Conformists were now in some hopes of a legal Toleration by Parliament, for the Commons resolved, Nemine Contradicente, that a Bill be brought in for the ease of his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, who are Dissenters in matters of Religion from the Church of England. The Substance of the Bill was,

Bill for the
Ease of
Protestant
Dissenters.

A a 3

“ That

King
Charles II.
1673.
Eachard,
p. 889.

“ 1. That Ease be given to his Majesty’s Protestant Sub-
“ jects dissenting in matters of Religion, who shall sub-
“ scribe the Articles of the Doctrine of the Church of
“ England, and shall take the Oaths of Allegiance and
“ Supremacy. 2. That the said Protestant Subjects be
“ eased from all Pains and Penalties for not coming to
“ Church. 3. That the Clause in the late Act of Unifor-
“ mity, for declaring the Assent and Consent, be taken
“ away by this Bill. 4. That the said Protestant Subjects
“ be eased from all Pains and Penalties for meeting together
“ for performance of any religious Exercises. 5. That
“ every Teacher shall give notice of the Place where he
“ intends to hold such his Meeting to the Quarter Sessions,
“ where in open Court he shall first make such Subscripti-
“ on, and take such Oaths as aforesaid, and receive from
“ thence a Certificate thereof, where all such proceedings
“ shall remain upon Record. 6. That any such Teacher
“ may exercise as aforesaid, until the next respective Quar-
“ ter Sessions, and no longer, in case he should not first
“ take the Oaths, and make such Subscription before two
“ of the neighbouring Justices of Peace, and shall first give
“ them notice of the Place of his intended Meeting, and
“ take Certificate thereof under the said Justices Hands, a
“ Duplicate whereof they are to return into the next Quar-
“ ter Sessions. 7. The Doors and Passages of all Houses
“ and Places where the said Dissenters do meet shall be al-
“ ways open and free during the time of such Exercise.
“ 8. If any Dissenter refuses to take the Church Wardens
“ Oaths, he shall then find another fit Person, who is not a
“ Dissenter, to execute that Office, and shall pay him for it.”

It miscarries. But tho’ all agreed in bringing in a Bill, there was neither time nor unanimity enough in the House this Sessions to agree upon Particulars; for, according to Bishop Burnet, it went no farther than a second reading. Mr. Eachard says, it was dropt in the House of Lords on the account of some Amendments, ’till the Parliament broke up; but Mr. Cooke says more truly, that it was because the dead weight of Bishops joined with the King and the caballing Party against it.

Detect.
p. 490.

Commons
Addressed a-
gainst
Papists.

While this was depending, the Commons addressed the King against Papists and Jesuits, expressing their great Concern to see such Persons admitted into Employments and Places of great Trust and Profit, and especially into military Commands, and therefore pray, that the Laws against them may be put into Execution. Upon which a Proclamation was issued out, (tho’ to very little purpose) enjoining all Po-
pish

pish Priests and Jesuits to depart the Realm, and the Laws to be put in Execution against all Popish Recusants.

King
Charles II.
1673.

But his Majesty making no mention of removing them from Places of Profit and Trust, the Commons knowing where their Strength lay, suspended their Money Bill, and ordered a Bill to be brought in, to confine all Places of Profit and Trust to those only who are of the Communion of the Church of England : This is commonly called the Test Act, and was levelled against the Duke of York and the present Ministry, who were chiefly of his persuasion. When it was brought into the House, the Court opposed it with all their might, and endeavoured to divide the Church Party, by proposing, that some regard might be had to Protestant Dissenters, hoping by this means to clog the Bill, and throw it out of the House ; upon which Alderman Love, a Dissenter, and Member for the City, stood up again and said, He hoped the Clause in favour of the Protestant Dissenters would Occasion no intemperate Heats ; and therefore moved, that since it was a considerable Barrier against Popery, the Bill might pass without any Alteration, and that nothing might interpose 'till it was finished, and then (says the Alderman) we (Dissenters) will try if the Parliament will not distinguish us from Popish Recusants by some marks of their Favour ; but we are willing to lie under the severity of the Laws for a time, rather than clog a more necessary Work with our Concerns. These being the sentiments of the leading Dissenters both in the House and without Doors, the Bill passed the Commons with little opposition ; but when it came to be debated in the House of Peers, in the King's Presence, March 15, the whole Court was against it except the Earl of Bristol ; and maintained that it was his Majesty's Prerogative to employ whom he pleased in his Service. Some were for having the King to stand his ground against the Parliament. The Duke of Buckingham and Lord Berkly offered to bring the Army to Town, and take out of both Houses the Members who made Opposition. Lauderdale offered to bring an Army from Scotland ; Lord Clifford told the King, that the People now saw through his Designs, and therefore he must resolve to make himself Master at once, or be for ever subject to much Jealousy and Contempt. But the Earl of Shaftsbury having changed Sides pressed the King to give the Parliament full Content, and then they would undertake to procure him the Supply he wanted. This suited the King's easy temper, who not being willing to risk a second civil War, went into these Mea-

The Test
Act brought
into the
House.

Debates
about it.

Burnet,
P. 348.

King
Charles II.
1673.

It receives
the Royal
Assent.

fures, and out of meer Necessity for Money to carry on the War gave up the Papists, in hopes that he might afterwards recover what in the present Extremity he was forced to part with. This effectually broke the CABAL, and put the Roman Catholicks upon pursuing other Measures to introduce their Religion, which was the making way for a Popish Successor of more resolute Principles; and from hence we may date the beginning of the Popish Plot, which did not break out 'till 1678, as appeared by Mr. Coleman's Letters. The Bill received the Royal Assent March 25, together with a Money Bill of one Million two hundred thousand Pounds; and then the Parliament was prorogued to October 20, after a short Session of seven Weeks.

The Act
itself.
Stat.

25 Car. II.
Chap. 2.

The Test Act is entituled, "An Act to prevent Dangers which happen from Popish Recusants." It requires, "That all Persons bearing any Office of Trust or Profit shall take the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance in publick and open Court, and shall also receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Usage of the Church of England, in some Parish Church, on some Lord's Day immediately after divine Service and Sermon, and deliver a Certificate of having so received the Sacrament under the Hands of the respective Ministers and Church-Wardens, proved by two credible Witnesses upon Oath, and upon Record in Court. And that all Persons taking the said Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance shall likewise make and subscribe the following Declaration, I A. B. do declare, that I believe there is no Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in the Elements of Bread and Wine, at, or after the Consecration thereof, by any Person whatsoever. The Penalty of breaking thro' this Act, besides a disability of prosecuting any Suit, or acting in the capacity of other Subjects in several Respects, is five hundred Pounds."

Remarks.

Mr. Eachard observes well, that this Act was principally, if not solely levelled at the Roman Catholicks, as appears from the Title: and it is further evident from the disposition of the House of Commons at this time to ease the Protestant Dissenters of some of their Burdens. If the Dissenters had fallen in with the Court they might have prevented the Bill's passing. But let the design of it be what it will, it is in my Opinion very unjustifiable, "because it sounds Dominion in Grace." A Man can't be an Excise-Man, a Custom-House Officer, a Lieutenant in the Army or Navy, no, nor so much as a Tide-Waiter, without partaking of the most solemn

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solemn mark of Christianity, according to the Usage of the Church of England. Is not this a strong Temptation to Atheism and Hypocrisy? Does it not pervert one of the most solemn institutions of Christianity to purposes for which it was never intended? And is it not easy to find securities of a civil Nature sufficient for the preservation both of Church and State? When the Act took place the Duke of York, Lord high Admiral of England; Lord Clifford, Lord high Treasurer; and a great many other Popish Officers quitted their Preferments; but not one Protestant Dissenter, for there was not one such in the Administration; however, as the Church Party shewed a noble Zeal for their Religion, Bishop Burnet observes, that the Dissenters got great Reputation by their silent Deportment; but the King and Court Bishops resolved to stick in their Skirts. P. 352

This being the last Penal Law made against the Non-Conformists in this Reign, it may not be improper to put them all together, that the Reader may have a full View of their distressed Circumstances; for besides the Penal Laws of Queen Elizabeth, which were confirmed by this Parliament; one of which was no less than Banishment; and another a Mulct on every one for not coming to Church; (1.) The Act of Uniformity in the Year 1662, silenced all the Non-Conformist Ministers throughout England, and deprived them of their Maintenance. — (2.) The Corporation Act in 1661, incapacitated their People from serving their Country in the lowest Offices of Trust. — (3.) The Conventicle Acts in 1663 and 1670, forbids all Persons going to any separate Meetings for Religious Worship where more than five besides the Family were present, under very severe Fines, to be levied by the seizure of their Goods, or so many Months Imprisonment, to be determined not by a Jury, but the Warrant of a Justice of Peace. — (4.) The Oxford Act, 1665, banished all Non-Conformist Ministers five Miles from every Corporation that sent Members to Parliament. — And, (5.) The Test Act this Year made them incapable of all Places of Profit or Trust in the Government. What could have been done more to distress them, unless they had been sent to the Gallies or the Stake?

By the rigorous Execution of these Laws the Non-Conformist Ministers were separated from their Congregations, from their Maintenance, from their Houses and Families, and their People reduced to Misery and Want, and obliged to worship God in a manner contrary to the Dictates of their

Summary
of the Pe-
nal Laws.

Consequen-
ces of them.
Conf.
Plea,
Part I. p. 41.

King
Charles II.
1673.

their Consciences, on penalty of the Forfeiture of their Goods and Chattels, or of being shut up in a Prison among Thieves and Robbers. Great Numbers retired to the Plantations; but Dr. Owen, who was shipping off his Effects for New England, was forbidden to leave the Kingdom by express Orders from King Charles himself. If there had been Treason or Rebellion in the Case it had been justifiable; but when it was purely for Religion or Non-Conformity to some Rites and Ceremonies and a Form of Church Government, it can deserve no better Name than that of Cruel Persecution.

Duke of
York's 2d.
Marriage.

The House of Commons from their Apprehensions of the growth of Popery, and of a Popish Successor to the Crown, petitioned the King against the Duke's second Marriage with the Princess of Modena, an Italian Papist; but his Majesty told them they were too late. Upon which the Commons stopt their Money Bill, voted the standing Army a Grievance, and were proceeding to other Resolves, when the King sent for them to the House of Peers, and with a short Speech prorogued them to January 7, after they had sat but nine Days. In the mean time the Duke's Marriage was consummated, with the Consent of the French King, which raised the Expectations of the Roman Catholicks higher than ever.

Further
fruitless
Attempts
for a Com-
prehension.
Baxter,
Part III.
p. 110.

This induced the more zealous Protestants to think of a firmer Union with the Dissenters; accordingly Mr. Baxter, at the Request of the Earl of Orrery, drew up some Proposals for a Comprehension, agreeable to those already mentioned. "He proposed that the Meeting-Houses of Dissenters should be allowed as Chapels 'till there were Vacancies for them in the Churches — And that those who had no Meeting Houses should be School-Masters or Lecturers 'till such time — That none should be obliged to read the Apocrypha — That Parents might have liberty to dedicate their own Children in Baptism — That Ministers might preach where some body else who had the room might read the Common Prayer — That Ministers be not obliged to give the Sacrament to such as are guilty of scandalous Immoralities — Nor to refuse it to those that scruple Kneeling — That Persons excommunicate may not be imprisoned and ruined — And that Toleration be given to all conscientious Dissenters —" These Proposals being communicated to the Earl of Orrery were put into the Hands of Bishop Morley, who returned them without yielding to any thing of Importance. The Motion was also received in the House

Baxter,
Part III.
p. 140.

of

of Commons ; but the shortness of the Sessions put a stop to its Progress. Besides, the Court Bishops seemed altogether unconcerned in the Affair.

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1673.

This Year put an end to the Lives of two considerable Non-Conformist Divines ; Mr. William Whitaker, the ejected Minister of St. Mary Magdalen Bermondsey ; Son of Mr. Jer. Whitaker : A Divine of great Learning in the Oriental Languages. He was an eloquent Preacher, and a good Man from his Youth. While he was at Emanuel College he was universally beloved ; and when he came to London he was generally esteemed for his sweet Disposition. He was first Preacher at Hornchurch, and then at the Place from whence he was ejected. He afterwards preached to a separate Congregation as the times would permit, and died in the Year 1673.

Death of
Mr. Will.
Whitaker,

Mr. James Janeway, M. A. was born in Hertfordshire, and Student of Christ College, Oxford. He was afterwards Tutor in the House of Mr. Stringer at Windsor ; but not being satisfied with Conformity he set up a separate Meeting in Rotherhithe, where he preached to a numerous Congregation with great Success. He was a zealous Preacher, and fervent in Prayer, but being weakly, his indefatigable Labours broke his Constitution, so that he died of a Consumption March 16, 1673-4, in the 38th Year of his Age.

And of Mr.
Janeway.

The Revocation of the Indulgence, and the Displeasure of the Court against the Dissenters, for deserting them in their Designs to prevent the passing the Test Act, let loose the whole Tribe of Informers. The Papists being excluded from Places of Trust, the Court had no regard for Protestant Non-Conformists ; the Judges therefore had Orders to quicken the Execution of the Laws against them. The Estates of those of the best Quality in each County were ordered to be seized. The Mouths of the High Church Pulpiters were encouraged to open as loud as possible : One in his Sermon before the House of Commons told them, that the Non-Conformists ought not to be tolerated, but to be cured by Vengeance. He urged them to set Fire to the Faggot, and to teach them by Scourges and Scorpions, or open their Eyes with Gall. The King himself issued out a Proclamation for putting the Penal Laws in full Execution ; which had its Effect.

1674:
Severity of
the Court
against the
Dissenters
revived.
State
Tracts.
Vol. III.
p. 42.
Baxter,
Part III.
p. 158.

Mr. Baxter was one of the first upon whom the Storm fell, being apprehended as he was preaching his Thursday Lecture at Mr. Turner's. He went with the Constable and Keting the Informer to Sir William Pulteney's, who demanding the Warrant, found it signed by Henry Montague, Esq; Bailiff

Ibid.
Part III.
p. 155.

of

King
Charles II.
1674

of Westminster. Sir William told the Constable, that none but a City Justice could give a Warrant to apprehend a Man for preaching in the City, whereupon he was dismissed. Endeavours were used to surprize Dr. Manton, and send him to Prison upon the Oxford Act, but Mr. Bedford preaching in his room was accidentally apprehended; and tho' he had taken the Oxford Oath was fined twenty Pounds, and the Place forty Pounds, which was paid by the Hearers.

Others
Plundered,
Imprisoned
and Ruined.

Conf. Plea.
Part IV.
P. 75.

The like Ravages were made in most Parts of England; Mr. Joseph Swaffield of Salisbury was taken preaching in his own House, and bound over to the Assizes, and committed to the County Goal, where he continued almost a Year. Twenty five Persons Men and Women were indicted for a Riot, that is, for a Conventicle, and suffered the Penalty of the Law. The Informers were Roman Catholicks, one of whom was executed for Treason in the Popish Plot. At East Salcomb in Devonshire lived one Joan Boston, a Widow, aged and blind, who for a supposed Conventicle kept at her House was fined twenty Pounds, and for Non-payment of it threatened with a Goal. After some Weeks the Officers broke open her Doors, and carried away her Goods to above the Value of the Fine. (They sold as many Goods as were worth thirteen Pounds for fifty Shillings; six Hogheads valued at forty Shillings for nine Shillings; and Pewee, Feather Beds, &c. for twenty Shillings) besides the Rent which they demanded of her Tenants — Mr. John Thompson, Minister in Bristol, was apprehended on the Corporation Act, and refusing to take the Oxford Oath was committed to Prison, where he was seized with a Fever through the Noisomeness of the Place: a Physician being sent for, advised his removal; and a Bond of five hundred Pounds was offered the Sheriff for his Security: Application was also made to the Bishop, but without Success; so he died in Prison March 4, declaring, "That if he had known when he came to Prison that he should die there, he would have done no otherwise than he did." Numberless Examples of the like kind might be produced during the Recess of the Parliament. But the King's want of Money, and the Discontents of his People, obliged him to put an end to the War with the Dutch, upon no other advantage than a Sum of two or three hundred thousand Pounds for his Expences.

Peace
with the
Dutch.

Parliament
prosecute the
Papists and
the Cabal.

His Majesty was unwilling to meet his Parliament, who were now full of Zeal against Popery, and began to consider the Non-Conformists as Auxiliaries to the Protestant Cause; but Necessity obliged him to call them together; and

and as soon as they met Jan. 7, they address'd his Majesty to banish all Papists who were not House-keepers nor menial Servants to Peers, ten miles from London; and to appoint a Fast for the calamities of the Nation. They attacked the remaining Members of the Cabal, and voted them to be removed from his Majesty's Council; upon which the King prorogued them for above a year, after they had sat but six Weeks, without giving any Money, or having one single Act passed; which was an Indication of ill Blood between the King and Parliament, and a certain Forerunner of Vengeance upon the Dissenters. But to stifle the clamours of the People his Majesty republished his Proclamation, forbidding their meddling in State Affairs, or talking seditiously in Coffee-houses; and then commanded an Order to be made publick, "That effectual care be taken for the suppressing of Conventicles; and whereas divers pretend old Licenses from his Majesty, and would support themselves by that pretence, his Majesty declares, that all his Licenses were long since recalled, and that no Conventicle has any Authority, Allowance, or Encouragement from him."

King
Charles II.
1674.

Gazette,
No. 883.

Ib. No.
962, 965.

This year put an end to the Life of the Famous Mr. John Milton, born in London, and educated in Christ College, Cambridge, where he displayed an uncommon Genius, which was very much improved by his Travels. He was Latin Secretary to the Long Parliament, and writ in defence of the murder of King Charles I. against Salmasius and others, with great sharpness, but in a pure and elegant Latin Style. He was afterwards Secretary to the Protector Cromwel, and lost both his Eyes by hard Study. At the Restoration some of his Books were burnt, and himself in danger, but he was happily included in the Act of Indemnity, and lived afterwards a retired Life. He was a Man of a prodigious Genius, and did himself and the English Nation immortal honour by his incomparable Poem of "Paradise Lost;" in which he manifested such a wonderful sublimeness of Thought, as, perhaps, was never exceeded in any Age or Nation in the World. His Daughters read to him after he was blind the Greek Poets, tho' they understood not the Language. He died in mean Circumstances at Bunhill near London, in the sixty seventh year of his Age.

Death of
Mr. John
Milton.

Tho' the Protestant Religion stood in need of the united strength of all its Professors against the Growth of Popery, and the Parliament had moved for a Toleration of Protestant

1675.
Abp. Sheldon's circular Letter
against the
Dissenters.

Dissen-

King
Charles II.
1675.

Dissenters, yet the Bishops continued to prosecute them in common with the Papists. Archbishop Sheldon directed circular Letters to the Bishops of his Province, enjoining them to give directions to their Archdeacons and Commissaries, to get particular information from the Church-wardens of their several Parishes on the following Enquiries, and transmit them to him after the next Visitation, 1. What number of Persons are there, by common estimation, inhabiting within each Parish subject to your jurisdiction? 2. What number of Popish Recusants, or persons suspected of Recusancy, are resident among the inhabitants aforesaid? 3. What number of other Dissenters are there in each Parish of what Sect soever, which either obstinately refuse, or wholly absent themselves from the communion of the Church of England, at such times as by Law they are required?—Some of the Clergy were concerned at these proceedings, therefore Dr. Tillotson and Stillingfleet met privately with Dr. Manton, Bates, Pool and Baxter, to consider of terms of Accommodation, but when they had agreed, and communicated them to the Bishops, they were disallowed; so that when Tillotson saw how things were going, he cautiously withdrew from the odium, and writ the following Letter to Mr. Baxter, April 11, 1675.

“ That he was unwilling his name should be made public in
“ the affair, since it was come to nothing; not but that I
“ do heartily desire an accommodation (says he) and shall
“ always endeavour it; but I am sure it will be a prejudice to me, and signify nothing to the effecting the
“ thing, which as circumstances are, cannot pass in either
“ House, without the concurrence of a considerable part
“ of the Bishops, and the Countenance of his Majesty,
“ which at present I see little reason to expect.”

Attempts
for an Accommodation
frustrated by the
Bps.
Baxter,
Part III.
p. 157, 158.

People begin
to compassionate
the sufferings of
the Non-
conf.

But the Bishops conduct made them unpopular, and they met with many Rubs in their way; Peoples compassion began to move towards their dissenting Neighbours, whom they frequently saw carried in great numbers to prison, and spoiled of their Goods, for no other crime but a scrupulous Conscience. The very name of an Informer was odious, and their behaviour infamous. The Aldermen of London often went out of the way when they heard of their coming; and some denied them their Warrants, tho' by the Act they forfeited one hundred Pounds. Alderman Forth bound over an Informer to his good behaviour, for breaking into his Chamber without leave. When twelve or thirteen Bishops came into the City to dine with Sir Nathaniel Herne, Sheriff

Comp. Hist.
p. 338.

of

of London, and exhorted him to put the Laws in Execution against the Non-conformists, he told them plainly, they could not trade with their Neighbours one day, and put them in prison the next.

King
Charles II.
1675.

The moderate Churchmen shewing a disposition to unite with the Non-conformists against Popery, the Court resolved to take in the old ranting Cavaliers to strengthen the opposition; for this purpose Morley and some other Bishops were sent for to Court, and told, it was a great misfortune that the Church Party and Dissenters were so disposed to unite, and run into one; the Court was therefore willing to make the Church easy, and secure to the King the Allegiance of all his Subjects at the same time; for this purpose a bill was brought into the House of Lords, entituled, "An Act to prevent the dangers which may arise from Persons disaffected to the Government;" by which all such as enjoyed any beneficial Office or Employment, Ecclesiastical, Civil, or Military; all that voted in Elections of Parliament Men; all Privy Counsellors and Members of Parliament themselves, were under a penalty to take the following Oath: "I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traiterous position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are commissioned by him in pursuance of such Commission. And I do swear, that I will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the Government either in Church or State. So help me God." The design of the Bill was to enable the Ministry to go on with their destructive Schemes against the Constitution and the Protestant Religion, without fear of opposition even from the Parliament itself. The chief Speakers for the Bill were the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Keeper, Lord Danby and Finch, with Bishop Morley and Ward; but the Earl of Shaftsbury, Duke of Buckingham, Lord Hollis and Hallifax, laid open the mischievous Designs and Consequences of it: It was thought a disinheriting Men of their Birthright to shut them out from their Votes in electing by an ensnaring Oath, as well as destructive to the privilege of Parliament, which was to vote freely in all cases without any previous obligation; that the peace of the Nation would be best secured by making good Laws; and that Oaths and Tests without this would be no real Security; scrupulous Men might be fetter'd by them, but that the bulk of mankind would boldly take any Test,

Proceedings
of the Court
to establish
arbitrary
Power.

A Bill in
the H. of
Lords for
that Pur-
pose.

Baxter's
Life,
Part III.
p. 167.
Burnet, p.
384.

and

King
Charles II.
1675.

It is dropt.

Gazette,
No. 1059.

Remarks.

Burnet. p.
359.

Insolence of
the Papists
produces an-
other At-
tempt for
a Tolerati-
on.

and as easily break through it, as had appeared in the late times. The Bill was committed, and debated paragraph by paragraph, but the heats occasioned by it were so violent, that the King came unexpectedly to the House June 9, and prorogued the Parliament; so the Bill was dropt; but the debates of the Lords upon the intended Oath being made publick were ordered to be burnt. Two Proclamations were re-published on this occasion; one to prevent seditious discourses in Coffee-houses, the other to put a stop to the publishing seditious Libels.

The Court had reason to hope for the passing this Bill, because the Oath had been already imposed upon the Non-conformists; and the Court Clergy had been preaching in their several Churches, for several years, that Passive-obedience and Non-resistance was the received Doctrine of the Church of England; the Bishops had possessed the King and his Brother with the belief of it, and if it had now passed into a Law, the whole Nation had been fetter'd, and the Court might have done what they pleased. But the Parliament saw through the design; and, Dr. Burnet says, he opened the Reserve to the Duke of York, by telling him, "that there was no trusting to disputable opinions; "that there were Distinctions and Reserves in those who "had maintained these Points; and that when Men saw "a visible danger of being first undone and then burnt, "they would be inclined to the shortest way of arguing, "and save themselves the best way they could; interest "and self-preservation being powerful motives." This might be wholesome advice to the Duke, but implies such a secret Reserve as may cover the most wicked designs, and is not fit for the Lips of a Protestant Divine, nor even of an honest Man.

The daring insolence of the Papists, who had their regular Clergy in every corner of the Town, was so great, that they not only challenged the Protestant Divines to Disputations, but threaten'd to assassinate such as preached openly against their Tenets; which confirmed the Lords and Commons in their opinion of the absolute necessity of entering into more moderate and healing measures with Protestant Dissenters, notwithstanding the dead weight of the Bishops against it. Upon this occasion the Duke of Buckingham, now turned Patriot, made the following Speech in the House of Lords, which is inserted in the Com-
mons

mons Journal. " My Lords, there is a thing called Liberty, which (whatsoever some Men may think) is that the People of England are fondest of, it is that they will never part with, and is, that his Majesty in his Speech has promised to take particular care of. This, my Lords, in my opinion, can never be done without giving an Indulgence to all Protestant Dissenters. It is certainly a very uneasy kind of Life to any Man, that has either christian Charity, Humanity or good Nature, to see his Fellow-subjects daily abused, divested of their Liberty and Birthrights, and miserably thrown out of their possessions and Freeholds, only because they cannot agree with others in some opinions and niceties of Religion which their consciences will not give them leave to consent to, and which even by the confession of those who would impose them are no ways necessary to Salvation.

King
Charles II.
1675.
Duke of
Buckingham's
Speech for
a Toleration.

" But, my Lords, besides this, and all that may be said upon it, in order to the improvement of our Trade and increase of the wealth, strength and greatness of this Nation (which with your leave I shall presume to discourse of some other time) there is, methinks in this notion of persecution, a very gross mistake, both as to the point of Government and the point of Religion; there is so as to the point of Government, because it makes every Man's safety depend upon the wrong place, not upon the Governors or Man's living well towards the civil Government established by Law, but upon his being transported with zeal for every opinion that is held by those that have power in the Church that is in fashion; and I conceive it is a mistake in Religion, because it is positively against the express Doctrine and example of Jesus Christ. Nay, my Lords, as to our Protestant Religion there is something in it yet worse, for we Protestants maintain, that none of those opinions which Christians differ about are infallible, and therefore in us it is somewhat an inexcusable conception, that Men ought to be deprived of their inheritance, and all the certain conveniences and advantages of Life, because they will not agree with us in our uncertain opinions of Religion.

" My humble Motion therefore to your Lordships is, that you would give leave to bring in a Bill of Indulgence to all Protestant Dissenters. I know very well, that every Peer in this Realm has a right to bring into Parliament any Bill he conceives to be useful to his Nation;

King
Charles II.
1675.

“ but I thought it more respectful to your Lordships to ask
“ your leave before ; and I cannot think the doing it will be
“ any prejudice to the Bill, because I am confident the
“ reason, the prudence, and the charitableness of it will
“ be able to justify it to this House, and to the whole
“ World.” Accordingly the House gave his Grace leave
to bring in a Bill to that purpose ; but this and some others
were lost by the warm debates of the House, upon the
impeachment of the Earl of Danby, which occasioned the
sudden propagation of the Parliament June 9, without pas-
sing one publick Bill ; after which his Majesty, upon fur-
ther discontent, prorogued them for fifteen Months, which
gave occasion to warm debates in the next Session, whether
they were not legally dissolved.

Cry of the
Danger of
the Church
Deteſt.

P. 500.

From this time to the breaking out of the popish Plot
Parliaments were called and adjourned (says Mr. Coke) by
order from France or French Ministers and Pensioners, to
carry on the design of promoting the Catholick cause in
masquerade. The King himself was a known Pensioner of
Lewis XIV. who had appropriated a fund of twenty mil-
lions of Livres for the service of these Kingdoms, out of
which the Duke of York, and the prime Ministers and
leaders of parties had Donatives, according as the French
Ambassador represented their merit. The Pensioners made
it their business to raise the cry of the Church's danger,
and of the return of Forty One. This was spread over the
whole Nation in numberless Pamphlets, and News Papers,
&c. writ by their own hirelings, and if they met with op-
position from the other side, the Authors and Printers were
sure to be fined and imprisoned. A reward of fifty Pounds
was offered for the Printer of a Pamphlet, supposed to be
writ by Andrew Marvel, entituled, “ An account of the
“ Growth of Power, and a seasonable argument to all
“ Grand Juries ;” and one hundred Pounds for the Person
who conveyed it to the Press. No Man could get any thing
published on the side of Liberty and the Protestant Religion
but with the hazard of a Prison, and a considerable Fine ;
nor is this to be wonder'd at, considering that Sir Roger
L'Estrange was the sole Licenser of the Press.

Of Sir Ro-
ger L'
Estrange.

This Gentleman was a Pensioner of the Court, and a
Champion for the Prerogative ; he was a younger Son of Sir
Hammond L'Estrange of Norfolk, who having obtained
some hopes of surprizing the Town of Lynn for his Majes-
ty in the year 1644. obtained a Commission from the King
for

for that purpose, but being apprehended and tried by a Court Martial for coming into the Parliament's Quarters as a Spy, he was condemned, and ordered to be executed in Smithfield Jan. 2, 1644-5. but by the intercession of some powerful Friends he was reprieved, and kept in New-gate several years; but his sufferings made such an impression on his Spirit, that upon the King's Restoration he resolved to make reprisals on the whole Party. He was Master of a fine English Stile, and of a great deal of satyrical Wit, all which he employed without any regard to truth or honesty in the service of Popery and arbitrary Power, and in vilifying the best and most undoubted Patriots of his Country. Never did Man fight so to force the Dissenters into the Church (says Coke) and when he got them there branded them for Trimmers, and would turn them out again. He was a most mercenary Writer, and had a Pen at the Service of those who would pay him best. Forty One was his retreat against all that durst contend against him and the Prerogative. Sir Roger observed no measures with his adversaries in his "Weekly Observators, Foxes and Firebrands, Citty and Bumkin," and other Pamphlets; and when the falseness of his reasoning and wickedness of his railery was detected, "like a second Don Quixot," he called aloud to the Civil Magistrate to come into his aid. He represented the Religion of the Dissenters as a mixture of Folly and Vanity; their principles and tempers as turbulent, seditious, and utterly inconsistent with the peace of the State; their pretences as frivolous, and often baffled. He excited the Government to use the utmost severities to extirpate them out of the Kingdom. He furnished the Clergy with Pulpit Materials to rail at the Dissenters; upon which the Clergy delivered themselves up to much heat and indiscretion; Popery was forgot, and nothing so common in their Mouths as Forty One. L'Esrange published some of the incautious expressions of the Dissenters in the late times, which he picked out of their Writings, to excite the Pope against the whole party, as if it had not been easy to make Reprisals from the ranting expressions of the Tories in this Reign: For these exploits he was maintained by the Court, and knighted; and yet when the Tide turned in the Reign of King James II. he forgot "his railery against the Principles of the Non-conformists," and writ as zealously for liberty of Conscience, on the foot of the dispensing Power, as any Man in the Kingdom.

Burnet, p.
461.
Rapin.

King
Charles II.
1675.

Corbet's
Principles
and Prac-
tices of the
Non-conf.

But in answer to the Invectives of this mercenary Writer and others, a Pamphlet was published with the approbation of several Ministers, entituled, "The Principles and Practices of several Non-conformists, shewing that their Religion is no other than what is professed in the Church of England." The Authors declare, "that they heartily own the Protestant Reformation in Doctrine, as contained in the Articles of the Church of England.—That they are willing to embrace Bishop Usher's Model of Church Government, which King Charles I. admitted.—They hold it unlawful, by the constitution and laws of this Kingdom, for Subjects to take Arms against the King, his Office, Authority or Person, or those legally commissioned and authorized by him. Nor will they endeavour any alteration in Church or State by any other means than by Prayer to God, and by petitioning their Superiors.—They acknowledge the King's Supremacy over all Persons, &c. within his Dominions. —They declare that their Doctrine tends to no unquietness or confusion any more than the Doctrine of the Church of England. And they think it not fair dealing in their adversaries to repeat and aggravate all intemperate passages vented in the late times, when impetuous actings hurried Men into extremities; and they apprehend it would not tend to the advantage of the conforming Clergy, if Collections should be published of all their imprudences and weaknesses, as has been done on the other side.—They abhor seditious Conventicles, and affirm, that insurrections were never contrived in their Meetings, nor in any whereof they are conscious. Experience (say they) hath witnessed our peaceableness, and that Disloyalty or Sedition is not to be found among us by the most inquisitive of our Adversaries.—They desire the Church of England to take notice, that they have no mind to promote Popish Designs; that they are aware of the advantage that Papists make of the divisions of Protestants—That the invectives thrown out against them are made up only of big and swelling words, or of the indiscretions of a few, with which they are not chargeable.—They don't pretend to be Courtiers or Philosophers, but they teach their People to fear God and honour the King; to love the Brotherhood, to bridle their Tongues, to be meek and lowly, and to do their own Work with quietness."—

Tho'

Tho' the persecution continued very fierce, the Non-conformists ventured to assemble in private, and several Pamphlets were published about this time in their defence ; as, " The Peaceable Design ; or, an account of the Non-conformists Meetings." By some London Ministers, designed, says Dr. Stillingfleet, to be presented to Parliament. " Reasons which prevailed with the Dissenters in Bristol to continue their Meetings, however prosecuted or disturbed " — Separation no Schism — A rebuke to Informers ; with a Plea for the Ministers of the Gospel called Non-conformists, and their Meetings ; with advice to those to whom the Informers apply for assistance in their Undertaking."

King Charles II. 1676.

Pamphlets in favour of separate Meetings.

These Informers were now become the terror of the Non-conformists, and a reproach to a civilized Nation. They went about in disguise, and like wandering Strollers lived upon the plunder of industrious Families. They are a select Company (says the Conformists Plea for the Non-conformists) whom the Long-suffering of God permits for a time ; they are of no good reputation ; they do not so much as know the names or Persons in the Country whom they molest, but go by report of their under Servants and Accomplices. They come from two or three Counties off to set up this new Trade ; whether they are Papists or nominal Protestants, who can tell ? they never go to their Parish Churches, nor any other, but lie in wait and ambush for their Prey ; their estate is invisible, their Country unknown to many, and their Morals are as bad as the very dregs of the Age : These are the Men who direct and rule many of the Magistrates ; who live upon the spoil of better Christians and Subjects than themselves, and go away with honest Mens Goods honestly gotten.—They are generally poor (says another Writer) as are many of the Justices, so that they shared the Booty belonging to the King as well as the Poor among themselves ; by which means the King and Poor got but little.

Of the Informers. Conform. Plea, Part III. P. 8, 9, 10.

Sewel, p. 493.

Their practice was to insinuate themselves into an acquaintance with some under Servants, or Lodgers in a Non-conformist Family, under the Cloak of Religion, in order to find out the place of their Meeting. They walked the Streets on the Lord's Day, to observe which way any suspected Persons went. They frequently set down in Coffee-Houses, and places of publick resort, to listen to conversation. They could turn themselves into any shape, or speak any Language, to obtain their Ends. When they had dis-

Their Method.

King
Charles II.
1676.

covered a Conventicle they immediately got a warrant from some who were called confiding Justices, to break open the House. If the Minister was in the midst of his Sermon or Prayer they commanded him, in the King's name, to come down from his Pulpit; and if he did not immediately obey, a file of Musqueteers was usually sent up to pull him down by force, and to take him into custody; the Congregation was broke up, and the People guarded along the Streets to a Magistrate, and from him to a Prison, unless they immediately paid their fines: The goods of the House were rifled, and frequently carried off as a security for the large Sum of Money set upon it.

Their infamous Lives
and Death.

This was a new way of getting Money, but it seldom or never prospered; that which was ill gotten was as ill spent, upon lewd Women, or in Taverns and Ale-houses, in gaming or some kind of Debauchery. An Informer was but one degree above a Beggar; there was a remarkable blast of providence upon their persons and substance: Most of them died in poverty and want; and as they lived in disgrace they seemed to die by a remarkable hand of God. Stroud and Marshal, with all their plunder, could not keep out of Prison; and when Keting, another Informer, was confined for Debt, he writ to Mr. Baxter to endeavour his deliverance, confessing he believed God had sent that calamity upon him, for giving him so much trouble. Another died in the Compter for Debt; and great numbers by their debaucheries came to miserable and untimely ends.

They are
encouraged
by the
Court,

But as some died off others rose up in their places, who by the instigation of the Court disturbed all the Meetings they could find out. The King commanded the Judges and Justices of London to put the penal Laws in strict Execution; and Sir Jos. Sheldon, Lord Mayor, and Kinsman to the Archbishop, did not fail to do his part. Sir Thomas Davis gave out a warrant to distrain on Mr. Baxter for fifty Pounds, on account of his Lecture in New-street; and when he had built a little Chapel in Oxenden-street, the Doors were shut up after he had preached in it once. In April this year he was disturbed by a company of Constables and Officers, as he was preaching in Swallow-street, who beat Drums under the Windows, and interrupted the service, when they had not a warrant to break open the House.

And the Bi-
shops.
State
Tracts.
Vol. II. p.
54, 55.
Vol. III. p.
42, &c.

The Court Bishops, as has been observed more than once, pushed on the Informers to do all the mischief they could to the Non-conformists; "The Prelates will not suffer them to be quiet in their Families (says a considerable Writer of

“ of these Times) tho’ they have given large and ample
 “ Testimonies that they are willing to live quietly by their
 “ Church Neighbours.”—— The dissenting Protestants
 have been reputed the only enemies of the Nation, and
 therefore only persecuted (says a noble Writer) while the
 Papists remain undisturbed, being by the Court thought
 loyal, and by our great Bishops not dangerous. Mr. Locke,
 Bishop Burnet, and others, have set a black mark upon the
 names of Archbishop Sheldon, Bishop Morley, Gunning,
 Henchman, Ward, &c. but I mention no more, because
 there were others of a better spirit who resided in their Dio-
 ceses, and did not concern themselves with the Court.

King
 Charles II.
 1676.

Among these we may reckon Dr. Edward Reynolds, Bi-
 shop of Norwich, born in Southampton, 1599. and edu-
 cated in Merton College, Oxford; he was Preacher to the
 Society of Lincoln’s Inn, and reckoned one of the most
 eloquent pulpit Men of his Age. In the time of the civil
 Wars he took part with the Parliament, and was one of the
 Assembly of Divines. In the year 1646. he was appointed
 one of the Preachers to the University of Oxford, and af-
 terwards a Visitor. Upon the reform of the University he
 was made Dean of Christ-Church, and Vice-chancellor.
 After the King’s death he lost his Deanry for refusing the
 Engagement, but complied with all the other changes till
 the King’s Restoration, when he appeared with the Presby-
 terians, but was prevailed with to accept a Bishoprick on the
 terms of the King’s Declaration, which never took place.
 He was a Person of singular affability, meekness, and hu-
 mility, and a frequent Preacher, tho’ he had but a hoarse
 voice. He was a constant resident in his Diocese, and a
 good old Puritan, who never concerned himself with the
 politicks of the Court. He died at Norwich Jan. 16. 1676.
 Ætatis Seventy six.

Death of
 Bishop
 Reynolds.

The murmurs of the people against the Government still
 ran very high. When the Parliament met they address’d
 the King to enter into an Alliance with the Dutch, and other
 Confederates, for preserving the Spanish Netherlands, as
 the only means to save Great-Britain from Popery and
 Slavery. But his Majesty said, he would not suffer his pre-
 rogative of making War and Peace to be invaded, nor be
 directed what Alliances it was proper for him to enter into.
 However, he consented to a separate peace with the Dutch,
 and then prorogued the Parliament to the middle of July,
 by which time the French had almost compleated their con-
 quests of the Spanish Flanders. The chief thing the Par-
 liament

1677.
 Dangerous
 State of the
 Nation.
 Gazette,
 No. 1203.

King
Charles II.
1677.

Marriage of
the Prince
of Orange
with the
Princess
Mary.

liament could obtain, was the repeal of the popish Act "De
" Hæretico comburendo."

But when the Campaign was over his Majesty did one of
the most popular Actions of his Reign, which was, marry-
ing the Princess Mary, eldest Daughter of the Duke
of York, to the Prince of Orange. The King imagi-
ned he could oblige the Dutch by this Marriage to sub-
mit to a disadvantageous peace with the French; but when
the Prince declared roundly, that he would not sacrifice his
honour, nor the liberties of Europe for a Wife, his Majesty
said, he was an honest Man, and gave him the Princess
without any conditions, to the great joy of all the Prote-
stants in the Nation, who had now a Protestant Heir to the
Crown in view, tho' at some distance. The Nuptials were
solemnized Nov. 4, 1677. and the Royal Pair soon after
embarked privately for Holland.

Death of
Archbp.
Sheldon,
and Promo-
tion of San-
croft and
Compton.

This year died Archbishop Sheldon, one of the most in-
veterate Enemies of the Non-conformists, a Man of high
persecuting Principles, and a Tool of the Prerogative, who
made a jest of Religion, any farther than it was a political
Engine of State. He was succeeded by Dr. Sancroft, who
was deprived for Jacobitism at the Revolution. Dr. Com-
pton was promoted to the See of London, in the room of
Doctor Henchman, a Man of weak, but arbitrary Princi-
ples, till it came to his own turn to be pinched. Many of
the Bishops were with the King this Summer, for his Com-
mands to put the penal Laws in Execution, which they did
with so much diligence, that Mr. Baxter says, he was so
weary of keeping his doors shut against Persons that came to
distrain his Goods for preaching, that he was forced to leave
his House, to sell his Goods, and part with his very Books.
About twelve years (says he) I have been driven one hundred
miles from them, and when I had paid dear for the carriage,
after two or three years was forced to sell them. Which
was the case of many others, who being driven from their
Families and Friends, and having no way of Subsistence,
were forced to sell their Books, and part with their Hou-
shold Furniture to keep them alive.

Baxter,
Part III.
P. 171, 172.

Death of
Dr. Man-
ton.

This year died the Reverend Dr. Thomas Manton, ejectioned from Covent Garden; he was born in Somersetshire
1620. educated at Tiverton School, and from thence placed
in Wadham College, Oxon. He was ordained by Dr. Hall
Bishop of Exeter, when he was not more than twenty years
of age: His first settlement was at Stoke-Newington, near
London;

London, where he continued seven years, being generally esteemed an excellent Preacher, and a learned Expofitor of Scripture. Upon the death or refignation of Mr. Obádiah Sedgwick, he was prefented to the Living of Covent-garden by the Duke of Bedford, and preached to a numerous Congregation. The Doctör was appointed one of the Protector's Chaplains, and one of the Triers of perfons Qualifications for the Miniftry ; which fervice he constantly attended. In the year 1660. he was very forward in concert with the Prefbyterian Minifters, to promote the King's Reftoration, and was one of the Commiffioners at the Savoy Conference ; he was then created Doctör of Divinity, and offered the Deanry of Rochefter, but declined it. After he was turned out of his Living in 1662. he kept a private Meeting in his own Houfe, but was imprifoned, and met with feveral difturbances in his minifterial Work. He was in all the Treaties for a comprehension with the Eftablifhed Church, and in high efteem with the Duke of Bedford, Earl of Manchefter, and other noble Perfons. At length finding his Conftitution breaking, he refigned himfelf to God's wife difpofal, and being feized with a kind of Lethargy, he died October 18, 1677. in the fifty feventh year of his age, and was buried in the Chancel of the Church of Stoke Newington. Dr. Bates in his Funeral Sermon fays, he was a Divine of a rich fancy, a ftrong memory, and happy elocution, improved by diligent Study. He was an excellent Chriftian, a fervent Preacher, and every way a bleffing to the Church of God. His practical Works were publifhed in five Volumes in Folio at feveral times after his death, and are in great efteem among the Diffenters to this Day.

King
Charles II.
1677.

About the fame time died Mr. John Rowe, M. A. born in the year 1626. and educated for fome time at Cambridge, but tranflated to Oxford about the time of the Vifitation in the year 1648. Here he was admitted M. A. and Fellow of Corpus Chrifti College. He was firft Lecturer at Witney in Oxfordfhire ; afterwards Preacher at Tiverton in Devonfhire, and one of the Commiffioners for ejectioning ignorant and infufficient Minifters in that County. Upon the death of Mr. William Strong in the year 1654, he was called to fucceed him in the Abbey Church of Weftminfter ; at which place, as in all others, his Sermons were very much frequented by perfons of all Perfuaſions. On the 14th of March 1659. he was appointed one of the approvers of
Minifters

And of Mr.
John Rowe.

King
Charles. II.
1677.

Ministers by Act of Parliament; but on the King's Restoration he gave way to the change of the times, and was silenced with his Brethren by the act of Uniformity. He was a Divine of great gravity and piety; his Sermons were judicious and well studied, fit for the audience of Men of the best Quality in those times. After the Bartholomew Act he continued with his People, and preached to them in Bartholomew Close, and elsewhere, as the times would permit, till his death, which happened October 12, 1677. in the fifty second year of his age. He lies buried in Bunhill Fields, under an Altar Monument of a Brick Foundation. The Words with which he concluded his last Sermon were these, " We should not desire to continue longer in this " World than to glorify God, to finish our Work, and to " be ready to say, Farewel Time, welcome blessed Eter- " nity: Even so come, Lord Jesus!

C H A P. X.

From the Popish Plot to the Death of King Charles II. in the year 1684-5.

1678.
Peace of
Nimeguen.

THE King having concluded a peace with the Dutch, became Mediator between the French and the Confederates at the Treaty of Nimeguen; where the former managed the English Court so dexterously, that the Emperor and Spaniards were obliged to buy their peace at the expence of the best part of Flanders.

From this time to the end of the King's Reign we meet with little else but Domestick Quarrels between the King and his Parliament; Sham Plots, and furious Sallies of Rage and Revenge, between the Court and Country Parties. The Non-conformists were very great Sufferers by these Debates; the penal Laws being in full force, and the execution of them in the hands of their declared Enemies.

The Popish
Plot.
Richard, p.
934.

No sooner was the Nation at peace abroad, but a formidable Plot broke out at home, to take away the King's Life, to subvert the Constitution, to introduce Popery, and to extirpate the Protestant Religion Root and Branch. It was called the Popish Plot from the nature of the design, and the Quality of the Persons concerned in it, which were no less than Pope Innocent XI. Cardinal Howard his Legat; and the Generals of the Jesuits in Spain and at Rome.

Rome. When the King was taken off the Duke of York was to receive the Crown as a Gift from the Pope, and hold it in fee. If there happened any disturbance, the City of London was to be fired, and the Infamy of the whole Affair to be laid upon the Presbyterians and Fanatics, in hopes that the Churchmen in the Heat of their Fury would cut them in pieces, which would make way for the more easy Subversion of the whole Protestant Religion. Thus an Insurrection, and perhaps a second Massacre of the Protestants was intended; for this purpose they had great numbers of Popish Officers in pay, and some Thousands of Men secretly listed to appear upon Occasion; as was depofed by the Oaths of Bedloe, Tongue, Dr. Oates, and others.

King
Charles II.
1678.

The Discovery of this Plot spread a prodigious Alarm over the Nation, and awakened the Fears of those who were before at Ease. The King's Life was the more valuable because of the Popish Successor, who was willing to run all risks for the introducing his Religion. The murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey at this Juncture, a zealous and active Protestant Justice of peace, encreased Men's Suspicions of a Plot, and the Depositions upon Oath of the above-mentioned Witnesses, seemed to put it beyond all doubt; for upon their Impeachment Sir G. Wakeman the Queen's Physician; Mr. Ed. Coleman the Duke of York's Secretary, Mr. Richard Langhorne, and eight other Romish Priests and Jesuits, were apprehended and secured. When the Parliament met they voted, that "There was a damnable hellish plot contrived and carried on by Popish Recusants against the Life of the King and the Protestant Religion." Five Popish Lords were committed to Custody, viz. Lord Stafford, Powis, Arundel, Petre, and Bellafys. A Proclamation was issued out against Papists; and the King was addressed to remove the Duke of York from his person and Councils.

Alarms the
Nation.

Tho' the King himself gave no Credit to the Plot, yet finding it impracticable to stem the Tide of the People's Zeal, he gave way to the Execution of the Law upon several of the condemned Criminals: Mr. Coleman, and five of the Jesuits, were executed at Tyburn, who protested their Innocence to the last; and a year or two forward Lord Stafford was beheaded on Tower Hill. But the Court Party turned the plot into ridicule; the King told Lord Halifax, that it was not probable that the Papists should conspire

Not credited
at Court.

King
Charles II.
1678.

spire to kill him, for have I not been kind enough to them (says his Majesty?) Yes (says his Lordship) you have been too kind indeed to them; but they know you will only Trot, and they want a Prince that will Gallop. The Court employed their Tool Sir Roger L' Estrange to write a weekly paper against the plot; but the country party encouraged Mr. Car to write a Weekly Packet of advice from Rome, discovering the frauds and superstitions of that Court; for which he was arraigned, convicted and fined, and his papers forbid to be printed any more by order of the King's Bench; an admirable Protestant Court of Judicature!

Act to dis-
qualify Pa-
pists to sit in
Parliament.
Burnet, p.
436.

But it was impossible to quiet the Minds of the Parliament, who had a quick sense of the danger of Popery, and therefore passed a Bill to disable all persons of that Religion from sitting in either House of Parliament, which is still in force, being excepted out of the Act of Toleration: The Act requires all Members of Parliament to renounce by Oath, The Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and to declare the Worship of the Virgin Mary, and of the Saints, practised in the Church of Rome, to be idolatrous. Bishop Gunning argued against charging the Church of Rome with Idolatry; but the House did not much regard him; and when the Bill was past he took the Oath in common with the rest.

Occasion of
dissolving
the Long
Parliament.

The Duke of York got himself excepted out of the Bill, but the fears of his Accession to the Crown were so great, that there was a loud talk of bringing a Bill into the House, to exclude him from the Succession as being a Papist, upon which the King came to the House November 9. and assured the House, that he would consent to any Bills for securing the Protestant Religion, "provided they did not impeach the right of Succession, nor the descent of the Crown in the true line, nor the just rights of any Protestant Successor." But this not giving Satisfaction, his Majesty came to the House again towards the latter end of December, and first prorogued, and then dissolved the Parliament, after they had sat almost eighteen Years.

Remarks on
the Popish
Plot.

It may be proper to observe concerning the Popish Plot, that tho' the King's Life might not be immediately struck at, yet there was such strong Evidence to prove the reality of a Plot to subvert the constitution and introduce Popery, that no disinterested Reader can doubt it. Mr. Rapin, who had carefully considered all the Evidence, concludes that "there was a meditated design, supported by the King and the Duke of York, to render the King absolute, and introduce the Popish Religion;" for this is precisely what is meant by the Plot: The Design of killing the King was

only

only an Appendage to the Plot, supposing it to be real, and an Effect of the Zeal of some private persons who thought the Plot would be crowned with the surer success by speedily setting the Duke of York upon the Throne. Bishop Burnet adds, that tho' the King and he agreed in private Conversation, that the greatest part of the evidence was a contrivance, yet it appeared (says he) by Coleman's Letters, that the design of converting the Nation, and of rooting out the Northern Heresy, was very near being executed. To which I beg leave to add, That tho' the design of killing the King did not take place at this time, his Majesty felt the effects of it, in his violent Death, four or five Years afterwards.

King
Charles II.
1678.
p. 427,
437.

This Year died Mr. Thomas Vincent, M. A. the ejected Minister of Milk Street, born at Hertford May 1634. and educated in Christ Church, Oxford. He was Chaplain to Robert Earl of Leicester, and afterwards Minister of Milk Street, London, till the Act of Uniformity turned him out. He was an humble and zealous Preacher, of moderate principles, and an unspotted Life. He continued in the City throughout the whole Plague, the Awfulness of which gave him a peculiar fervency and zeal in his ministerial work. On this Occasion he published some very awakening Treatises; as, "A Spiritual Antidote for a dying Soul." And, "Gods terrible Voice in the City by the Plague in the Year 1665." He not only preached in publick, but visited all the Sick that sent for him in their infected Houses, having no fear of Death upon him. He continued in health all the while, and was afterwards useful, as the times would permit, to a numerous congregation, being generally respected by Men of all persuasions; but his excessive Labours put an end to his Life October 15th, 1678. in the forty fifth Year of his Age.

Death of
Mr. Tho.
Vincent.
Cal. cont.
p. 30.

Mr. Theophilus Gale, M. A. and Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, was ejected from Winchester, where he had been stated Preacher for some time; after which he travell'd abroad as Tutor to the Sons of Philip Lord Wharton. Upon his return he settled with Mr. John Rowe as an assistant, in which Station he died. The Oxford Historian allows, that he was a Man of great reading, an exact Philologist and Philosopher, a learned and industrious Divine, as appears by his "Court of the Gentiles," and, "The Vanity of Pagan Philosophy." He kept a little Academy for the Instruction of Youth, and was well versed in the Fathers, being at the same time a good Metaphysician and School Divine. He died of a Consumption this Year, in the Forty ninth Year of his Age.

And of Mr.
Gale.

The

King
Charles II.
1679.

A new Par-
liament.

The King having called a new Parliament to meet in March, all Parties exerted themselves in the Choice; the Non-Conformists appeared generally for those who were for prosecuting the Popish Plot, and securing a Protestant Succession: These being esteemed Patriots of their Country, in Opposition to those who made a loud Cry for the Church, and yet fell in with the arbitrary Measures of the Court, and the personal Interest of the Duke of York. The Elections in many Places were carried with great Heat, but went almost every where against the Court. Mr. Rapin says, That the Presbyterians, tho' long oppressed, were still numerous in Corporations, so that by the Majority of their Votes they commonly carried it in favour of their Friends. The Semi-Conformists (as Mr. Eachard calls the moderate Churchmen) and the Dissenters being on one Side, and the High Churchmen and Papists on the other. Before the Parliament met, the Duke of York was sent out of the Way to Flanders, but with this positive Assurance, that his Majesty would consent to nothing in Prejudice of his Right of Succession. And further to ingratiate himself with the People, and make a Shew of Moderation, a new Privy Council was chosen out of the Low Church Party; but this not satisfying as long as the Duke's Succession was in view, the Commons soon after the Sessions began, ordered a Bill to be brought in to disable the Duke of York from inheriting the Imperial Crown of England, and carried it through the House with a high Hand. Upon which his Majesty came to the House and dissolved them, before they had sat three Months. This threw the Nation into new Convulsions, and produced a great Number of Pamphlets against the Government, the Act for Restraining the Press being lately expired.

Meal-Tub
Plot.
Burnet, p.
475.
Rapin, p.
239, 240.

The Popish Plot having fixed a Brand of Infamy and Ingratitude on the whole Body of the Roman Catholicks, the Courtiers attempted to relieve them, by setting on Foot a sham Protestant Plot, and fathering it upon the Presbyterians: For this Purpose mercenary Spies were employed to bring news from all Parts of the Town, which was then full of Cabals. At length a Plot was formed by one Dangerfield, a subtle and dangerous Papist, but a very Villain, who had been in Gaol for Debt, but got out by the Assistance of one Mrs. Cellier the Midwife, a lewd Woman, who carried him to the Countess of Powis, whose Husband was in the Tower for the Popish Plot; with her he formed his Scheme, and having got a List of the Names of the chief Protestant

King
Charles II.
1679.

Protestant Nobility and Gentry, he writ treasonable Letters to them, to be left at the Houses of the Non-Conformists and others in several Parts of England, that Search being made upon some other Pretences, when the Letters were found, they might be apprehended for Treason. At the same Time he thrust himself into the Company of some of the most zealous Enemies of Popery about Town, and informed the King and the Duke of York, "that he had been invited to accept of a Commission; that a new Form of Government was to be set up; and that the King and Royal Family were to be banished." The Story was received with Pleasure, and Dungerfield had a Present, and a Pension of three Pounds a Week, to carry on his Correspondence. Having got some little Acquaintance with Colonel Mansel in Westminster he made up a Bundle of seditious Letters, with the Assistance of Mrs. Cellier, and having laid them in a dark Corner of Mansel's Room behind the Bed, he sent for Officers from the Custom-House to search for prohibited Goods while he was out of Town, but none were found, except the Bundle of Letters, which, upon Examination of the the Parties concerned, before the King and Council, were proved to be Counterfeit; upon which the Court disowned the Plot, and having taken away Dungerfield's Pension sent him to Newgate. Search being made into Mrs. Cellier's House there was found a little Book in a Meal Tub, written very fair, and tied up with Ribbands, which contained the whole Scheme of the Fiction. It was dictated by Lady Powis, and proved by her Maid to be laid there by her Order, from whence it obtained the Name of the Meal Tub Plot. Dungerfield, who was a profligate Lyar, finding himself undone if he persisted in what he could not support, made an ample Confession of the whole Matter, and published a Narrative, wherein he testified, That "He was employed by the Popish Party; and chiefly by the Popish Lords in the Tower, with the Countess of Powis, to invent the MEAL TUB PLOT, which was to have thrown the POPISH PLOT wholly upon the Presbyterians." It was printed by Order of the House of Commons in the Year 1680. Dungerfield being pardoned went out of the Way into Flanders; but returning to England in King James's Reign he was tried for it, and sentenced to be whipt at the Cart's Tail from Newgate to Tyburn; in his Return from whence he was murdered by one Francis in the Coach. Mrs. Cellier was tried June 11. 1680. before the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, and acquitted for want of Witnesses. But the

King
Charles. II.
1679

State
Tracts,
Vol. II. p.
217.

the Discovery, instead of relieving the Papists from the Charge of the Popish Plot, turned very much to their Disadvantage ; for when the next House of Commons met they resolved, That Sir Robert Can be expell'd the House and sent to the Tower, for declaring publickly in the City of Bristol, that there was no Popish but a Presbyterian Plot. Sir Robert Yeomans was sent for into Custody on the same Account ; and Mr. Richard Thompson a Clergyman was impeached for decrying the Popish Plot in his Sermon, Jan. 30 1679. and for turning the same upon the Protestants ; for which, and for Preaching against the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the Privileges of Parliament, the House declared him a Scandal and Reproach to his Profession.

Death of
Mr. Matt.
Pool.

This Year died the Reverend and Learned Mr. Matthew Pool, M. A. the ejected Minister of St. Michael's Querne ; he was born in Yorkshire, and educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge, a Divine of great Piety, Charity, and Literature. He was indefatigably laborious, and left behind him (says the Oxford Historian) the Character of a most celebrated Critick and Casuist. After ten Years hard Labour, by the Assistance of some Noblemen and others, he published his Synopsis Criticorum, in five Folio's. He afterwards entered on a Commentary upon the whole Bible, but finished no further than the fifty third Chapter of Isaiah : However, the Performance being very valuable, was carried on, and compleated by other Hands. Mr. Pool published several other valuable Treatises, as " the Nullity of the Romish Faith, &c." for which he was threaten'd to be assassinated ; his Name being in Dr. Oates's List ; he therefore retired to Holland, but died (as it is thought) by Poison at Amsterdam, in the Month of October, 1679. *Ætat.* Fifty six.

Cal. cont.
p. 15.

Of Dr.
Thomas
Goodwin.

Dr. Thomas Goodwin, born at Rolisby in Norfolk, and educated in Katherine Hall, Cambridge. He was a great Admirer of Dr. Preston, and afterwards himself a famous Preacher in Cambridge. In 1634, he left the University, being dissatisfied with the Terms of Conformity. In 1639, he went into Holland, and became Pastor of an Independant Congregation at Arnheim. He returned to London about the Beginning of the Long Parliament, and was one of the Dissenting Brethren in the Assembly of Divines. After the King's Death he was made President of Magdalen College and one of the Tryers of Ministers. He was in high Esteem with Oliver Cromwel, and attended him on his Death-Bed. In the common Register of the University he is said to be, *In scriptis Theologicis quam plurimis orbi notus, i. e.*

Well

Well known to the World by many theological Writings. After the Restoration he was ejected from his Presidentship, and retired to London, where he continued the exercise of his Ministry to his death, which happen'd Feb. 23. 1679-80. in the eightieth year of his age. He was a good Scholar, and an eminent Divine and Textuary. His works are since printed in five Folio's.

King
Charles II.
1679.

The last Parliament being dissolved abruptly, a new one was called to assemble October 17. in which the Elections went pretty much as before, the cry of the people being, No Popery, No Pensioners, No Arbitrary Government. But the King prorogued them from time to time for above a twelve-month, without permitting them to do business. His Majesty falling sick in the Summer the Duke of York returned immediately to Court without the King's leave, which alarmed the people, and made them eager for the sitting of the Parliament to regulate the Succession. This gave rise to sundry Petitions, signed by great numbers of Hands both in City and Country, which the King received with the utmost displeasure telling the Petitioners, "that he was sole Judge of what was fit to be done: You would not take it well (says he) if I should meddle with your affairs, and I desire you would not meddle with mine." After this the King issued out his Proclamation, declaring them to be contrary to law, and forbidding his Subjects to promote any Subscriptions, or to join in any petitions of this kind upon peril of the utmost rigor of the Law. Warrants were issued out against several of the Petitioners, and an indictment preferr'd against others. But at the next Sessions of the common Council of London, Jan. 21. the Court agreed that no such Petition should be presented from them; and the King gave them thanks for it.

1680.
Of the Pe-
titioners
for the Sit-
ting of the
Parliament,
and of the
Abhorrrers.
Eachard, p.
982, 987.

Gazette,
No 1468,
1489.

Upon which Counter Addresses were promoted all over the Nation, expressing their detestation and abhorrence of the seditious practice of the late Petitioners, and referring the sitting of the Parliament absolutely to the King's sovereign pleasure, from whence they obtained the name of Abhorrrers. In these Addresses they offer their lives and fortunes for the preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government, and for the Succession of the Duke of York. They renounce the right of the subjects petitioning, or intermeddling in affairs of State, and lay their liberties at the feet of the prerogative, promising to stand by it, and to be obedient without reserve to his Majesty's Commands; all which were printed in the Gazettes, and dispersed over the Kingdom. Upon this people were every where in a ferment; several of the Privy Council

Burnet,
p. 487.

King
Charles II.
1680.

deserted their stations at Court, and desired to be excused their attendance at Council; some in the admiralty laid down their places; and because they might not petition, an Association was formed, and copied after the example of that in Queen Elizabeth's time, by sundry Persons, "for the defence of his Majesty's person, and the security of the Protestant Religion, and to revenge his Majesty's death upon the Papists, if he should come to any violent death." A model of which was said to be found among the Earl of Shaftsbury's papers. This was resented very highly at Court, as done without the Royal Authority, and produced the next year, another set of ranting Addresses from all parts of the Kingdom, in which their lives and fortunes were given up to the King, and the Association branded with the names of damnable, cursed, execrable, traitorous, seditious, and a Bond of Rebellion, which they detest and abhor from their very Souls; in most of which the Non-Conformists are marked as enemies of the King and his Government, and their Conventicles as the encouragement and life of the Associations. They promise to stand by the Duke's Succession, and to choose such Members for the next Parliament as shall do the King's business according to his mind. But notwithstanding all that the Court could do, the near approach of a popish Successor awaken'd mens fears, and kept them upon their guard.

Which gave
Rise to
Whig and
Tory.

The Petitioners for the sitting of the Parliament, and their adversaries, the Abhorrrers of such Petitions, gave rise to the two grand parties which have since divided the Nation under the distinguishing names of Whig and Tory.

Of the
Whigs.

The Whigs or Low Churchmen were the more zealous Protestants, declared enemies to Popery, and willing to remove to a farther distance from their superstitions; they were firm to the Constitution and liberties of their Country; and for an Union, or at least a toleration of dissenting Protestants. The Clergy of this persuasion were generally men of larger principles, and therefore were distinguished by the name of Latitudinarian Divines: their Laity were remarkable for their zeal in promoting the Bill of Exclusion, as the only expedient to secure the Protestant Establishment in this Kingdom. They were for confining the Royal Prerogative within the compass of the Law, for which reason their adversaries charged them with republican Principles, and gave them the reproachful name of Whigs or Sowr Milk, a name first given to the most rigid Scots Covenanters.

The

The Tories or High Churchmen stood on the side of the Prerogative, and were for setting the King above Law; they went into all the arbitrary Court measures and adopted into our Religion (says Dr. Welwood) a Mahometan principle, under the names of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance, which since the times of that Impostor, who first broach'd it, has been the means to enslave a great part of the World. These Gentlemen leaned more to a Coalition with the Papists than with the Presbyterians. They cried up the name and authority of the Church, and were for forcing the Non-Conformists to come into it, by all kinds of coercive methods; but with all their zeal they were generally persons of lax and dissolute morals, and would risk the whole Protestant Religion rather than go into any measures of exclusion, or limitation of a popish Successor. Most of the Clergy (says a Member of Parliament) are infected with the Laudean principles of raising money without Parliament; one or two Bishops give measures to the rest, and they to their Clergy, so that all derive their politicks from one or two, and are under the influence of an over-awing power. No Men did more to enslave the Nation, and introduce Popery into the Establishment than they; their adversaries therefore gave them the name of Tories, a name first given to Irish Robbers, who lived upon plunder, and were prepared for any daring or villainous enterprize.

King
Charles II.
1680.

Of the
Tories.
Mem. p.
125.

Burnet,
Collect. of
Debates,
p. 163.

The Non-Conformists fell in unanimously with the Whigs or Low Churchmen in all points relating to liberty and the civil Constitution, as they must always do if they are consistent with themselves; but these with their allies were not a sufficient ballance for the Tories, the road to preferment being the other way; but they were kept in heart with some secret hopes, that by a steady adherence to the Constitution they should one time or other obtain a legal toleration. If the Reader will keep in mind the distinction between these two parties, and the superior influence of the Tories above the Whigs, he will easily account for the severities which befel the Non-Conformists in the latter part of this Reign

When the Parliament met October 21. the Commons were very warm in maintaining the Protestant Religion and the privileges of Parliament. They asserted the rights of the people to petition for the sitting of Parliaments, and voted the Abhorrrers betrayers of the liberties of the Nation. Among other grievances they complained that the edge of the penal Laws was turned against Protestant Dissenters, while the Papists remained in a manner untouch'd—"That the

Proceedings
of Parlia-
ment.
Rapin, p.
263.
Eachard,
p. 995.

King
Charles II
1680.

Bill of Ex-
clusion.
brought in a
second
Time.

Wel. Me-
moirs,
p. 127.

Attempts
for a Com-
prehension.

Speeches
against it.
Eachard,
p. 999.

“ Test Act had little effect because the Papists either by
“ dispensations obtained from Rome, submitted to those
“ Tests, and held their offices themselves ; or those put in
“ their places were so favourable to the same interest, that
“ Popery itself had rather gained than lost ground by that
“ Act.” They declared for that very Association to revenge
the King’s death upon the Papists, if his Majesty should hap-
pen to be assassinated, which the Tories had abhorred ; and in
the month of November revived the Bill to disable the Duke
of York from inheriting the Imperial Crown of these Realms.
It was introduced by Lord Russel, and passed the Commons
by a great majority, but was thrown out of the House of
Lords by a majority of thirty voices, No’s sixty three, Yea’s
thirty three, the bench of Bishops being in the negative, and
the King present during the whole debate. ’Tis said King
Charles came into the bill at first, the favourite mistress having
prevailed with him to abandon his brother for a large sum of
money, and an Act of Parliament for him to dispose of the
Crown, by will under certain restrictions ; but a foreign po-
pish Court offering more money he opposed it to the last.

The Parliament being inclined to relieve the Non-
Conformists, appointed a Committee Nov. 18. who agreed
upon a comprehension with the Dissenters upon much the
same terms with those already mentioned ; they were to sub-
scribe the doctrinal articles of the Church ; the Surplice was to
be omitted, except in Cathedrals and the King’s Chapel ; the
Ceremonies to be left indifferent. And as for such Protestants
as could not be comprehended within these terms they were
to have a toleration, and freedom from the the penal Statutes,
upon condition of subscribing a declaration of allegiance, &c.
and of assembling with open doors. Bishop Burnet says, The
Bill for a comprehension was offered by the episcopal party in
the House of Commons, but that the friends of the Dissenters
did not seem forward to promote it, because (as Mr. Baxter
observes) they found the Bill would not go ; or if it had pas-
sed the Commons it would have been thrown out by the
Bishops in the House of Lords ; “ the Clergy (says Kennet)
“ being no further in earnest than as they apprehended the
“ knife of the Papists at their throats.”

When the above-mentioned Bill was brought into the House
December 21. entitled, An Act for uniting his Majesty’s
Protestant Subjects, the first gentleman of the Court party
that spoke against it, said, “ There were a sort of men who
“ would neither be advised nor over-ruled, but under the
pretence

King
Charles II,
1680.

“ pretence of Conscience break violently through all Laws
 “ whatsoever, to the great disturbance both of Church
 “ and State ; therefore he thought it more convenient to
 “ have a Law for forcing the Dissenters to yield to the
 “ Church, and not to force the Church to yield to
 “ them——” Another said, “ He was afraid, that if
 “ once the Government should begin to yield to the Dis-
 “ senters it would be as in Forty One, nothing would serve
 “ but an utter Subversion ; the receiving of one thing
 “ would give occasion for demanding more ; and it would
 “ be impossible to give them any Satisfaction without lay-
 “ ing all open, and running into confusion.” This is the
 common Language of the Tories.—But then why was not
 the Experiment tried ? Has the Church ever moved a pin,
 or abated a single ceremony, to gain over the whole Body
 of the Non-conformists ? There has been a loud cry a-
 gainst them for their obstinacy and perverseness, but not a
 single concession has been offered since the Restoration, to
 let the World see how far they would yield ; or by receiv-
 ing a denial to get an opportunity to reproach them with
 greater advantage. But in favour of the Bill it was said
 by others, “ That it was intended for the preservation of
 “ the Church, and the best Bill that could be made in or-
 “ der thereto, all circumstances considered——If we are
 “ to deal with a stubborn sort of People, who in many
 “ times prefer their humour before reason, or their own
 “ safety, or the publick good, this is a very good time to
 “ see whether they will be drawn by the cords of Love
 “ or no. The Bill will be very agreeable to that Christian
 “ Charity which our Church professes ; and it may be
 “ hoped that in the time of this imminent danger they
 “ will consider their own safety, and the safety of the Pro-
 “ testant Religion, and no longer keep a-foot the unhap-
 “ py divisions among us, on which the Papists ground their
 “ hopes ; but when they see the Church so far conde-
 “ scend, as to dispense with the Surplice, and those other
 “ things they scruple, that they will submit to the rest
 “ which are enjoined by Law, that so we may unite a-
 “ gainst the common Enemy. But if this Bill should not
 “ have the desired effect, but on the contrary the Dis-
 “ senters should continue their animosities and disobedience
 “ to the Church, I think still the Church will gain much
 “ hereby, and leave the party without excuse.—” This
 seems agreeable to reason.

Others in
favour of
it.

King
Charles II.
1680.

It is lost,
and a
Bill for a
Toleration.
or easing
them from
the Penal-
ties of 35
Eliz.
introduced.
Burnet,
p. 494.
With-drawn
by the Clerk
of the
Crown,

But though the Bill for a Comprehension was committed, it did not pass the House, but was changed for another, entitled, "An Act to exempt his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties imposed upon the Papists by the Act of 35th Eliz." This terrible Law had lain dormant almost eighty years, but was now revived, and threatened to be put in Execution by the Tories. The Repeal passed the House of Commons with a high Hand, but went heavily through the House of Lords; the Bishops apprehending that the terror of the Law might be of some use while in force: But when it should have been offered for the Royal Assent at the close of the Session, it was missing, and never heard of any more, the Clerk of the Crown having withdrawn it from the Table, by the King's particular Order. The King (says Burnet) had no mind openly to deny the Bill, but less mind to pass it, and therefore this illegal method was taken, which was an high offence in the Officer of the House, and would have been severely punished in the next Session, if the Parliament had not been abruptly dissolved. Thus the Non-conformists were sawn to pieces between the King, the Bishops and the Parliament; when one party was willing to give them relief, the other always stood in the way. The Parliament was their Enemy for above twelve years, and now They are softened, the King and the Court Bishops are inflexible, and his Majesty will rather break the Constitution in pieces, than exempt them from the old Law which threatened them with banishment and death.

Votes of the
Commons. Eachard.

p. 495.

However, the Morning before the House was prorogued, January 10, two Votes were passed of a very extraordinary nature. "1. Resolved Nemine Contradicente, that it is the opinion of this House, That the Acts of Parliament made in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James against Popish Recusants ought not to be extended against Protestant Dissenters. 2. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this House, That the Prosecution of Protestant Dissenters upon the Penal Laws is at this time grievous to the Subject, a weakening the Protestant Interest, an encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom." Bishop Burnet says this was thought an Invasion of the Legislature, when one House pretended to suspend the execution of the Laws, which was to act like Dictators in the State. But with all due

due Submission I should think that a House of Commons, which is not suffered to sit and repeal Laws, or when they have repealed them have their Bills, withdrawn illegally by the Crown, may have liberty to declare the continuance of those Laws burdensome to the State. They must do so (says Mr. Coke) in order to a Repeal. If the Bill for the Repeal of the old Popish Act de Hæretico comburendo for burning Hereticks, which the Parliament were afraid might be revived in a Popish Reign, had been lost in this manner, might not the Parliament have declared the execution of that Law a weakening to the Protestant Interest, or dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom?

King
Charles II.
1680

p. 561.

But while the Parliament was endeavouring to relieve the Dissenters, and charging the Miseries of the Kingdom upon the Papists, many of the Bishops and Clergy of the Church of England were pleased to see the Court enclined to prosecute the Non-conformists. The Clergy in general (says Rapin) were attached to the Court; Men of doubtful Religion were promoted, and there was reason to charge them with leaning to Popery. Even some of the better sort who writ against Popery, went so far into the Court Measures as to charge the calamities of the times upon the Non-conformists; and to raise the cry of the populace against them. Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, who had writ an Irenicum in favour of Liberty, and against Impositions, now turned about, and in his Sermon before the Lord Mayor, May 2. intituled, "The Mischief of Separation," condemned all the Dissenters as Schismatics; and very gravely advised them not to complain of persecution. When the Sermon was published it brought upon the Doctor several learned Adversaries, as Mr. Baxter, Mr. Alfop, Mr. Howe, Mr. Barret, and Dr. Owen; from which last Divine, who writ with great Temper and Seriousness, I will venture to transcribe the following passage, without entering into the argument: "After so many of the Non-conformists died
" in common Goals (says the Doctor) so many have en-
" dured long imprisonments, not a few being at this day
" in the same durance; so many driven from their Hab-
" itations into a wandering condition to preserve for a while
" the Liberty of their Persons; so many have been redu-
" ced to want and penury by the taking away their goods,
" and from some the very Instruments of their Livelihood.
" After the Prosecution that has been against them in all
" Courts of Justice in this Nation, on Informations, In-
" dictments, and Suits, to the great Charge of all who

Dr. Stilling-
fleet writes
against the
Dissenters.

p. 276.

Various
Answers to
his Sermon.

p. 53, 54

King
Charles II.
1680.

Collyer. p.
900.

Vol. I.
p. 189.

Death
of Mr.
Charnock

“ have been so persecuted, and the ruin of some. After
“ so many Ministers and their Families have been brought
“ into the utmost outward Straits which Nature can sub-
“ sist under; after all their perpetual Fears and Dangers
“ wherewith they have been exercised and disquieted,
“ they think it hard to be censured for Complaining, by
“ them who are at ease.” The Doctor endeavoured to
support his Charge by the Suffrage of the French Presby-
terians; and Compton Bishop of London writ to Mon-
sieur Le Moyne, and several others, for their opinions, as
if Truth was to be determined by Numbers; or as if the
English Presbyterians could pay a vast deference to their
Judgments, who had so deceived them at the Restoration.
The Ministers, after high strains of compliments to the
English Bishops, declared, that they were of opinion, their
Brethren might comply; and, that “ They were not for
“ pushing things to extremity only for a different Form of
“ Government.” Which the Doctor and his Friends in-
terpreted as a decision in their favour. But did not the Bi-
shops push things to extremity, by enforcing the sanguina-
ry Laws? Were these Protestant methods of conversion?
The French Ministers complained sufficiently of this about
five years after, at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz;
and Bishop Burnet adds of Dr. Stillingfleet, That he not
only retracted his Irenicum, but went into the humours of
the high sort of People beyond what became him, perhaps
“ Beyond his his own sense of things.”

This year died Mr. Stephen Charnock, B. D. first of
Emanuel College, Cambridge; and afterwards Fellow of
New College, Oxford. He was Chaplain to Henry Crom-
wel Lieutenant of Ireland, and was much respected by the
Gentry, and Persons of Quality in the City of Dublin, for
his Gentleman-like behaviour. After the Restoration he re-
turned into England, and became Pastor, of a separate Con-
gregation in London, where he was admired by the more
judicious part of his Hearers, tho’ not popular, because of
his disadvantageous way of reading with a Glass: He was an
eminent Divine, and had a good Judgment, a curious fan-
cy, a strong manner of reasoning, as appears by his works
printed since his death in two Volumes Folio; which were
no other than his common Sermons transcribed from his
Notes; his Style is manly and lofty, and his Thoughts sub-
lime: His love and charity were very extensive, and there
was no part of learning but he was acquainted with. He
died July 27, 1680. aged fifty two.

The

The King having parted with his last Parliament in displeasure, without being able to obtain any Money, resolved once more to try a new one; and apprehending that the Malecontents were encouraged by the neighbourhood of the City of London, he summoned them to meet at Oxford; the Members for London being the same as before, had a Paper put into their Hands by four Merchants in the Name of all the Citizens then assembled in Common Hall, containing a return of their most hearty thanks for their faithful and unwearied endeavours in the two last Parliaments to search into the depth of the Popish Plot, to preserve the Protestant Religion, to promote an Union among his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, to repeal the 35th of Elizabeth, and the Corporation Act, and to promote the Bill of Exclusion, and to request their continuance of the same. The Members being afraid of violence were attended to Oxford with a numerous Body of Horse having Ribbons in their Hats, with these words, No Popery; No Slavery; the Citizens having promised to stand by them with their Lives and Fortunes. Many other papers of the like nature were presented to the Members in the several Counties. The King in his Speech at the opening the Sessions, March 21. reflected severely on the last Parliament, and said, "He was resolved to maintain the Succession of the Crown in the right Line," but for quieting People's Fears he was willing to put the Administration into the hands of a Protestant Regent; but the Commons rejected the Proposal, to the inexpressible joy of the Duke's Party, and ordered the Bill of Exclusion to be brought in again. In the mean time a motion was made to consider of the Loss of the Bill in favour of the Dissenters last Parliament. Sir William Jones said, "The Bill was of great moment and service to the Country, and might be to their Lives, in the time of a Popish Successor; but be the Bill what it will, the Precedent was of the highest consequence; the King has a Negative to all Bills, but surely the Clerk of the Parliament has not.—If this way be found out, that Bills shall be thrown by, it may hereafter be said, they were forgot and laid by, and so we will never know whether the King would pass them or no: If this be suffered 'tis in vain to spend time here—"

In conclusion this affair was referred to a Conference with the House of Lords, which was frustrated by the hasty dissolution of the Parliament.

King Charles II. 1681.

The Oxford Parliament. Eachard, p. 1002. Rapin, p. 284.

They revive the Bill of Exclusion. Their Proceedings about the withdrawing the Toleration Bill.

They

King
Charles II.
1681.

Fitz-Har-
ri's sham
Plot de-
signed a-
gainst the
Dissenters.
Burnet,
p. 497.
Eachard.

His Libel.

They next went upon the Libel of one Fitz-Harris an Irish Papist, which was a second Meal Tub Plot, promoted in the Name of the Non-conformists; the Libel was to be sent by penny post Letters to the Lords who had protested in favour of the Bill of Exclusion, and to the leading Men, in the House of Commons, who were immediately to be taken up and searched. Everard, who was Fitz-Harris's Confident, and betrayed the secret, affirmed, That the King himself was privy to it, as Fitz-Harris's Wife averred to a Person of Worth many years after; that his Majesty had given Fitz-Harris Money, and promised him more if it met with success. The Libel was to traduce the King and Royal Family as Papists, and arbitrarily affected from the beginning, and says, that King Charles I. had a hand in the Irish Rebellion——That the Act forbidding to call the King a Papist was only to stop Men's Mouths, and that it was as much in the power of the People to depose a Popish Possessor as a Popish Successor. It was entituled, the “True Englishman speaking plain English;” and adds, “If James be conscious and guilty, Charles is so too; believe me, these too Brothers in iniquity are in confederacy with the Pope and the French to introduce Popery and arbitrary Government, and to cast off Parliaments, Magna Charta, and the Liberty of the Subject, as heavy Yokes, and to be as arbitrary as the King of France ——Let the English move and rise as one Man to self-defence; blow the trumpet, stand on your guard, and withstand them as Bears and Tigers——Trust to your Swords in defence of your Lives, Liberties and Religion, like the stout Earl of old, who told his King, if he could not be defended by Magna Charta, he would be relieved by Longa Spada.” He goes on to reproach the King with the Breach of his Scots Oaths, Breda Promises, Protestant Profession, Liberty of Conscience, as designed only to delude Protestants; and puts him in mind of all his political and moral Vices, as intended to debauch the Nation, to promote the Popish Religion and Arbitrary Government, &c. Thus were the Non-conformists to be exposed again to the Resentments of the Nation; but when the Sham was discovered to the House of Commons by Sir William Waller, he had the thanks of the House, and Fitz-Harris, though impeached in Parliament, was tried by a Jury, and executed with Dr. Plunket the titular Primate of Ireland. The Whigs would have

have saved Fitz-Harris, though a Papist, in hopes of his being an Evidence in the Popish Plot ; but the Court resolved to dispatch him out of the way, that he might tell no more Tales.

King
Charles II.
1681.

The King hearing that the Bill of Exclusion was to be brought into the House again, went suddenly, and not very decently (says Burnet) to the House of Lords in a Sedan, with the Crown between his Feet, and having put on his Robes in haste, called up the Commons and dissolved his fifth and last Parliament, after they had sat but seven days. As soon as his Majesty got out of the House he rid away in all haste to Windsor, as one that was glad he had got rid of his Parliament, which was the last that he called ; though he lived three or four years after. Here was an end of the Constitution and Liberties of England for the present ; all that followed to the King's Death was no more than the Convulsions and Struggles of a dying Man. The King raised what Money he wanted without Parliaments ; he took away all the Charters of England, and governed absolutely by his sovereign Pleasure. April the 8th the King published " A Declaration to all his loving Subjects, touching the causes and reasons that moved him to dissolve the " two last Parliaments ;" and ordered it to be read in all the Churches and Chapels throughout England. It contains a recital of his Majesty's Condescensions for the security of the Protestant Religion, " as far as was consistent with " the Crown in the lineal Descent ;" and a large rehearsal of the unsuitable returns of the Commons.— " But notwithstanding all this (says his Majesty) let not these Men, " who are labouring to poison our people with Commonwealth Principles, persuade any of our Subjects that we " intend to lay aside the use of Parliaments, for we still " declare, that no irregularities in Parliaments shall make " us out of love with them ; and we are resolved, by the " Blessing of God, to have frequent Parliaments ;" and yet he never called another. Several anonymous remarks were made upon this Declaration to weaken its influence. But the Court used all their interest among the people to support it : Addresses were sent from all parts, thanking the King for his Declaration, promising to support his Majesty's Person and Government with their Lives and Fortunes. Most of them declared against the Bill of Exclusion, and for the Duke's Succession (as has been observed.) Some ventured to arraign the late Parliament, as guilty of Sedition and Treason, and to pray his Majesty to put in Execution the

He is executed.
Sudden
Dissolution
of the Par-
liament.
Burnet,
p. 499.

King's De-
claration of
Reasons
for it.

Burnet, p.
500, 506.

King
Charles II.
1681.

Address
from the
University of
Cambridge.

the Statute of 35 Eliz. against the Non-conformists. The Grand Juries, the Bench of Justices in the Counties, Boroughs, and Corporations over England, the Companies in Towns, and at last the very Apprentices, sent up addresses. Those that brought them were well treated at Court, and some of them knighted. Many zealous healths were drank, and in their cups the swaggerings of the old Cavalier seemed to be revived. One of the most celebrated Addresses was from the University of Cambridge, presented by Dr. Gower, Master of St. John's, which shall give the Reader a Specimen of the rest. It begins thus, "Sacre-
" cred Sir ! We your Majesty's most faithful and obedi-
" ent Subjects have long, with the greatest and sincerest
" Joy, beheld the generous Emulation of our Fellow-sub-
" jects, contending who should best express their Duty to
" their Sovereign at this time, when the seditious Endeavours of unreasonable Men have made it necessary to as-
" sert the antient Loyalty of the English Nation.—
" It is at present the great honour of this your University, not only to be steadfast and constant in our Duty but
" to be eminently so, and to suffer for it as much as the calumnies and reproaches of factious and malicious Men
" can inflict upon us. And that they have not proceeded
" to sequestration and plunder, as heretofore, next to the
" over-ruling Providence of Almighty God, is only due
" to the Royal Care and Prudence of your most sacred
" Majesty, who gave so seasonable a check to their arbitrary and insolent undertakings.—We still believe
" and maintain, that our Kings derive not their power
" from the People, but from God ; that to him only they
" are accountable ; that it belongs not to Subjects either
" to create or censure, but to honour and obey their Sovereign, who comes to be so by a fundamental, hereditary right of Succession, which no Religion no Law,
" no Fault or Forfeiture can alter or diminish ; nor will
" we abate of our well instructed Zeal for the Church
" of England as by Law established.—Thus we have
" learned our own, and thus we teach others their Duty to
" God and the King—" His Majesty discovered an unusual Satisfaction on this occasion, and after having returned them thanks, was pleased to add, "That no other
" Church in the World taught and practised Loyalty so
" conscientiously as they did.

As

As such abject and servile flattery could not fail of pleasing the King, it must necessarily rain down Vengeance on the Non-conformists, who joined in none of their addresses, but were doomed to suffer under a double character, as Whigs, and as Dissenters. "This (says Bishop Burnet) was set on by the Papists, and it was wisely done of them, for they knew how much the Non-conformists were set against them. They made use also of the insincere Zeal of the High Church Clergymen to ruin them, which they knew would render the Clergy odious, and give the Papists great advantage when opportunity offered." The times were boisterous and stormy; sham plots were contrived, and warrants issued out against the Leaders of the Whig party for seditious Language; Shaftsbury, now called the Protestant Earl, was sent to the Tower, and Stephen College, the Protestant Joiner, was carried to Oxford, and hanged, after the Grand Jury in London had brought in their Bill Ignoramus. Witnesses were brought over from Ireland, and employed to swear away Men's Lives. The Court intended to set them to swear against all the hot party, which was plainly Murder in them who believed them false Witnesses (says Burnet) and yet made use of them to destroy others. Spies were planted in all Coffee-Houses, to furnish out Evidences for the Witnesses. Mercenary Justices were put into Commission all over the Kingdom; Juries were packed; and with regard to the Non-conformists, Informers of the vilest of the People were countenanced to a shameful degree, in so much that the Goals were quickly filled with prisoners, and large Sums of Money extorted from the Industry and Labour of honest Men, and put into the hands of the most profligate Wretches in the Nation.

King Charles II. 1681.

Persecution of the Dissenters revived by order of the King and Court. p. 528.

p. 504, 505, 506.

The Justices of Middlesex shewed great forwardness, and represented to his Majesty in December, "That an Intimation of his Pleasure was necessary at this time to the putting the Laws in Execution against Conventicles, because when a charge was lately given at the Council Board to put the Laws in Execution against Popish Recusants no mention was made of suppressing Conventicles." Upon this his Majesty commanded the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Justices, to use their utmost endeavour to suppress all Conventicles and unlawful Meetings, upon pretence of religious Worship, for it was his express Pleasure, that the Laws be effectually put in Execution against them, both in City and Country. Accordingly the Justices

Orders of the King and Council. Eachard.

King
Charles II.
1681.

Justices of Peace at their sessions at Hickes's Hall, Jan. 13. order'd, " That whereas the Constables and Church-Wardens, &c. of every Parish and Precinct within the said County, had been enjoined last sessions to make a return the first Day of this, of the names of the Preachers in Conventicles, and the most considerable frequenters of the same within their several limits; which order not being obeyed, but contemned by some, it was therefore by the Justices then assembled desired, that the Lord Bishop of London will please to direct those Officers which are under his jurisdiction, to use their utmost diligence, that all such persons may be excommunicated, who commit crimes deserving the Ecclesiastical Censure; and that the said Excommunications may be published in the Parishes where the persons live, that they may be taken notice of, and be obvious to the penalties that belong to persons excommunicate, (viz) " Not to be admitted for a Witness, or returned upon Juries, or capable of suing for any debt." They further ordered at the same time, " That the Statute of the first of Eliz. and third of King James, be put in due Execution, for the levying twelve pence per Sunday upon such persons who repaired not to divine Service and Sermons at their Parish, or some other publick Church." All which (says Mr. Eachard) made way for all sorts of prosecutions both in City and Country, which in many places were carried on with great spight and severity, where there never wanted busy Agents and Informers, of which a few were sufficient to put the Laws in Execution; so that the Dissenters this year, and much longer (says he) met with cruel and unchristian usage; which occasioned great complaints among the people, and some severe reflections on the King himself.

Treatises
published in
favour of
Dissenters.

It was not in the power of the Church-Whigs to relieve the Non-Conformists, nor deliver them from the edge of the penal Laws, which were in the hands of their enemies. All that could be done was to encourage their constancy, and to write some compassionate Treatises to move the people in their favour, by shewing them, that while they were plundering and destroying their Protestant dissenting Neighbours they were cutting the Throat of the whole reformed Religion, and making way for the triumphs of Popery upon its ruins. Among other Writings of this sort, the most famous was, " The Conformists Plea for the Non-Conformists, in four parts, by a beneficed Minister and a regular Son of the Church of England." In which the author undertakes

undertakes to shew. 1. The greatness of their sufferings. 2. The hardness of their Case. The reasonableness and equity of their proposals for Union. 4. The qualifications and worth of their Ministers. 5. Their peaceable behaviour. 6. Their agreement with the Church of England in the articles of her Faith. 7. The prejudice to the Church by their exclusion; and then concludes with an account of the infamous lives, and lamentable deaths, of several of the Informers. It was a rational and moving performance, but had no influence on the Tory Justices, and tribe of Informers. There was no stemming the tide; every one who was not a furious Tory (says Rapin) was reputed a Presbyterian.

King
Charles II.
1681.

Most of the Clergy were with the Court, and distinguished themselves on the side of persecution. The Pulpits every where resounded with the Doctrines of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance, which were carried to all the heights of King Charles I. No eastern Monarch (according to them) was more absolute than the King of England. They expressed such a zeal for the Duke's Succession, as if a popish King over a Protestant Country had been a special Blessing from Heaven. They likewise gave themselves such a loose against Protestant Non-Conformists, as if nothing was so formidable as that party. In all their Sermons Popery was quite forgot (says Burnet) and the force of their zeal was turned almost wholly against Protestant Dissenters. In many Country Places the Parson of the Parish, who could swagger and drink, and swear with the most notorious rakes in his neighbourhood, was put into the Commission of the Peace, and made a confiding Justice, by which means he was both Judge and Party in his own cause. If any of his sober Parishioners did not appear at Church they were sure to be sent for, and instead of the mildness and gentleness of a Christian Clergyman, they usually met with haughty and abusive language, and the utmost rigor the Law could inflict. There was also a great change made in the Commissions all over England. A Set of confiding Magistrates was appointed; and none were left on the Bench or in the Militia that did not declare for the arbitrary Measures of the Court; and such of the Clergy as would not engage in this fury were declaimed against as Betrayers of the Church, and secret favourers of the Dissenters; but the truth is (says the Bishop) the number of sober honest Clergymen was not great, for where the carcass is, the Eagles will be gathered together. The scent of preferment will draw aspiring men after it. Upon the whole,

The Conduct of the
High
Church
Clergy.

Rapin. p.
309, 310.
Burnet, p.
501.

King
Charles II.
1681.

Sufferings
of the
Non-Con-
formists.

whole, the times were very black at present, and the prospect under a popish Successor more threatening.

It would fill a Volume to go into all the particulars of these unchristian proceedings, which even the black Registers of the Spiritual Courts cannot fully unfold. The Reverend Mr. Edward Bury assisting at a private fast on account of the extraordinary drought, was apprehended June 14. and fined twenty pounds; and for refusing to pay it, because he did not preach, they took away his goods, books, and even the bed he lay upon. The Reverend Mr. Philip Henry was apprehended at the same time, and fined forty pounds, and for non-payment they carried away thirty three loads of corn that lay cut upon the ground, together with hay, coals, and other chattels. The Informers took the names of one hundred and fifty more who were at the Meeting: They fined the master of the house twenty pounds, and five more as being Constable that year, and exacted five Shillings a head from all that were present. Examples of this usage in London, Middlesex, and most of the Counties of England, are innumerable.

And of the
Quakers.
Sewel,
p. 574, 581.

The Quakers published a relation of the sufferings of their friends since the Restoration, by which it appeared, that great numbers had been fined by the Bishops Courts, robbed of their substance, and perished in prison. Many had been so beaten and wounded for attending their Meetings that they died of their wounds. An account was also published, of the unjust proceedings of the Informers, shewing, that at their instance many had been plunder'd without a juridical process; that seven hundred of them were now in prison in several parts of England, and especially about Bristol; but it availed nothing.

Death of the
Reverend
Mr. Gouge.
Tillotson's
Works.
Vol. I.
p. 265.

In the midst of this furious persecution the famous Mr. Thomas Gouge, Son of Dr. Gouge of Black Friars, and the ejected Minister of St Sepulchres, was taken out of this World: He was born at Bow near Stratford, 1605. bred at Eaton School, and educated in King's College, Cambridge. He settled at St. Sepulchres in the year 1638. and for twenty four years discharged all the parts of a vigilant and faithful Pastor. He was a wonder of piety, charity, humility and moderation, making it his study to keep a Conscience void of offence towards God and all men. Mr. Baxter says, He never heard any man speak to his dishonour, except, that he did not conform. * He was possessed of a good Estate, and devoted the chief of it to charity. He settled Schools, to the number of three or four hundred, and gave money to teach Children to read in the mountainous parts of Wales, where

he

he travell'd annually, and preached, 'till he was forbid by the Bishops, and excommunicated, tho' he went as a hearer to the Parish Churches. He printed eight thousand Welch Bibles, a thousand of which were given to the poor, and the rest sent to the principal Towns of Wales to be sold at an under rate. He printed five hundred of the whole Duty of Man in Welch; and gave them away; two hundred and forty new Testaments; and kept almost two thousand Welch Children at school to learn English. Archbishop Tillotson, in his funeral Sermon, says, That all things consider'd, there has not since the primitive times of Christianity been many among the Sons of Men, to whom that glorious character of the Son of God might be better applied, that He went about doing Good. He was a Divine of a chearful spirit, and went away quietly, in his sleep, October 29. 1681. in the seventy seventh year of his age.

King
Charles II.
1681.

While the Tories and High Church Clergy were destroying the Dissenters, the Court was intent upon subverting the Constitution, and getting the government of the City into their hands. June 24 there was a contest about the election of Sheriffs which occasioned a considerable tumult. And when the election of a Lord Mayor came on at Michaelmas, the citizens were again in an uproar, the Lord Mayor pretending a right to adjourn the Court, while the Sheriffs, to whom the right belonged, continued the poll till night; when the books were cast up each party claimed the majority according to their several books. The contest rose so high, that Sir William Prichard, Lord Mayor, was afterwards arrested at the suit of Mr. Papillon and Dubois, and kept prisoner in Skinners Hall till midnight. But when the affair came to a trial the election was set aside, Papillon and Dubois were imprisoned, and the leading men on the Whig side who had distinguished themselves in the contest, were fined in large sums of money, which made way for the loss of the charter.

Contest about Election of Magistrates.

The Court would have persuaded the Common Council to make a voluntary surrender of it to the Crown, to put an end to all contests for the future; but not being able to prevail, they resolved to condemn it by law; accordingly a Quo Warranto was issued out against the charter, because the common Council in one of their addresses, had petitioned for the sitting of the Parliament, and had taxed the prorogation as a delay of Justice; and because they had laid taxes on their wharfs and markets contrary to law. After Trial upon these two points the judge declared it to be the unanimous opinion of the Court, That the Liberties and Franchises of the City

1682
Charter of the City of London, &c. forfeited.
Burnet, p. 528.
568.
Rapin, p. 319.

King
Charles II.
1682

Burnet, p.
527, 530,
536.
Gazette,
No. 1835.

Remarks.

Death of Mr.
Case.

of London be seized into the King's hands, but judgment was not to be enter'd till the King's pleasure was further known. In the mean time the Lord Mayor and Common Council, who are the Representatives of the City, agreed to submit to the King's mercy, and sent a deputation to Windsor, June 18. 1683. to beg pardon ; which the King was pleased to grant on condition, " That his Majesty might have a negative on the " choice of all the chief Magistrates—That if his Majesty " disapproved of their choice of a Lord Mayor, they should " chuse another within a week—And that if his Majesty " disapproved their second choice he should himself nominate " a Mayor for the year ensuing ; " and the like as to Sheriffs, Aldermen, &c. When this was reported back to the Common Council, it was put to the vote, and upon a division one hundred and four were for accepting the King's regulation, and eighty six against it ; but even these concessions continued no longer than a year. The Charter of London being lost, the Cities and Corporations all over England were prevailed with to deliver up their Charters, and accept of such new ones as the Court would grant, which was the highest degree of perfidy and baseness in those who were intrusted with them, especially when they knew that the design was to pack a Parliament, in order to make way for a popish King.

Thus the liberties of England were delivered up to the Crown ; and tho' the forms of law were continued, mens lives and estates were at the mercy of a set of profligate creatures who would swear any thing for hire. Juries (says Burnet) were a shame to the nation, and a reproach to Religion, for they were packed and prepared to bring in Verdicts as they were directed, and not as matters appeared upon the evidence. Zeal against Popery was decried as the voice of a faction who were enemies to the King and his Government. All rejoicings on the fifth of November were forbid, and strict orders given to all Constables and other Officers to keep the peace ; but the populace not being so orderly as they should have been, several London Apprentices were fined twenty marks for a riot, and set in the Pillory. These were the triumphs of a Tory and popish Administration !

A little before this died old Mr. Thomas Case, M. A. educated in Christ Church, Oxford, and one of the assembly of Divines ; he was peculiarly zealous in promoting the Morning Exercises, but was turned out of his living of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, for refusing the engagement—and imprisoned for Mr. Love's Plot ; he was afterwards Rector
of

of St. Giles's, and waited on the King at Breda. He was one of the Commissioners at the Savoy; but was silenced with his Brethren in 1662. He was an open plain-hearted Man, and an excellent Preacher, of a warm Spirit, and a hearty Lover of all good Men. He died in May 30, 1682. *Ætatis Eighty four.*

King
Charles II.
1682.

Mr. Samuel Clarke, the ejected Minister of St. Bennet Fink, was an indefatigable Student, as appears by his Martyrology, his Lives of eminent Divines, and other historical Works; he was a good Scholar, and had been an useful Preacher in Cheshire and Warwickshire before he came to London; he was one of the Commissioners at the Savoy, and presented the Presbyterian Ministers Address of Thanks to the King for his Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs; and tho' he could not conform as a Preacher, he frequently attended publick Worship as a Hearer and a Communicant. He died Dec. 25, 1682. *Ætatis Eighty.*

And of Mr
S. Clarke.

While the Liberties of England lay prostrate at the Feet of the Court, their Fury raged against the Non Conformists, as inflexible Enemies of their arbitrary Measures. Mr. Baxter was surprized in his own House by a Company of Constables, and other Peace-Officers, who arrested him for coming within five Miles of a Corporation, and brought Warrants to distrain upon him for five Sermons, amounting to one hundred ninety five Pounds. They took him out of his Bed, to which he had been confined for some time, and were carrying him to Goal; but Dr. Cox the Physician meeting him in the way went and made Oath before a Justice of Peace, that he could not be removed to Prison without danger of his Life, so he was permitted to go home again to Bed; but the Officers rifled his House, took away such Books as he had, and sold even the Bed from under him. Dr. Annesley, and several other Ministers had their Goods distrained for latent Convictions; that is, "Upon the Oaths of Persons" "they never saw, nor received Summons to answer for" "themselves before a Justice of Peace." This was ruining Men in the dark. Some were imprisoned on the Corporation Act. The Reverend Mr. Vincent was tried and convicted at the Surry Assizes on the 35th of Queen Elizabeth, which was Banishment: He lay in Prison many Months, but was at last released by the Intercession of some great Men. The Dissenting Laity were harrassed every where in the Spiritual Courts, Warrants were signed for distresses in the Village of Hackney alone, to the Sum of fourteen hundred Pounds; one of

1683.
Mr. Baxter
and others
severely pro-
secuted.

p. 191.

King
Charles II.
1683.

Rye-House
Plot.

Mem.
p. 132.

Burnet,
p. 544,
550, 633.

which was for five hundred. The Reader will then judge what must have been the Case of the whole Interest.

But in the midst of all this Oppression and Violence the Court found, that the Spirit of English Liberty was not easily to be subdued : there was a set of Patriots who stood in their Way, and were determined to hazard their Lives and Fortunes for the Constitution ; these were therefore to be removed or cut off, by bringing them within the Compass of some pretended Plot against the Government. Some who were more zealous than prudent, met together in Clubs at the Taverns and elsewhere, to talk over the common Danger, and what might be done to secure their Religion and Liberties after the King's Death ; but there was no formed Design in any of them against the King or the present Government. The Court laid hold of this, and as Mr. Cooke says, set on foot three Plots, one to assassinate the King and Duke as they came from New-Market ; another to seize the Guards ; and a third was called the Blackheath Plot ; in all which, for ought I can find (says he) " the Fox was the Finder." Dr. Welwood adds, that the shattered Remains of English Liberty were attacked on every side, and some of the noblest Blood in the Nation offered up a Sacrifice to the Manes of Popish Martyrs. Swearing came into Fashion, and an Evidence Office was set up at Whitehall ; the Witnesses were highly encouraged, and instead of Judges and Juries that might boggle at half Evidence, care was taken to pick out such as should stick at nothing to serve a Turn. The Plot which the Court made use of was called the Rye-house Plot, from the Name of the House, where two Royal Brothers were to be shot ; it was within two Miles of Hodsdon in Hertfordshire, and was first discovered by one Keeling an Anabaptist ; after him Goodenough, Rumly and West, made themselves Witnesses, and framed a Story out of their own Heads, of lopping off the two Brothers as they came from New-Market, and having heard of Conferences between the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Russel, and others, concerning securing the Protestant Religion after the King's Death, they impeached them to the Council, upon which Lord Russel, Aldernon Sidney, the Earl of Essex, and Mr. Houblon, were apprehended and sent to the Tower. Warrants were issued out for several others, who not being willing to trust to their Innocence absconded, and went out of the Way, but several were tried, and executed upon the Court Evidence, as Mr. Rumbold, Matter of the House where the Plot was to take Place, who declared at his Execution in King James's Reign, that he never knew
of

of any Design against the King ; as did Capt. Walcot and Sir Thomas Armstrong, Rouse, and the rest. Lord Russel was condemned, and beheaded, for being within the hearing of some treasonable Words at Mr. Shepherd's a Wine-Cooper in Abchurch-Lane. The Earl of Essex's Throat was cut in the Tower while Lord Russel was upon his Trial ; and Algernon Sidney was executed for having a seditious Libel in his Study ; of the Cruelty of which the Parliament at the Revolution was so sensible, that they reversed their Judgments. A Proclamation was issued out against the Duke of Monmouth, tho' the King knew where he was ; and when the Ferment was over brought him to Court. Mr. Eachard observes, that some have called this the Fanatick, the Protestant, the Whiggish, or Presbyterian Plot ; others have called it with more Justice, a Piece of State-Policy, and no better than an Imposture, for there was nothing more in it than the rash and imprudent Discourse of some warm Whigs, which in so critical and dangerous a Conjunction was very hazardous, but no Scheme of a Plot was agreed upon, no Preparations were made, no Arms nor Horses bought, nor Persons appointed to execute any Design against the King or Government. However, the Court had their Ends in striking Terror into the whole Body of the Whigs.

King
Charles II.
1683.

Ld. Russel
beheaded.
Wel. Me-
moirs,
p. 161.

Great Industry was used by the Court to bring the Body of Non-Conformists into this Plot : It was given out that Dr. Owen, Mr. Mead and Mr. Griffith, were acquainted with it ; Mr. Mead was summoned before the Council, but gave such satisfactory Answers to all Questions, that the King himself ordered him to be discharged. The Reverend Mr. Castaires, a Scots Divine, was put to the Torture of the Thum-mikins in Scotland to extort a Confession ; both his Thumbs were bruized between two Irons 'till the Marrow was almost forced out of the Bones ; This he bore for an Hour and a half without making any Confession. Next Day they brought him to undergo the Torture of the Boot, but his Arms being swelled with the late Torture, and he already in a Fever, made a Declaration of all that he knew, which amounted to no more than some loose Discourse of what might be fit to be done to preserve their Liberties and the Protestant Religion, if there should be a Crisis ; but he vindicated himself and his Brethren in England from all assassinating Designs, which, he says, they abhorred. Dr. South was desired to write the History of this Plot, but Dr. Sprat, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, performed it, though, when the times turned at

Non-
Conform.
charged
with it.
Burnet p.
583, 584.

King
Charles II.
1683.

p. 567.

the Revolution he disowned it, so far as to declare, that King James had altered several Passages in it before it was printed Bishop Burnet adds, that when the Congratulatory Addreses for the Discovery of this Plot had gone all round England, the Grand Juries made high Presentments against all that were accounted Whigs and Non-Conformists. Great Pains were taken to find out more Witnesses; Pardons and Rewards were offered very freely to the Guilty, but none came in, which made it evident (says his Lordship) that nothing was so well laid, or brought so near Execution, as the Witnesses had deposed, otherwise the People would have crowded in for Pardons. Bishop Kennet says, that the Dissenters bore all the Odium, and were not only branded for express Rebels and Villains, in multitudes of Congratulatory and Tory Addresses from all Parts of the Kingdom, but were severely arraigned by the King himself in a Declaration to all his loving Subjects, read in all the Churches on Sunday September 9, which was appointed as a Day of Thanksgiving, and solemnized after an extraordinary Manner, with mighty Pomp and Magnificence. There was hardly a Parish in England that was not at a considerable Expence to testify their great Joy and Satisfaction: Nay, the Papists celebrated in all their Chapels in London an extraordinary Service on that Account; so that these had their Places of Publick Worship, tho' the Protestant Dissenters had not.

Eachard.

Quakers
purge themselves and
declare their
Sufferings.
Sewel,
p. 585.

The Quakers declared their Innocence of the Plot, in an Address to the King at Windsor, presented by G. Whitehead, Parker, and two more, wherein they appeal to the Searcher of all Hearts, "that their Principles do not allow
" them to take up defensive Arms, much less to avenge
" themselves for the Injuries they receive from others.
" That they continually pray for the King's Safety and Preservation, and therefore take this Occasion humbly to
" beseech his Majesty, to compassionate their suffering
" Friends, with whom the Goals are so filled, that they
" want Air, to the apparent Hazard of their Lives, and to
" the endangering an Infection in divers Places. Besides,
" many Houses, Shops, Barns and Fields are ransacked,
" and the Goods, Corn and Cattle, swept away, to the dis-
" couraging of Trade and Husbandry, and impoverishing
" great Numbers of quiet and industrious People; and this
" for no other Cause but for the Exercise of a tender Con-
" science in the Worship of Almighty God, who is Sovereign Lord and King in Mens Consciences —."

But

But this Address had no Effect, all things went on triumphantly on the Side of the Prerogative; the Court did what they pleased; the King took the Government of the City of London into his own Hands, and appointed a Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen, without the Election of the People; Sermons were filled with the Principles of absolute Obedience and Non-Resistance, which were carried higher than ever their Forefathers had thought of or practised. The University of Oxford passed a Decree in full Convocation, July 21, 1683, "against certain pernicious Books, and "damnable Doctrines, destructive to the sacred Persons of "Princes, their State and Government, and all human Society." It consists of twenty seven Propositions, extracted from the Writings of Buchanan, Baxter, Owen, Milton, J. Goodwin, Hobbs, Cartwright, Travers and others, who had maintained that there was an Original Contract between King and People: "and that when Kings subvert the Constitution of their Country, and become absolute Tyrants, "they forfeit their Right to the Government, and may be "resisted:" These, and other Propositions of a like Nature, "they declare to be impious, seditious, scandalous, "damnable, heretical, blasphemous, and infamous to the "Christian Religion." They forbid their Students to read those Writings, and ordered their Books to be burnt; but how well they practised these Doctrines at the Revolution of King William, will be seen in its proper Place; and the Parliament in the Reign of Queen Anne ordered the Decree it self to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman.

King
Charles II.
1683.

Oxford
Decree.
Kennet,
p. 410.

Collyer.
p. 902.

Dr. Benjamin Calamy, Rector of St. Lawrence Jewry, in one of his printed Sermons, entituled, "A scrupulous Conscience," invited the Non-Conformists to examine what each Party had to say for themselves with respect to the Ceremonies imposed by the Church, and enforced by the Penal Laws, he called upon them modestly to propose their Doubts, and meekly to hearken to and receive Instruction. In compliance with this Invitation Mr. Thomas Delaune, an Anabaptist School-Master, and a learned Man, printed a "Plea for the Non-Conformists." shewing the true State of their Case, and justifying their Separation. But before it was published he was apprehended by a Messenger from the Press, and shut up close Prisoner in Newgate, by Warrant from the Recorder Jenner, dated November 30, 1683. Mr. Delaune, writ to Dr. Calamy to endeavour his Enlargement: "My Confinement (says he) is for excepting your "Invitation; I look upon you obliged in Honour to pro-

Sufferings
of Mr.
Delaune.

King
Charles II.
1681.

"cure my Sheets, yet unfinished, a publick Passport, and
"to me my Liberty ——— There is nothing in them but
"a fair Examination of those things your Sermon invited
"to, and I cannot find that Christ and his Disciples ever
"forced scrupulous Consciences to Conformity by such Me-
"thods as sending them to Newgate ; I beseech you there-
"fore in the Fear of God, as you will answer it to our great
"Lord and Master Jesus Christ, that you would endeavour
"to convince a Stranger by something more like Reason and
"Divinity than a Prison." The Doctor at first said, he
would do him any kindness that became him. But in answer
to a second Letter he said, he looked upon himself as uncon-
cerned, because he was not mentioned in that Sheet he saw
with the Recorder. Mr. Delaune insisted upon his Honour,
as being directly concerned, and prayed him at least to per-
form the Office of a Divine, in visiting him in Prison, to
argue him out of his Doubts ; but the Doctor, like an un-
generous Adversary, deserted him. Mr. Delaune therefore
was to be convinced by Law, and was indicted, for that on
November 30, "He did by force of Arms, &c. unlawfully,
"sedtiously, and maliciously, write, print, and publish, a
"certain false, seditious, and scandalous Libel, of, and con-
"cerning our Lord the King, and the Book of Common-
"Prayer, entituled, A Plea for the Non-Conformists." For
which he was fined one hundred Marks, and to be kept Pri-
soner 'till he paid it ; to find Security for his good Behaviour
for one Year, and his Books to be burnt before the Royal
Exchange. The Court told him, that in respect of his be-
ing a Scholar he should not be pilloried, tho' he deserved it.
Mr. Delaune not being able to pay his Fine lived in Prison
fifteen Months, and suffered great Hardships by extreme
Poverty, having no Subsistence but upon Charity. He had a
Wife and two small Children with him, who all died in the
Goal being suffocated by the Inconveniencies of the Prison,
and other lingering Sorrows and Sickneses. At last Mr. De-
laune himself sunk under the Burden, and died in Newgate, a
Martyr to the Challenge of a High Church Doctor.

And of Mr.
Bampffield.

Mr. Francis Bampffield suffered the like, or greater Hard-
ships ; he was educated in Wadham College, Oxon, and
was Minister of Sherbourn in Dorsetshire. After the Act of
Uniformity he continued preaching as he had Opportunity
in private, 'till he was imprisoned with twenty five of his
Hearers in one Room, with but one Bed, for five Days and
Nights, where they spent their time in religious Exercises ;
but after some time he was released. Soon after he was ap-
prehended

Calamy,
p. 260.

prehended again, and continued nine Years in Dorchester Goal, though he was a Person of unshaken Loyalty to the King, and against the Parliament War ; but this availed nothing to his being a Non-Conformist. He afterwards retired to London, where being taken again he was shut up in Newgate and there died, February 16, 1683-4. He was for the seventh Day Sabbath, but a Person of unquestionable Seriousness and Piety.

King
Charles II.
1683.

With him might be mentioned Mr. Ralphson, a learned Man, and a Fellow-Sufferer with Mr. Delaune in Newgate. On the 10th of December a Bill was found against him by the Grand Jury of London ; on the 13th of the same Month he pleaded Not Guilty at the Old Bailey. On the 16th of January he was called to the Sessions House, but some Trials proving tedious his was not brought on. The next day he was called to the outer Bar ; and after an Attendance of divers Hours in a Place not very agreeable, and in the sharpest Winter that has been known, he contracted a violent Cold, which ended in a Fever, that carried him as well as Mr. Bampfield beyond the Jurisdiction of Bail-Docks or Press-Yards, to the Mansions of everlasting Rest. Mr. Philips, Partner with Mr. Bampfield, suffered eleven Months Imprisonment in Ilchester Goal, in a nasty stinking Hole, to the great Hazard of his Life. Mr. French of Town-Maulin was confined six Months in Maidstone Goal, in a hard Winter, without Fire or Candle, or a private Room to lodge in.

And of Mr.
Ralphson.

Calamy's
Abridg.
P. 259, 377.

Mr. Salkeild, the ejected Minister of Worlington in Suffolk, was fined one hundred Pounds, and committed to the common Goal of St. Edmundsbury, for saying, " Popery " was coming into the Nation apace, and no Care taken to " prevent it." He lay in Prison three Years, and was not discharged 'till the Year 1686.

Of Mr.
Salkeild
and others.

Mr. Richard Streiton suffered six Months Imprisonment this year, for refusing the Oxford Oath, in company of ten Ministers more, imprisoned there at the same time. Most of the Dissenting Ministers were forced to shift their Places of Abode to avoid Discovery, and travel in long nights and cold weather from one Village to another to preach to their People. If at any time they ventured to visit their Families in a dark Night they durst not stir Abroad, but went away before Morning. Some spent their time in Woods and solitary Places ; Others being excommunicated removed with their Effects into other Dioceses — Great Numbers of the common People, taken at private Meetings, were convicted as Rioters and fined

Calamy,
P. 627, &c.

King
Charles II.
1683.

ten Pounds a piece ; and not being able to pay, were obliged to remove into other Counties, by which they lost their Business, and their Families were reduced to Want. I forbear to mention the Rudeness offered to young Women, some of whom were sent to Bridewell to beat Hemp among Rogues and Thieves ; others that were married, and with Child, received irreparable Damages ; even Children were terrified with Constables and Halberdeers breaking open Houses, of whom I my self (says Mr. Peirce) being very young, was one Example ; and the Writer of this History could mention others.

London
Cases pub-
lished.

In the midst of these violent Proceedings the Divines of the Church of England published the London Cases against the Non-Conformists, as if the Danger of Religion was from that Quarter ; they were twenty three in Number, and have since been abridged by Dr. Bennet. These Champions of the Church were very secure from being answered, after Mr. Delaune had so lately lost his Life, for writing against one of them, published by Dr. Calamy. They must therefore have the Field to themselves, for if their Adversaries writ they were sure to be rewarded with Fines, and a Prison ; but since that time they have been answered separately by Mr. Nathaniel Taylor, Mr. James Pierce and others.

Peirce.
p. 259.

Death of
Dr. John
Owen.

This Year died Dr. John Owen, one of the most learned of the Independant Divines ; he was educated in Queen's College, Oxon, but left the University in 1637, being dissatisfied with Laud's Innovations. He was a strict Calvinist, and published his " Display of Arminianism " in 1642, for which the Committee of Religion presented him to the Living of Fordham in Essex. In 1643, he removed to Coggeshall in the same County, where he first declared himself an Independant, and gathered a Church according to the Method of that People. He often preached before the Long Parliament, even about the time the King was beheaded, but always kept himself upon the Reserve. Soon after Lieutenant General Cromwell took him into his Service as a Chaplain in his Expedition to Ireland ; and when the General marched to Scotland he obtained an Order of Parliament for the Doctor to attend him thither. Upon his return he was preferred to the Deanry of Christ Church, and next Year to the Vice-Chancellorship of Oxford, which he managed with great reputation and prudence for five years. No Man was more of a Gentleman and Scholar, or supported

ted the dignity of his character better in his time. The writer of his Life says, that tho' he was an independant himself, he gave most of the vacant livings in his Gift among the Presbyterians, and obliged the Episcopal party by conniving at an Assembly of about three hundred of them almost over against his own Doors. The Oxford historian, after having treated his Memory with most reproachful Language, confesses, that he was well skilled in the Tongues, in Rabinnical learning, and in the Jewish rites and customs, and that he was one of the most genteel and fairest writers that appeared against the Church of England. The Doctor had a great Reputation among foreign Protestants; and when he was laid aside by the Act of Uniformity was invited to a Professorship in the United Provinces. He was once also determined to settle in new England, but was stopt by expresse order from the Council. He was pastor of a considerable congregation in London, and died with great calmness and composure of Mind on Bartholomew Day, 1683. His works are very numerous, and in high esteem among the Dissenters; but his Stile is a little intricate and perplexed.

This year the King, by the Assistance of the Tories and Roman Catholics, compleated the Ruin of the constitution and assumed the whole Government into his own Hands. The Whigs and Non-conformists were struck with Terror by the severe prosecutions of the Heads of their Party. Mr. Hampden was fined forty thousand Pounds, Sir Samuel Barnadiston ten thousand Pounds, for defaming the evidence in the Rye-Hoofe Plot. Mr. Speke two thousand, and Mr. Braddon one thousand Pounds, for reporting that the Earl of Essex had been murder'd in the Tower. Mr. John Duttoncolt one hundred thousand Pounds, for Scandalum Magnatum against the Duke of York, who now govern'd all at Court. Oates was fined for the same crime one hundred thousand Pounds, and never got out of prison till after the revolution. Thirty two others were fined or pillory'd for libelling the King or the Duke of York. In short, the greatest Part of the History of this year consists of Prosecutions, penalties and punishments (says Mr. Eachard.) At the same time the Earl of Danby and the popish Lords were released out of the Tower on Bail, the Garrison of Tangier was brought over into England, and augmented to a standing Army of four or five Thousand resolute Men, fit for

Further
Sufferings
of the
Whigs.
Rapin, p.
354, 356.
Eachard, p.
1043, 1044.

King
Charles II.
1684.

The constitution of
England given up and
destroyed.
Welw. Memoirs, p.
130.

for any Service the Court should employ them in. And the corporations all over England having been prevailed with, by promises or threatnings, to give up their Charters, after the example of London, the whole Kingdom was divested of its Liberties, and reduced to an absolute Monarchy. Whole peals of Anathema's were rung out against those Patriots that stood up for its Liberties. The Scriptures were made a store for arbitrary power. The absolute Government of the Jewish Kings was preached up as a pattern for ours. And Heaven itself was ranked on that side by some that pretended to expound its will. Instead of dropping a Tear at the Funeral of our Laws, Liberties and Parliaments, fulsome Panegyricks were made upon their Murderers, and curses denounced on those who would have retrieved them from Destruction.

In this melancholy situation of publick Affairs the Prosecution of the Non-Conformists was continued, and carried on to a pitch hardly to be parallel'd in a Protestant Nation. Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, published a Letter for putting the Laws in Execution against the Dissenters, in concurrence with another drawn up by the Justices of Peace of Bedford, bearing Date Jan. 14, 1684. Many were cited into the Spiritual Courts, excommunicated and ruined. Two hundred Warrants of Distress were issued out upon private Persons and Families in the Town and Neighbourhood of Uxbridge, for frequenting Conventicles or not coming to Church. An Order was made by the Justices of Exeter, promising a Reward of forty Shillings to any one who should apprehend a Non-conformist Minister, which the Bishop of the Diocese, Dr. Lamplugh, commanded to be published in all the Churches by his Clergy on the following Sunday. The Reverend Dr. Bates, Dr. Annesly, and many of their Brethren in the Ministry, had their Goods seized and carried off. Mr. Robert Mayot of Oxon, a moderate Conformist, having left Mr. Baxter six hundred Pounds to distribute among sixty poor ejected Ministers; the Lord Keeper North took it from him, and gave it all to the King; the Money was put into Chancery, and lay there till it was restored by the Commissioners of the Great Seal under King William. Soon after the Justices sent Warrants to apprehend Mr. Baxter, as being one in the list of a thousand Names, who were to be bound to their good Behaviour upon latent Convictions, that is, without seeing their Accusers, or being made acquainted with their Charge. Mr. Baxter refusing to open his Doors,

the

How's Life,
p. 80.

Mr. Baxter
again in
Prison.
Baxter, p.
158.

the Officers forced into his House, upon which he locked himself up in his Study, but being resolved to starve him from thence they set six Men at the Door, to whom he was obliged next Day to surrender. They then carried him to the Sessions House two or three times, and bound him in a Bond of four hundred Pounds, so that if his Friends had not been sureties for him, contrary to his Desire, he must have died in prison, being then almost Bed-rid. Many excellent persons died in common Gaols, and thousands were ruined.

King
Charles II.
1684.

Jefferies was now Lord Chief Justice, who was scandalously vicious, and drunk every Day, besides a Drunkenness of Fury in his Temper that look'd like madness: He was prepared for any dirty work the Court should put him upon. September 23. Mr. Thomas Rosewel the dissenting Minister at Rotherhithe was imprisoned in the Gate-House, Westminster, for High Treason; and a Bill was found against him at the Quarter Sessions, upon which he was tried November 8. at the King's Bench Bar, by a Surrey Jury, before Lord Chief Justice Jefferies, and three others (viz) Withins, Holloway, and Walcot. He was indicted for the following Expressions in his Sermon, Sept. 14. " That the
" King could not cure the King's Evil, but that Priests and
" Prophets by their prayers could heal the Grievs of the
" People——That we had two wicked Kings (meaning
" the present King and his Father) whom we can resemble
" to be no other Person but to the most wicked Jeroboam;
" and that if they (meaning his Hearers) would stand to their
" Principles, he did not doubt but they should overcome
" their Enemies (meaning the King) as in former times,
" with Rams-Horns, broken Platters, and a Stone in a
" Sling." The witnesses were three infamous Women, who swore to the Words without the Innuendo's; they were laden with the Guilt of many Perjuries already, and such of them as could be found afterwards were convicted, and the chief of them pillory'd before the Exchange. The Trial lasted seven Hours, and Mr. Rosewel behaved with all the Decency and Respect to the Court that could be expected, and made a Defence that was applauded by most of the Hearers. He said it was impossible the witnesses should remember, and be able to pronounce so long a Period, when they could not so much as tell the Text, nor any thing else in the Sermon besides the words they had sworn: several who heard the Sermon and writ it in short Hand, declared they heard no such Words. Mr. Rosewel

Trial of
Mr. Rose-
wel.
Burnet, p.
567.

offered

King
Charles II.
1684.

He is con-
demned. p.
597.

offered his own notes to prove it, but no regard was had to them. The Women could not prove, (says Burnet) by any one Circumstance, that they were at the Meeting; or that any Person saw them there on that Day; the Words they swore were so gross that it was not to be imagined that any Man in his Wits would express himself so, before a mixed Assembly, yet Jefferies urged the matter with his usual vehemence. He laid it for a Foundation, that all preaching at conventicles was treasonable, and that this ought to dispose the Jury to believe any Evidence upon that Head, so the Jury brought him in guilty; upon which (says the Bishop) there was a shameful Rejoycing; and it was now thought all Conventicles must be suppressed, when such Evidence could be received against such a Defence. But when the Words came to be examined by men learned in the law they were found not to be Treason by any Statute. So Mr. Rosewel moved for an Arrest of Judgment till Council should be heard; and tho' it was doubtful whether this ought to be allowed after the Verdict, yet the King was so put out of Countenance by the Accounts he heard of the Witnesses, that he gave Orders to yield to it; and in the end he was pardoned. The Court lost a great deal of Reputation by this Trial, for besides that Rosewel made a strong Defence, he proved that he had always been a loyal Man even in Cromwel's Days, that he prayed constantly for the King in his Family, and that in his Sermons he often insisted upon the obligations to Loyalty.

Sufferings
and Death
of Mr. Jen-
kins.

K. Chron.
p. 601.

But among other Sufferers for Non-Conformity we must not forget the Reverend Mr. Will. Jenkins, M. A. the ejected Minister of Christ Church, who died this Year in Newgate; he was educated in St. John's College, Cambridge; and about the Year 1641. was chosen Minister of this Place and Lecturer of Black Friars, both which pulpits he filled with great Acceptance till the Destruction of Monarchy, after which he was sequester'd for refusing to comply with the Orders of Parliament. He was sent to the Tower for Love's plot, but upon his humble petition, and promise of Submission to the powers in being he was pardoned, and his Sequestration taken off, but he carefully avoided meddling in politicks afterwards. He was summoned before the Council Jan. 2. 1661. and reprimanded, because he forgot to pray for the King; and being ejected with his Brethren in 1662. he retired into the Country, but upon the Indulgence in 1671 he had a new Meeting-House erected for him in Jewen Street, where he preached to a crouded Audience. He was one of
the

the Merchants Lecturers at Pinner's Hall. And when the Indulgence was revoked he continued preaching as he could, till this year; but September 2. 1684, being at a private Fast with some of his Brethren, the Soldiers broke in, and carried Mr. Jenkins before two Aldermen, who treated him very rudely, and upon his refusing the Oxford Oath committed him to Newgate; when he was there he petitioned the King for a Release, his Physicians declaring, that his Life was in danger from his close confinement; but no Security would be accepted. So that he soon declined in his Health, and died in Newgate in the Seventy third year of his Age, January 19. 1684-5. when he had been Prisoner four Months and one Week. A little before his Death he said, "A Man might be as effectually murdered in Newgate as at Tyburn." He was buried by his Friends in Bunhill Fields with great Honour, many eminent Persons, and some scores of Coaches attending his Funeral.

This was the Usage the Dissenters met with from the Church of England at this Time, which had hardly a parallel in the Christian World: Remarkable are the Words of the Earl of Castlemain, a Roman Catholick, on this occasion, " 'Twas never known (says he) that Rome persecuted as the Bishops do, those who adhere to the same Faith with themselves; and established an Inquisition against the Professors of the strictest Piety among themselves; and however the Prelates complain of the bloody Persecution of Queen Mary, it is manifest that their persecution exceeds it, for under her there were not more than two or three Hundred put to Death, whereas under their persecution above treble that Number have been rifled, destroyed, and ruined in their Estates, Lives and Liberties, being (as is most remarkable) Men for the most part of the same Spirit with those Protestants who suffered under the Prelates in Queen Mary's Time."

Mr. Benjamin Woodbridge, M. A. the ejected Minister of Newbury, died this year. He was bred up in Magdalen College, Oxon; from thence he went to New England, and was the first Graduate of the College there. When he came back to England he succeeded Dr. Twisse at Newbury, where he had a mighty reputation as a Scholar, a Preacher, a Casuist, and a Christian. He was a great Instrument of reducing the whole Town to Sobriety, and to Family as well as Publick Worship. Upon the Restoration he was made one of the King's Chaplains in ordinary, and preached once before him. He was one of the Commis-

King
Charles II.
1684.

oners at the Savoy, and very desirous of an Accommodation with the Church Party. He was offered a Canonry of Windsor, but refused it, and afterwards suffered many Ways for his Non-Conformity, tho' he was generally respected and beloved by all that were Judges of real Worth. He had a sound Judgment, and was a sound Preacher, having a commanding Voice and Air. His Temper was chearful, and his Behaviour obliging; he was exemplary for his Moderation, and of considerable Learning. When the five Mile Act took Place he removed from Newberry to a small Distance, where he preached, as he had Opportunity. He was liberal to the Poor, and was a Good and Great Man in all Respects. He died at Inglefield, Nov. 1. 1684. in a good old Age, after he had been a Minister in those Parts almost forty Years.

Summary
of the Per-
secution in
Scotland. p.
284.

The Sufferings of the Presbyterians in Scotland run parallel with those of England, throughout the whole Course of this Reign; but the People were not quite so tame and submissive: The same Acts of Severity that were made against the Non-Conformists in England were enacted in Scotland, or rather worse. Episcopacy was restored May 8. 1662. and the Covenant declared to be an unlawful Oath. All Persons in Office were to sign a "Declaration of the Unlawfulness of taking up Arms against the King, or any commissioned by him, on any Pretence whatsoever." The Act against Conventicles which past in England, was copied, and passed almost into the same Terms in Scotland. The Bishops were some of the worst of Men, and hated by the People as they deserved, for their Deportment was unbecoming their Function (says Bishop Burnet) some did not live within their Dioceses, and those that did seemed to take no Care of them: They shewed no Zeal against Vice; the most eminently wicked in the Country were their peculiar Confidants; nor did they take any Care to keep their Clergy to their Duty, but were themselves guilty of Levity, and a carnal Way of Living.

Character of
the Scots
Bishops and
Clergy.
p. 217.

And of the
People.

The People were generally of the Presbyterian Persuasion, and stood firm by one another. In many Places they were fierce and untractable, and generally forsook the Churches; the whole Country complained of the new Episcopal Clergy, as immoral, stupid, ignorant, and set upon Gain; they treated them with an Aversion that sometimes broke out into Violence. Many were brought before the Council, and Ecclesiastical Commission, for not coming to Church, but the Proofs were generally defective, for the People would not

not give Evidence against one another. However, great Numbers were cast into Prison, and ill used; some were fined; and the younger Sort whipt publicly about the Streets; so that great Numbers transported their Families to Ulster in Ireland, where they were well received.

King
Charles II.
1684.

The Government observed no Measures with this People; they exacted exorbitant Fines for their not coming to Church, and quarter'd Soldiers upon them till they were ruined. The Truth is (says Burnet) the whole Face of the Government look'd more like the Proceedings of an Inquisition than of legal Courts. At length, in the Year 1666, Sir James Turner being sent into the West to levy Fines at Discretion, the People rose up in Arms, and published a Manifesto, that they did not take Arms against the King, but only "that they might be delivered from the Tyranny of the Bishops, and that Presbytery and the Covenant might be set up, and their old Ministers restored." They took Turner and all his Soldiers Prisoners, but marching out of their Country they were dispersed by the King's Forces, about forty being killed, and one hundred and thirty taken Prisoners; many of whom were hanged before their own Doors, and died with great Firmness and Joy. Mr. Maccail their Minister underwent the torture, and died with great Constancy; his last Words were, "Farewel Sun, Moon and Stars; farewell Kindred and Friends, World and Time, and this weak and frail Body; and welcome Eternity, welcome Angels and Saints, welcome Saviour of the World, and God, the Judge of all!" which he spoke in a Manner that struck all that heard it. The Commander of the King's Forces killed some in cold Blood, threaten'd to spit others and roast them alive.

Proceedings
of the Go-
vernment p.
211, 212.

Occasions an
Insurrection.
Burnet p.
237.

When the Indulgence was published in England the Scots had the Benefit of it, but when it was taken away the persecution revived, with inexpressible severity, under the administration of Duke Lauderdale. Conventicles abounded in all parts of the Country; the Presbyterian Ministers preached in their own houses to numbers of People that stood without doors to hear them; and when they were dispersed by the Magistrates they went out into the Fields with their Ministers to hear the word of God; and to prevent being disturbed, they carried arms sufficient for their defence. Upon which a very severe Act was passed against House Conventicles and Field Conventicles, declaring them treasonable; and the landlords in whose grounds they were held

Of House
and Field
Conventi-
cles.

King
Charles II.
1684.

p. 291,
370, 399.

p. 511.

Effects of
the Perse-
cution.
p. 519, 524.

King
Charles
the 2d's
Death.

were to be severely fined, unless they discovered the persons present. But still this did not terrify the People, who met together in defiance of the Law. Writs were issued out against many who were called Cameronians, who were outlawed, and therefore left their Houses, and travelled about the Country, till at length they collected into a body, and declared that "the King had forfeited the Crown of that Kingdom by renouncing the Covenant;" but the Duke of Monmouth being sent to disperse them, routed them at Bothwell Bridge, killing four hundred, and taking twelve hundred Prisoners; two Ministers were hanged, and two hundred banished to the Plantations, who were all lost at Sea. Camero their Preacher fell in battle, but Hackston and Cargil, the two other Preachers, died with invincible courage; as did all the rest, who were offered their Lives if they would say, "God bless the King!" Hackston had both his Hands cut off, which he suffered with a constancy and rapture that amazed all People. When both his Hands were cut off, he asked, whether they would cut off his Feet too? And notwithstanding all his loss of Blood, when he was hanged, and his Heart cut out of his Body, it was alive upon the Hangman's Knife.

At length (says Bishop Burnet) things came to that Extremity, that the People saw they must come to Church or be undone, but they came in so aukard a manner that it was visible they did not come to serve God but to save their Substance, for they were talking or sleeping during the whole Service. This introduced a sort of Atheism among the younger People. But the Inquisition was so terrible, that great numbers left their native Country and settled in the Plantations. These methods of conversion were subversive of Christianity, and a reproach to a protestant Church and Nation; but oppression and tyranny had overspread the English Dominions; the Hearts of all good Men failed them for fear, and for looking after those things that were coming on the land; the Clouds were gathering thick over their Heads, and there was no other defence against an inundation of Popery and Slavery, but the thin security of the King's Life.

To return to England: When the King had made way for a popish Successor, by introducing an arbitrary and tyrannical Government, his Majesty began to think himself neglected, all the Court being made to the Rising Sun; upon which he was heard to say in some passion, "That if he lived a Month longer he would find a way to make him-
self

“ self easy for the remainder of his Life.” This was interpreted as a design to change hands, by sending abroad the Duke of York, and recalling the Duke of Monmouth; which struck terror into the popish Party, and is thought to have hasten’d the King’s death, who was seized with a kind of Apoplexy, Feb. 2, and died on the Friday following, Feb. 6, 1684-5. in the fifty fourth year of his Age, not without remarkable suspicion of poison, either by Snuff, or an infusion in Broth, as Bishop Burnet, and others of undoubted credit have assured us, for the Body was not suffered to be thoroughly examined.

King Charles II.
1684.

Burnet, p.
609.

King Charles II. was a Gentleman of Wit and Good-nature, till his Temper was soured in the latter part of his Life by his popish Counsellors. His Court was a scene of Luxury, and all kinds of Lewdriess, and his profuse expences upon unlawful pleasures, reduced him to the necessity of being a Pensioner of France. — If he had any Religion it was that of a disguised Papist, or rather a Deist; but he was strangely entangled all his Life long with the obligations he had been brought under somewhere to the Roman Catholicks. He aimed at being an absolute Monarch, but would be at no further trouble than to give his corrupt Ministry liberty to do what they would to accomplish it. The King had a great many Vices (says Burnet) but few Virtues to correct them. Religion was with him no more than an Engine of State. He hated the Non-conformists because they appeared against the Prerogative, and received the Fire of all the Enemies of the Constitution and Protestant Religion, with an unshaken firmness. His Majesty’s chief concern at last was for his Brother’s Succession; and when he came to die he shewed no remorse for an ill spent Life; not a word of Religion was heard from him: No tenderness for his Subjects, nor concern for his Queen, but only a recommendation of his Mistresses and their Children to his Brother. So that no English Man, or lover of his Country, could wish for the Life of such a Prince, from any other motive than his keeping out a Successor who was worse than himself.

And Character.

C H A P. XL.

From the Death of King Charles II. to King James II'd's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.

King
James II.
1685.
State of the
Nation.
Burnet, p.
620.

Gazette,
No. 2018.

Sewel, p.
594.
Eachard,
p. 1051.

The King
begins his
Reign with
arbitrary
and severe
Methods.

WHEN the news of the late King's Death was spread over the City, a pensive sadness was visible in most Countenances for the fate of the Kingdom. His Majesty told the Privy Council at his first meeting them, that "as he would never depart from any branch of the Prerogative, so he would not invade any Man's Property, but would preserve the Government as by Law established in Church and State." Which pleased the Clergy so much, that the Pulpits all over England resounded with Thanksgivings; and a set of Addresses from all Counties flatter'd his Majesty in the strongest Expressions with Assurances of unshaken Loyalty and Obedience, without Limitation or Reserve. Among others was the humble address of the University of Oxford; in which, after expressing their sorrow for the Death of the late King, they add, that "they can never swerve from the principles of their Institution, and their Religion by Law established, which indispensably binds them to bear Faith and true Obedience to their Sovereign without any Limitation or Restriction, and that no consideration whatsoever should shake their Loyalty and Allegiance. And the University of Cambridge, add, that Loyalty [or unlimited Obedience] is a Duty flowing from the very principle of their Religion, by which they have been enabled to breed up as true and steady Subjects as the World can shew, as well in Doctrine as Practice, from which they can never depart." The Quakers Address was more plain and honest; "We are come (say they) to testify our sorrow for the Death of our good Friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our Governor. We are told thou art not of the perfusion of the Church of England, no more than we, therefore we hope thou wilt grant us the same Liberty which thou allowest thyself; which doing we wish thee all manner of Happiness."

The King began his Reign with a frank and open Declaration of his Religion, for the first Sunday after his Accession he went publickly to Mass, and obliged Father Huddleston, who attended the late King in his last Hours, to declare to the World that he died a Roman Catholick. His Majesty

Majesty acted the part of an absolute Sovereign from the very first, for tho' he declared he would invade no Man's property, yet he issued out a Proclamation for collecting the duties of Tonnage and Poundage, &c. which were given to the late King only for Life, for which the Lawyers at the Temple returned him thanks; and in his Letter to the Scots Parliament, which met March 28th, he says, "I am resolved to maintain my Power in its greatest Lustre, that I may be better able to defend your Religion against Fana-ticks."

King
James II.
1685.

Before the King had reigned above two Months he began to discover severe resentments against the "Enemies of his Religion, and of his Succession to the Crown." Dr. Oates was brought out of prison and tried for Perjury, in the affair of the popish Plot, for which he was sentenced to stand in the Pillory several times, to be whipt from Aldgate to Newgate, and from thence to Tyburn; which was exercised with a severity unknown to the English Nation. And Dangerfield, who had invented the Meal Tub Plot, for which he declared he had received Money from the Duke of York, was indicted for a Libel, and was fined five hundred Pounds. He was also sentenced to be pillory'd and whipt from Newgate to Tyburn, and in his return home was murdered in the Coach, by one Frances a Barrister at Law, for which he was hanged. The Whigs who went to Court to pay their Duty to the King, were received but coldly; some were reproached, and others denied access, especially those who had distinguished themselves for the Bill of Exclusion. In the Election of a new Parliament all methods of corruption and violence were used to have such Members returned as would serve the King's arbitrary Designs, which gave all considering people a melancholy prospect. When the Houses met, May 22, the King repeated what he had said in Council, "That he would preserve the Government in Church and State as by Law established." Which Rapin says, he never intended; for he insinuated in his Speech, that he would not depend on the precarious Aids of Parliament, nor meet them often, if they did not use him well. But the Parliament unanimously settled all the Revenues of his late Majesty upon the King for Life, which amounted to more than two Millions a year; and presented an Address to his Majesty, May 27, to desire him to issue forth his Royal Proclamation, to cause the "penal Laws to be put in Execution against Dissenters from the Church of England."

His Severi-
ty towards
his Enemies.
Burnet, p.
637.

A new
Parliament.
Burnet, p.
622, 625.

Gazette,
No. 2036.

King
James II.
1685.

Persecution
revived.

This brought down the Storm, and revived the persecution, which had slackened a little upon the late King's Death. His Majesty was now encouraged to pursue his Brother's Measures. The Tories, who adhered firmly to the prerogative, were gratified with all the Liberty they could wish for to distress the Dissenters, who were to be sacrificed over again to a bigotted Clergy, and an incensed King, who was zealous for their destruction (says Bishop Kennet) in order to unite and encrease the Strength of Popery, which he favoured without Reserve. Upon this all Meeting Houses of Protestant Dissenters were shut up, the new Trade of Informing revived and flourished; the Spiritual Courts were crowded with Business; private Conventicles were broke up in all parts of the City and Country. If they surprized the Minister he was pulled out of his Pulpit by Constables or Soldiers, and together with his People carried before a confiding Justice of Peace, who obliged them to pay their Fines or go immediately to Prison. If the Minister was gone they ransacked the House from top to bottom; tore down Hangings, broke open Chambers and Closets; entered the Rooms of those who were sick; and offered all kinds of rudeness and incivilities to the Family, tho' they met with no manner of Opposition or Resistance. Shop-keepers were separated from their Trades and Business; and sometimes Wives from their Husbands and young Children; several Families were obliged to remove to distant places to avoid the direful effects of an Excommunication from the Commons; and great sums of Money were extorted from the honest industry of the People. Dissenting Ministers could neither travel the Road, nor appear in publick but in disguise; nay, they were afraid to be seen in the Houses of their Friends, Pursuivants from the Spiritual Courts being always abroad upon the Watch.

Mr. Baxter's Trial.

One of the first that came into trouble was the Reverend Mr. Baxter, who was committed to the King's-Bench Prison, February 28, for some exceptionable passages in his Paraphrase on the New Testament, reflecting on the order of Diocesan Bishops, and the lawfulness of Resistance in some possible Cases. The passages were in his Paraphrase on Matth. v. 19. Mark ix. 39. Mark xi. 31. Mark xii. 38, 39, 40. Luke x. 2. John xi. 57. and Acts xv. 2. They were collected by Sir Roger L'Estrange; and a certain noted Clergyman, reported to be Dr. Sh--ck, put into the Hands of his Enemies some accusations from Rom. xiii. that might touch his Life, but no use was made of them. Mr. Baxter being ill, moved by his

his Council for time ; but Jefferies said, he would not give him a minute's time to save his Life. " Yonder stands " Oates in the Pillory (says he) and if Baxter stood on the " other side, I would say two of the greatest Rogues in " England stood there." He was brought to his Trial May 30, but the chief Justice would not admit his Council to plead for their Client. When Mr. Baxter offered to speak for himself, Jefferies called him a snivelling canting Presbyterian, and said, " Richard, Richard, don't thou think we " will hear thee poison the Court. Richard, thou art an old " Fellow, and an old Knave ; thou hast written Books " enough to load a Cart, every one as full of Sedition, I " might say of Treason, as an Egg is full of Meat : Hadst " thou been whipt out of thy writing Trade forty years ago " it had been happy. Thou pretendest to be a Preacher of " the Gospel of Peace, and thou hast one foot in the Grave, " 'tis time for thee to begin to think what account thou in- " tendest to give ; but leave thee to thyself and I see thou " wilt go on as thou hast begun, but by the Grace of God " I'll look after thee. I know thou hast a mighty party, " and I see a great many of the Brotherhood in Corners, " waiting to see what will become of their mighty Don, " and a Doctor of the party [Doctor Bates] at your Elbow, " but by the Grace of Almighty God I will crush you all." Jefferies having directed the Jury, they found him Guilty without going from the Bar, and fined him five hundred Marks, to lie in Prison till he paid it, and be bound to his good behaviour for seven years. Mr. Baxter continued in Prison about two years, and when the Court changed mea- sures his fine was remitted, and he was released.

The Rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth gave the Court a plausible handle to carry the prosecution of the Whigs and Dissenters to a further Extremity. There was a considerable number of English Fugitives in Holland at this time, some on political accounts, and others on the score of Religion. The King being apprehensive of danger from thence obliged the Prince of Orange to dismiss the Duke of Monmouth from his Court, and to break all those Officers that had waited upon him, and who were in his Service ; this precipitated the Counsels of the Malecontents, and made them resolve upon a rash and ill concerted Invasion, which proved their ruin. The Earl of Argyle imagining all the Scots Presbyterians would revolt, sailed to the North of Scotland with a very small force, but was defeated with the effusion of very little Blood, before the Declaration which

King
James II.
1685.

Duke of
Mon-
mouth's
Rebellion.

King.
James II.
1685.

he brought with him could have any effect. After him the Duke of Monmouth, with a like precipitate rashness, landed June 11, with an inconsiderable force at Lime in Dorsetshire; and tho' he was joined by great numbers in the West Country, he was defeated by the King's Forces, taken prisoner, and executed on Tower-hill; as the Earl of Argyll was at Edinburgh.

It affects
the Non-
conformists.

Though the Body of the Dissenters were not concerned in either of the Invasions, they suffered considerably on this occasion. Great numbers of their chief Merchants and Tradesmen in the City being taken up by Warrants and secured in Gaols, and in the publick Halls; as were many Country Whig Gentlemen, and others, in York Castle, Hull, and the prisons all over England, which had this good effect, that it kept them out of harms way, while many of their Friends were ruined by joining the Duke; some from a persuasion that the late King was married to his Mother; and others in hopes of a merciful deliverance from Popery and Slavery.

Jefferies
and Col.
Kirk's Cru-
elties in the
West.
Bennet, p.
647, 648.

The King lifted up with Success resolved to let both Whigs and Dissenters feel the weight of his conquering Arm: His Army lived upon Free-quarter in the West, and treated all who were supposed to be disaffected with great Rudeness and Violence. Some days after the battle Colonel Kirk ordered several of the prisoners to be hanged up at Taunton without any Trial or form of Law, while he and his Company were dancing, revelling, and drinking healths at a neighbouring Window, with a variety of Musick, from whence they beheld with a more than brutish Triumph the dreadful Spectacle. The Gaols being full of prisoners the King appointed Lord Chief Justice Jefferies to go the Western Circuit, whose cruel behaviour was beyond any thing that was ever heard of in a civilized Nation: He was always either drunk or in a fury. When the Juries brought in persons not Guilty, he threaten'd and confined them till they brought in a Verdict to his mind, as in the Case of the old Lady Lisle, who was beheaded, for admitting Mr. Hicks, a Non-conformist Minister, into her House, tho' the Jury brought her in three times not Guilty; and she solemnly declared, that she knew not that he had been in the Duke's Army. He persuaded many of the prisoners to plead Guilty in hopes of favour, and then taking advantage of their Confession, ordered their immediate Execution, without giving them a minute's time to say their prayers. Mr. Tutchin, who writ the Observator, was sentenced to be

Bennet's
Mem. p.
300.

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imprison'd seven years, and to be whipt once every year through all the Towns in Dorsetshire; upon which he petitioned the King that he might be hanged. Bishop Burnet says, that in several places of the West there were executed near six hundred persons, and that the quarters of two or three hundred were fixed upon Gibbets, and hung upon Trees all over the Country for fifty or sixty miles about, to the great annoyance of Travellers. The manner in which he treated the prisoners was barbarous and inhumane; and his behaviour towards some of the Nobility and Gentry who were well affected, but came to plead in favour of some of the Criminals, would have amazed one (says Bishop Burnet) if done by a Bashaw in Turkey: England had never known any thing like it. The King was acquainted with his proceedings every day, and spoke of it in a stile that neither became the Majesty nor Mercy of a great Prince. And Jefferies, besides satiating himself with Blood, got great Sums of Money by selling pardons to such as were able to purchase them, from ten Pounds to fourteen thousand Guineas a-piece.

King
James II.
1685.

Ib. p. 299

After the Executions in the West, the King being in the height of his power, resolved to be revenged of his old Enemies, the Whigs, by making examples of their chief Leaders: Alderman Cornish, who had signalized himself in prosecuting the popish Plot, and was frequently in Company with the late Lord Russel, was taken off the Exchange, October 13, and within little more than a Week tried, condemned, and executed for high Treason in Cheapside, without any tolerable Evidence, and his Quarters set upon Guildhall. On the same day Mrs. Gaunt, a Dissenter, who spent a great part of her Life in acts of Charity, visiting the Gaol, and looking after the poor of what persuasion soever, having entertained Burton, one of Monmouth's Men in her House, he, by an unheard of baseness, while she was looking out for an opportunity to send him out of the Kingdom, went out and accused her for harbouring him, and by that means saved his own life by taking away hers: she was burnt alive at Tyburn, and died with great courage and devotion. Mr. Bateman a Surgeon, Mr. Rouse, Mr. Fernley, Col. Ayloffe, Mr. Nelthorpe, and others, suffered in like manner. Lord Stamford was admitted to bail, and Lord Delamere was tried by his Peers and acquitted. Many that had corresponded with the Duke of Monmouth absconded, and had proclamations against them, as John Trenchard, Esq; Mr. Speke, and others. But all that suffer'd in this cause, expres-

His severe
Prosecution
of the
Whigs.

Burnet, p.
649.

sed

King
James II.
1685.

sed such a zeal for the Protestant Religion, which they apprehended in danger, as made great impressions on the spectators. Some said the King was hurried on by Jefferies; but if his own inclinations had not been biassed this way, and if his Priests had not thought it their interest to take off so many active Protestants, who opposed their measures, they would not have let that Butcher loose (says Burnet) to commit so many barbarous acts of cruelty as struck an universal horror over the body of the nation. It was a bloody summer, and a dangerous time for honest men to live in.

King's
Speech to
his Parlia-
ment.
Gazette.
No. 2085.

When the King met his Parliament, November 9. he congratulated them on the success of his arms; but told them, that in order to prevent any new disturbances, he was determined to keep the present army together; and let no "man (says his Majesty) take exceptions that some officers are not qualified, for they are most of them known to me for the loyalty of their principles and practices; and therefore to deal plainly with you, after having had the benefit of their services in a time of need and danger, I will neither expose them to disgrace, nor my self to the want of them——"

Burn.
p. 667.

Thus we were to have a standing army under popish officers, in defiance of the penal laws and test. The Commons would have given them an Act of indemnity for what was past, but the King would not accept it: and because the house was not disposed to his dispensing power, he prorogued them Nov. 20. when they had sat but eleven Days; and after many successive Prorogations for two years dissolved them.

1686.
Some turn
from the
Church
to the Dis-
senters.
Calamy's
Abridg.
p. 460, &c.

The Prosecution of the Dissenters, which was carried on with all imaginable severity this and the last year, forced some of their Ministers into the Church, but it had a different, and more surprising influence upon others, who had the courage in these difficult times to renounce the Church as a persecuting Establishment, and to take their lot among the Non-Conformists; as the Reverend Mr. John Spademan, M. A. of Swayton in Lincolnshire; Mr. John Rastrick, Vicar of Kirkton near Boston; Mr. Burroughs of Frampton; Mr. Scoffin of Brotherton; Mr. Quipp of Moreton; and a few others, who could be influenced by no other principle but Conscience, in a cause that had nothing in this World to recommend it but bonds and imprisonment, and the loss of all things.

Progress of
the Persecu-
tion.
Calamy,
p. 372,
373.

Great were the oppressions of those who frequented the separate Meetings in several Counties; the Informers broke in upon Sir John Hartoppe, Mr Fleetwood, and others at Stoke-Newington, to levy Distresses for Conventicles, to

the

the value of six or seven thousand pounds ; the like at Enfield, Hackney, and all the neighbouring villages about London. The Justices and confiding Clergy were equally diligent in their several parishes. Injunctions were sent out from several of the Bishops under the seal of their offices, requiring all Church-Wardens to present such as did not come to Church nor receive the Sacrament at Easter ; which were read publickly in Hertfordshire, Essex, &c. And the Juries at the assizes gave it as their opinion, That the Dissenters should be effectually prosecuted ; but the scandalous villanies and perjuries of the Informers made wise men begin to abhor the trade ; however, so terrible were the times, that many families and Ministers removed with their effects to New England, and other plantations in America ; among whom we may reckon the reverend and worthy Mr. Samuel Lee, the ejected Minister of Bishopgate, who, in his return to his flock, after the Revolution, was taken prisoner by the French, and was carried to St. Maloes, where he died in a dungeon, by the hands of those whose tender mercies are cruelty. Many Ministers were fined and imprisoned, and great numbers of their most substantial hearers cited into the Commons, their names being fixed upon the doors of their Parish Churches, and if they did not appear, an Excommunication and a Capias followed, unless they found means, by presents of wine, by gold in the fingers of a pair of gloves, or some powerful bribe of the like nature, to get themselves excused ; for which, among others, the name of Doctor Pinfold is famous to this day.

The Dissenters continued to take the most prudent measures to cover their private Meetings from their adversaries. They assembled in small numbers——they frequently shifted their places of worship, and met together late in the Evenings, or early in the Mornings——There were friends without doors always on the watch, to give notice of approaching danger——When the dwellings of Dissenters joined they made windows or holes in the walls, that the preacher's voice might be heard in two or three houses——They had sometimes private passages from one house to another, and trap doors for the escape of the Minister, who went always in disguise, except when he was discharging his office——In Country Towns and Villages they went through back yards and gardens into the house, to avoid the observation of neighbours and passengers——For the same reason they never sung Psalms——and the Minister was placed in such an inward part of the house that his voice might
not

Methods of
the Dissen-
ters to con-
ceal their
Meetings.

King
James II.
1686.

not be heard in the streets——The doors were always locked, and a Centinel placed near it, to give notice of an alarm, that the Preacher might escape by some private passage, with as many of the congregation as could avoid the Informers. But notwithstanding all their precautions, spies and false brethren crept in among them in disguise, their Assemblies were frequently interrupted, and great sums of money raised by fines or compositions, to the discouragement of trade and industry, and enriching the officers of the Spiritual Courts. How warm was the zeal of our forefathers! And what hazards did they run for the freedom of their Consciences :

Progress of
Popery.

Thus were the Non-Conformists ground between the Papists on one hand, and the High Church Clergy on the other, while the former made their advantage of the latter, concluding, that when the Dissenters were destroyed, or thoroughly exasperated, and the Clergy divided among themselves, they should be a match for the Establishment, and be capable of introducing that Religion they had been so long aiming at. To make way for this, swarms of Jesuits and Regular Priests were sent for from abroad; Jesuits-Schools, and other Seminaries, were set up in London and the Country; Mass Houses were erected in the most considerable towns; four Roman Catholick Bishops were consecrated in the royal chapel, and exercised their functions under the character of Vicars Apostolical; their regular Clergy appeared at Whitehall and St. James's in their habits, and were unwearied in their attempts to seduce the common people. The way to preferment was to be a Catholick, or to declare for the prerogative; for all State Affairs were managed by such men. An open correspondence was held with Rome, and many Pamphlets were dispersed over the countries, to captivate the common people to the Romish Faith, or at least to a coalition with it. Multitudes of the King's Subjects frequented the Popish Chapels, some changed their Profession; and all men were forbid to speak disrespectfully of the King's Religion.

Clergy for-
bid to preach
against
Popery.

This opened the eyes of many of the Clergy, and put them upon preaching against the popish Doctrines, that they might recover the people who were running from them, and rescue the Protestant Religion from the danger their own follies had brought it into. The King being made acquainted with this, his Majesty, by the advice of his Priests, sent circular letters to the Bishops, with an order, prohibiting the inferior Clergy from preaching on the controverted points of Religion; which many complained of, tho' it was no more than King James and Charles I. had done before. However,

when

Barnet,
p. 674.
But they
write a-
gainst it.

when their mouths were stopt in the pulpit, some of the most learned and zealous agreed to fight the Catholics with their own weapons, and to publish small pamphlets for the benefit of the vulgar in defence of the Protestant Doctrines. When a popish Pamphlet was in the press they made interest with the workmen, and got the sheets as they were wrought off, so that an answer was ready as soon as the Pamphlet was published. There was hardly a week but some Sermon or small Treatise against Popery was printed and dispersed among the common people, which in the compass of a year or two produced a valuable set of controversial writings against the errors of that Church. The chief Writers were Dr. Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tenison, Patrick, Wake, Whitby, Sharp, Atterbury, Williams, Aldrich, Burnet, Fowler, &c. Men of great name and character in those times, who gained immortal honour, and were afterwards prefer'd to the highest dignities in the Church. Never was a bad cause more weakly managed by the Papists, nor a more compleat victory and triumph obtained by the Protestants.

But the Church party not content with their conquest, “ have of late censured the Non-Conformists for appearing only as spectators, and not joining them in the combat.” But how could the Clergy expect this from a set of men whom they had been persecuting for above twenty years, and who had the yoke still upon their necks? Had not the Non-Conformists been before-hand with them in their Morning Exercises against Popery? And did not Dr. Owen, Mr. Pool, Baxter, Clarkson and others, write against the errors of the Church of Rome, throughout the whole reign of King Charles II? Had not the Non-Conformists stood in the gap, and exposed themselves long enough to the Resentments of the Papists, for refusing to come into their measures for an universal toleration, in which they might be included? Besides, the poor Ministers were hardly crept out of corners, their papers had been rifled, and their books sold or hid, to avoid seizure; they had but little time to study, and therefore might not be so well prepared as those who had lived in ease and plenty. Farther, the Church Party was most nearly concerned, for the Non-Conformists had nothing to lose, whereas all the emoluments of the Church were at stake; and after all, some of the Dissenters did write; and if we may believe Dr. Calamy, Mr. Baxter, and others, their tracts being thought too warm, were refused to be licensed. Upon the whole, Bishop Burnet wisely observes, that as the Dissenters would not engage on the side of Popery and the Prerogative,

Reasons of
the Dissen-
ters not
writing.
Calamy,
p. 373.

p. 702.

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Prerogative, nor appear for taking off the tests in the present circumstances; so on the other hand they were unwilling to provoke the King, who had lately given them hopes of liberty, lest he should make up matters upon any terms with the Church party at their expence; nor would they provoke the Church Party, or by any ill behaviour drive them into a reconciliation with the Court; therefore they resolved to let the points of Controversy alone, and leave them to the management of the Clergy who had a legal bottom to support them.

The Clergy's writing begins an open War between the King and Church.
Burnet, p. 715.

The Clergy's writing thus zealously against Popery broke all measures between the King and the Church of England, and made each party court that body of men for their auxiliaries whom they had been persecuting and destroying for so many years. His Majesty now resolved to introduce an universal toleration in despite of the Church, and at their expence. The cruelty of the Church of England was his common subject of discourse; he reproached them for their violent persecutions of the Dissenters, and said, he had intended to set on foot a toleration sooner, "but that he was restrained by some of them who had treated with him, and had undertaken to shew favour to the Papists, provided they might be still suffered to vex the Dissenters;" and he named the very men, tho' they thought fit afterwards to deny it; But how far the fact is probable must be left with the reader.

And brings Liberty to the Dissenters.

By Virtue of the dispensing Power.
Burnet, p. 669.

It being thought impracticable to obtain a legal toleration in the present circumstances of the Nation, his Majesty determined to attempt it by the dispensing power; for this purpose Sir Edward Hales, a popish Gentleman of Kent was brought to trial for breaking through the Test Act, when Sir Edward Herbert, Lord Chief Justice, gave judgment in his favour, and declared the powers of the Crown to be absolute. The other Judges were closeted, and such displaced as were of a different sentiment; and the King being resolved to have twelve Judges of his own opinion, four had their Quietus, and as many new ones were advanced, from whom the King exacted a promise to support the prerogative in all its branches. There was a new Call of Serjeants, who gave rings with this motto, Deus, Rex, Lex, God, the King, and the Law, the King being placed before the Law. The Privy Council was new modelled, and several declared Papists admitted into it; two confiding Clergymen were promoted to Bishopricks, Parker to Oxford, and Cartwright to Chester. Many Pamphlets were writ and dispersed in favour of Liberty of Conscience; and Sir Robert L'Estrange with other mercenary Writers, were employed to maintain, that

“ a power in the King to dispense with the Laws, is Law.” But the judgment of private Writers not being thought sufficient, it was resolved to have the determination of the Judges, who all but one gave it as their opinion ; 1. “ That the Laws of England were the King’s Laws. 2. That it is an inseparable Branch of the Prerogative of the Kings of England, as of all other sovereign Princes, to dispense with all penal Laws on particular Cases, and on particular Occasions. 3. That of these reasons and necessity the King is sole Judge. 4. That this is not a Trust now invested in, and granted to the present King, but the antient remains of the sovereign power of the Kings of England, which was never yet taken from them, nor can be.” Thus the Laws of England were given up at once into the hands of the King, by the voice of his Judges.

King James II. 1686.
Wel. Memoirs, p. 194.
Which is declared legal by the Judges.

This point being secured, his Majesty began to careſs the Non-conformiſts ; “ All on a sudden (ſays Biſhop Burnet) the Churchmen were diſgraced, and the Diſſenters in high Favour. Lord Chief Juſtice Herbert went the Weſtern Circuit after Jefferies, who was now made Lord Chancellor, and all was grace and favour to them ; their former Sufferings were much reflected upon and pitied ; every thing was offered that might alleviate them ; their Miniſters were encouraged to ſet up their Conventicles, which had been diſcontinued, or held very ſecretly for four or five years ; intimations were given every where, that the King would not have them nor their Meetings diſturbed.” A Diſpenſation, or Liſenſe Office was ſet up, where all that applied might have an indulgence, paying only fifty Shillings for themſelves and their Families. Many who had been proſecuted for Conventicles took out thoſe Liſenſes, which not only ſtopt all Proceſſes that were commenced, but gave them liberty to go publickly to Meetings for the future. “ Upon this (ſays the ſame Reverend Prelate) ſome of the Diſſenters grew insolent, but wiſer Men among them perceived the deſign of the Papiſts was now to ſet on the Diſſenters againſt the Church, and therefore tho’ they returned to their Conventicles, yet they had a juſt jealousy of all the ill deſigns that lay hid under all this ſudden, and unexpected ſhew of Grace and Kindneſs, and they took care not to provoke the Church Party.” But where then were the Eyes of the High Church Clergy, during the whole Reign of King Charles II. when they rain’d down vengeance upon the Non-conformiſts

Non-Conform. careſſed by the Court, p. 672.

and

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and their Families, and took advantage of every persecuting Law for a long course of years. Did they not perceive the designs of the Papists? or were they not willing rather to court them at the expence of the whole Body of Dissenting Protestants? Bishop Laud's Scheme of uniting with the Papists, and meeting them half Way, was never out of their sight; however, when the Reader calls to mind the Oppression and Cruelties that the conscientious Non-conformists underwent from the High Church Party for twenty five years, he will be ready to conclude, they would have deserved no regard, if the protestant Religion itself had not been at Stake.

The End of
the Prosecution of
the Dissenters by the
Penal Laws.

Thus the all wise providence of God put a period to the prosecution of the Protestant Dissenters from the penal Laws, tho' the Laws themselves were not legally repealed, or suspended till after the Revolution of King William and Queen Mary. It may not therefore be improper to give the Reader a summary view of their Usage in this and the last Reign, and of the damages they sustained in their Persons, Families and Estates.

Account of
the Quakers.
Sewel, p.
588, 593.

The Quakers in their Petition to King James the last year, inform his Majesty, that of late above one thousand five hundred of their Friends were in prison, both Men and Women; and that now there remain one thousand three hundred eighty three, of which two hundred are Women; many under sentence of Præmunire; and more than three hundred near it, for refusing the oath of Allegiance, "because they could not swear."——Above three hundred and fifty have died in prison since the year 1660, near one hundred of which since the year 1680.——In London, the Gaol of Newgate has been crowded within these two years, sometimes with near twenty in a room, whereby several have been suffocated, and others, who have been taken out sick, have died of malignant Fevers within a few Days.——Great violences, outrageous Distresses, and woful havock and spoil have been made on peoples Goods and Estates, by a Company of idle, extravagant, and mercilefs Informers, by prosecutions on the Conventicle Act, and others, as may be seen in the Margin*. Also on Qui tam Writs, and on other Processes, for twenty pounds a Month; and two thirds of their Estates seized for the King.——Some had

* The Acts or penal Laws on which they suffered were these. Some few suffered on the 27 Henry VIII. cap. 20.

Others

had not a bed left to rest upon ; others had no Cattle to till the Ground, nor Corn for Seed or Bread, nor tools to work with : The said Informers and Bailiffs in some places breaking into Houses, and making great waste and spoil, under pretence of serving the King and the Church.—Our religious Assemblies have been charged at common Law with being Riotous Routs, and Disturbances of the Peace, whereby great numbers have been confined in prisons, without regard to age or sex ; and many in holes and dungeons.—The Seizures for twenty Pounds a Month have amounted to several thousand Pounds ; sometimes they have seized for eleven Months at once, and made sale of all Goods and Chattels both within Doors and without for payment.—Several who have employed some hundreds of poor Families in Manufacture, are by those Writs and Seizures disabled, as well as by long imprisonment ; one in particular, who employed two hundred people in the woollen Manufacture.—Many Informers, and especially impudent Women, whose Husbands are in Prison, swear for their share of the profit of the Seizures.—The fines upon one Justice's Warrant have amounted to many hundred Pounds ; frequently ten Pounds a Warrant, and five Warrants together for fifty Pounds to one Man ; and for Non-payment all his Goods carried away in about ten cart loads. They spare neither Widows nor Fatherless, nor poor Families, nor leave them so much as a Bed to lie upon.—Thus the Informers are both witnesses and parties, to the ruin of great numbers of sober Families ; and Justices of Peace have been threaten'd with the Forfeiture of one hundred Pounds, if they do not issue out Warrants upon their

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- Others on 1 Eliz. cap. 2. for twelve Pence a Sunday.
5 Eliz. cap. 23. De excommu. capiendo.
23 Eliz. cap. 1. for 20 l. a Month.
29 Eliz. cap. 6. for Continuation.
35 Eliz. cap. 1. for abjuring the Realm on pain of Death.
3 King James I. cap. 4. for Præmunire, imprisonment during Life, and Estates confiscated.
13th and 14th of King Charles II. against Quakers, &c. Transportation.
17 Charles II. cap. 2. against Non-conformists.
22 King Charles II. cap. 1. against seditious Conventicles.
N. B. The Quakers were not much affected with the Corporations and Test Acts, because they would not take an oath.
Nor with the Oxford five Mile Act, which cut the others to pieces.

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Informations.—With this petition they presented to the King and Parliament a list of their Friends in prison in the several Counties, amounting to one thousand four hundred and sixty.

Computati-
on of the
Number of
Sufferers,
and Esti-
mate of Da-
mages suf-
fained by the
Non con-
formists in
the two last
Reigns.

But 'tis impossible to make an exact computation of the number of Sufferers, or estimate of the damages his Majesty's Dissenting Subjects of the several Denominations sustained, by the prosecutions of this and the last Reign; how many Families were impoverished, and reduced to beggary; how many lives were lost in Prisons and stinking Gaols; how many Ministers were divorced from their people, and forced to live as they could, five Miles from a Corporation; how many industrious and laborious Tradesmen were cut off from their Trades; and their Substance and Household Goods carried off by Soldiers, and divided among idle and infamous Informers. The vexatious Suits of the Commons, and the expences of those Courts were immense.

Preface to
Delaune's
Plea, p. 5.

The Writer of the Preface of Mr. Delaune's "Plea for the Non-conformists," says, that Delaune was one of near eight thousand protestant Dissenters, who had perished in prison in the Reign of King Charles II. and that "meer-ly for Dissenting from the Church in some points which they were able to give good Reason for;" and yet for no other cause (says he) were they stifled, I had almost said, murder'd in Gaols.—As for the severe penalties inflicted on them for seditious and riotous Assemblies, designed only for the worship of God, he adds, that they suffered in their Trades and Estates, within the compass of three years, at least two Millions; and doubts, whether in all the times since the Reformation, including also the Reign of Queen Mary, there can be produced any thing like such a number of Christians who have suffered death; and such numbers who have lost their Substance for Religion. Another Writer adds, that Mr. Jeremy White, had carefully collected "a List of the Dissenting Sufferers, and of their Sufferings; and had the names of sixty thousand persons who had suffered on a religious account, between the Restoration of King Charles II. and the Revolution of King William; five thousand of whom died in prison. That Mr. White told Lord Dorset, that King James had offered him a thousand Guineas for the Manuscript, but that he refused all Invitations and Rewards, and concealed the black Record, that it might not appear to the Disreputation of the Church of England, for which some of the Clergy sent him their Thanks, and offered him an acknowledgment, which

Hist.
Stuarts, p.
215.

which he generouſly reſuſed. The Reader will form his own judgment of the truth of theſe Faſts. 'Tis certain, that beſides thoſe that ſuffered at home, great numbers retired to the Plantations of New England, Penſilvania, and other parts of America. Many tranſported themſelves and their Effects into Holland, and filled the Engliſh Churches of Amſterdam, the Hague, Utrecht, Leyden, Rotterdam, and other parts. If we admit the Diſſenting Families of the ſeveral Denominations in England to be no more than one hundred and fifty thouſand, and that each Family ſuffered no more than the loſs of three or four Pounds per Annum, from the Act of Uniformity, the whole will amount to twelve or fourteen Millions; a prodigious Sum for thoſe Times! But theſe are only conjectures; the damage to the trade and property of the Nation was undoubtedly imenſe; and the Wounds that were made in the eſtates of private Families were deep and large, many of whom, to my certain knowledge, wear the ſcars of them to this day.

When the Proteſtant Diſſenters roſe up into publick view as a diſtinct Body, their long Sufferings had not very much diminiſhed their numbers, which tho' not to be compared with thoſe of the Eſtabliſhment, or the Tories and Roman Catholicks, were yet ſo conſiderable as to be capable of turning the Scale on either ſide, according as they ſhould throw in their weight, which might poſſibly be owing to ſome of the following Reaſons:

Reaſons
of their
Numbers
not decrea-
ſing.

1. "To their firmneſs and conſtancy in a long courſe of "Suffering," which convinced the World that they were not governed by humour, but by conſcience.

2. "To their Doctrines and manner of preaching," which was plain and practical, accompanied with a warm and awakening addreſs to the Conſcience. Their Doctrines were thoſe of the firſt Reformers, which were grown out of Faſhion in the Church; and their way of Worſhip was ſimple and plain, without the ornament of human Rites and Ceremonies.

3. "To the ſeverity of their Morals," at a time when the Nation was ſunk into all kinds of Vice and Profane- neſs, from which they kept at a remarkable diſtance. Their Converſation was ſober and virtuous. They obſerved the Lord's Day with religious ſtrictneſs in their Families, and had an univerſal Reputation for Juſtice and Integrity in their Dealings.

4. The ſupport of their Numbers was further owing to the "careful and ſtrict Education of their Children, whom

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they impressed with an early sense of spiritual Religion, and educated in their own Way, as they had opportunity, under private School-masters of their own Principles.

5. They had no less a concern for “ a Succession of able “ and learned Ministers,” and therefore encouraged the setting up private Academies in several parts of the Nation ; and ’tis remarkable that many Gentlemen and substantial Citizens devoted their Children to the Ministry, at a time when they had nothing in view but bonds and imprisonment.

6. It might be owing further, “ to the persecuting zeal “ of the High Church Party,” attended with an uncommon licentiousness of Manners. If their zeal against the Non-conformists had produced a greater Sanctity of Life, and severity of Morals, it had been less offensive ; but to see Men of bad Morals signing Warrants of Distress upon their Neighbours, only for worshipping God peaceably at a separate Meeting, when themselves hardly worshipped God at all, but were infamous for all kinds of Immorality, made some apprehend there was nothing at all in Religion ; and others resolve to take their lot with a more sober People.

Finally, “ The Spirit and Principles of Torism began to “ appear ruinous to the Nation.” The old English Constitution, by which the Dissenters had stood firm for above twenty years, was in a manner lost, which raised their reputation with all true Lovers of their Country. Their Sufferings were now regretted, and many who had contracted a settled abhorrence of Popery, and of the destructive measures of the Tories, appeared in the cause of Non-conformity, and joined their Congregations.

A Commis-
sion of En-
quiry into
the Losses
the Dis-
senters had
sustained by
the Church
Party.

To return to the History ; the Dissenters being now made easy, it was resolved to turn the Artillery of the Prerogative against the Church, and make them feel a little of the smart they had given others ; the King and his Priests were thoroughly enraged with their opposition to the Court, and therefore appointed Commissioners all over England to enquire, “ What Money had been raised ? or what Goods “ had been seized by Distress on Dissenters or Prosecutions “ for Recusancy, and not brought to an account in the Ex- “ chequer ?” In the Gazette of March 5, 1687, it is advertised, that the Commissioners appointed to examine into the Losses of Dissenters and Recusants within the several Counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Monmouth, were to hold their Sessions for the said Counties, at the places therein

therein mentioned. Others were appointed for the Counties of Middlesex, Essex, &c. to enquire what Money or Goods had been taken or received for any matters relating to Religion since September 29, 1677. in any of the Counties for which they were named. They were to return the names of all persons who had seized Goods, or received Money. The parties themselves, if alive, were obliged to appear, and give account; and if dead, their Relations were to appear before the Commissioners for them. This struck Terror into the whole Tribe of Informers, the confiding Justices, and others who expected now to be ruined; but (says Dr. Calamy) the Protestant Dissenters generously refused to appear against their Enemies, upon assurances given by leading Persons, both Clergy and Laity, that no such methods should be used for the future. But if this Enquiry had proceeded, and the Dissenters all over England had come into it, a black and fraudulent Scene would have been opened, which now will be concealed. Bishop Burnet says, "The King ordered them to enquire into all vexatious Suits p. 715. into which the Dissenters had been brought into the Spiritual Courts, and into all the Compositions they had been forced to make to redeem themselves from further trouble, which, as was said, would have brought to light a scandalous Discovery of all the ill Practises of these Courts; for the use that many who belong to those Courts had made of the Laws with relation to Dissenters, was, to draw Presents from such as could make them, threatening them with a Process in case they failed to do that, and upon doing it, leaving them at full liberty to neglect the Laws as much as they pleased. The Commission subsisted till the Revolution, and it was hoped (says his Lordship) that this would have animated the Dissenters to turn upon the Clergy with some of that fierceness with which they themselves had been lately treated." But they made no advantage of the disposition of the Court, nor of the opportunity that was put into their Hands of making Reprisals on their Adversaries; which shews the truly generous and Christian Spirit of those Confessors for Religion; and deserved a more grateful acknowledgment.

To humble the Clergy yet further, his Majesty, by the Advice of Jefferies, erected a new Ecclesiastical Commission, tho' the Act which took away the High Commission in 1641. had provided, that no Court of that nature should be erected for the future; but the King, though a Papist, as-

An Ecclesiastical Commission erected. Burnet, p. 675.

King
James II.
1686. 

Kign
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sumed the Supremacy, and directed a Commission to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Durham and Rochester; to the Earl of Sunderland, President of the Council; Herbert and Wright, Lord Chief Justices; Jenner Recorder of London; and Jefferies the Chancellor, or any three of them, provided the Chancellor was one, "To exercise all manner of Jurisdiction and Pre-eminence, touching any Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions, to visit, reform, redress, and amend all abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, which by the spiritual or Ecclesiastical Laws might be corrected. They were also to enquire into all misdemeanors and contempts which might be punished by the censures of the Church, and to call before them all Ecclesiastical Persons of what degree and dignity soever, and punish the offenders by Excommunications, Suspensions, Deprivations, or other Ecclesiastical Censures, &c." This was a terrible Rod hung up over the Clergy, and if the Commissioners had had time to proceed in their Enquiries, according to the Mandates sent to the Chancellors and Archdeacons of the several Dioceses, they would have felt more of the effects of that arbitrary Power which their unwise conduct had brought on the Nation; but providence was kinder to them than they had been to their Neighbours. The Commission was granted the beginning of April, but was not opened till the beginning of August; the Archbishop of Canterbury was afraid to act in it; Durham was so lifted up (says Burnet) that he said his name would now be recorded in History; and Sprat Bishop of Rochester, in hopes of further preferment, went with the Stream. Some Roman Catholics were in the Commission, and consequently the Enemies of the Protestant Religion were to be its Judges.

Welw. p.
98.

A Stand-
ing Army
to support
it.

But his Majesty not being willing to rely altogether on the Oxford Decree, nor on the fashionable Doctrines of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance, which had been preached up for above twenty years as the unalterable Doctrines of the Church of England; in order to support his extraordinary proceedings, resolved to augment his standing Forces to fifteen thousand Men. He was apprehensive of a "Snake in the Grass, or a secret Reserve," that might break out when the Church itself came to be pinched; he therefore ordered his Army to encamp on Blackheath, under the command of the Earl of Feversham, to awe the City, and be at hand upon any Emergency; the Officers and many of the Soldiers were Irish Papists, and they had a publick

publick Chapel in which Mass was said every day, so that it was believed the King might introduce what Religion he pleased. It was dangerous to speak or write against his Majesty's proceedings; for when the Reverend Mr. Johnson, a Clergyman, ventured to publish a Writing, directed to the Protestant Officers of the Army, to dissuade them from being Tools of the Court to subvert the Constitution and Protestant Religion; diligent Search was made for him, and being apprehended, he was sentenced to stand three times in the Pillory, to be degraded of his orders, to be whipt from Newgate to Tyburn, and to be fined five hundred Marks; all which was executed with great Severity.

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Gazette,
No. 2192.

Affairs in Scotland were in equal forwardness with those of England; the Parliament which met at Edinburgh in May 1685, while the persecution continued, declared their abhorrence of all principles derogatory to the King's absolute Power, and offered their Lives and Fortunes to defend it against all Opposers. They passed an Act, making it Death to resort to any Conventicles in Houses or Fields; and declared it High Treason to give or take the National Covenant, or to write in defence of it. They also obliged the Subjects of Scotland to take an oath, when required, to maintain the King's absolute Power, on pain of Banishment. Popery made very considerable advances in that Kingdom, and several persons of Character changed their Religion with the Times. But the populace were in the other extrem; the Earl of Perth having set up a private Chapel for Mass, the Mob broke into it with such fury that they defaced and destroyed the whole Furniture, for which one of them was apprehended and hanged. When the English Court changed Measures the Scots Parliament agreed to a Suspension of the penal Laws for the King's Life; but his Majesty insisting upon an entire Repeal, which they declined, he dissolved them. The Episcopal Clergy were obsequious to the Court, and in many places so sunk into Sloth and Ignorance, that the lower People were grown quite indifferent in Matters of Religion; but the Presbyterians, tho' now freed from the Severities they had smarted under for many years, expressed upon all occasions an unconquerable aversion to Popery, and by degrees roused the whole Nation out of their Lethargy.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Burnet, p.
678.

In Ireland things had still a more favourable aspect for the Court: The King had a greater Dependence on the Irish Catholics than upon any of his other Subjects. Colonel Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, was made Lord Lieutenant of that Country, a vile profligate Officer, who scrupled no

Of Ireland,

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kind of barbarity and wickedness to serve his Cause ; he broke several Protestant Officers in the Army, and by degrees turned them all out to make room for Papists. All Offices both Civil and Military were put into the Hands of the vilest Miscreants ; there was not a Protestant Sheriff in the Kingdom ; the Charters were taken away, and new modeled in favour of Papists. The Corporations were dissolved, and all Things managed with an arbitrary Hand, so that many imagining the massacring Knife to be at their Throats left the Kingdom ; some transported themselves into England, and others into more remote and distant Countries. Thus far the Prerogative prevailed without any Repulse.

Bishop of
London
suspended.

All things being now ready to attack the Church of England in Form, it was resolved to begin with making an Example of some of their leading Divines : Dr. Sharp, Rector of St. Giles's, having broke thro' the King's Order, "of not preaching on the controverted Points," and spoken disrespectfully of the King's Religion in one of his Sermons, the Bishop of London was ordered to suspend him ; but the Bishop, with all dutiful Respect to his Majesty, sent Word, That he could not proceed in such a summary Way, but that when the Cause was heard in the Commons he would pronounce such Sentence as the Canons should warrant ; and in the mean Time would desire the Doctor to forbear preaching. The Court resenting the Bishop's Denial, cited him before the Ecclesiastical Commission, Aug. 4, where he was treated by Jefferies in a manner unbecoming his Character. The Bishop excepted to the Authority of the Court, as contrary to Law, and added, that he had complied in the Doctor's Case as far as the Ecclesiastical Laws would permit. But notwithstanding all that his Lordship could say in his Defence he was suspended ab Officio, and the Bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Petersbrough, were appointed Commissioners to exercise Jurisdiction during his Suspension. But Dr. Sharp, after having expressed his Sorrow in a Petition for falling under the King's Displeasure, was dismissed with a genteel Reprimand, and suffered to return to the Exercise of his Function.

Burnet,
p. 676.

Ib. p. 677.

Privileges of
the University
of Cambridge
invaded.
Burnet,
p. 700.

The King's next Attempt was upon the Universities : He began with Cambridge, and commanded Dr. Peachel the Vice-chancellor to admit one Alban Francis, a Benedictine Monk, to the Degree of M. A. without administering to him any Oath or Oaths whatsoever ; all which his Majesty declared he would dispense with. The Vice-chancellor having read the Letter to the Congregation of Regents, it was agreed to petition the King to revoke his Mandate ; but instead of complying

plying with their Petition, the King sent for the Vice-chancellor before the Ecclesiastical Commission, by whom he was suspended "ab Officio & Beneficio," for Disobedience and Contempt of the King's Commands; and Dr. Balderston, Master of Emanuel College, was chosen in his room.

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Soon after the King sent a Mandamus to the Vice-president of Magdalen College, Oxford, and to the Fellows, to choose Mr. Farmer, a Man of ill Reputation, their President, in the room of Dr. Clarke, deceased; but in defiance of the King's Mandate they chose Dr. Hough; for which they were cited before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, but having proved Farmer to be a Man of bad Character, the King relinquished him, and ordered them by another Mandate to choose Dr. Parker, Bishop of Oxford. The Fellows having agreed to abide by their first choice refused to elect the Bishop, as contrary to their Statutes. Upon which the Commissioners were sent to visit them, who after sundry Enquiries and Examinations, deprived Dr. Hough, and installed the Bishop of Oxford by Proxy; and the Fellows refusing to sign a Submission to their new President, twenty five of them were deprived, and made incapable of any Benefice. Parker died soon after, and one of the Popish Bishops was by Mandamus chosen President in his Place; which enflamed the Church Party so far, that they sent pressing Messages to the Prince of Orange, desiring him to espouse the Cause of the Church, and break with the King if he would not redress their Grievances. Thus the very first beginnings of Resistance to King James came from that very University who about four Years before had pronounced this Doctrine damnable by a solemn Decree; and from those very Men who were afterwards King William's most bitter Enemies.

And of
Magdalen
College
Oxford.

Burnet,
P. 701.

But the wider and more desperate the War was between the King and the Church, the more necessary did both Parties find it to shew kindness to the Dissenters: for this purpose his Majesty sent Agents among them, offering them the Royal Favour, and all manner of Encouragement, if they would concur with his Majesty "in abrogating the Penal Laws and the Test;" he invited some of their Ministers to Court, and pretended to consult them in the present Crisis. The Clergy, at the same time, prayed and entreated the Dissenters to appear on their side, and stand by the Establishment, making large Promises of Favour and brotherly Affection if ever they got out of their Troubles.

Both King
and Church
court the
Dissenters.

The King, notwithstanding the stubbornness of the Clergy, called a Council, in which he declared his Resolution to issue

King's
Speech in
Council for
Liberty of
Conscience.
Gazette,
No. 2226.

out

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out a Declaration for a “ general Liberty of Conscience to
“ all Persons of what Persuasion so ever,” “ which he was
“ moved to do, by having observed, that tho’ an Uniformity
“ of Worship had been endeavoured to be established within
“ this Kingdom in the successive Reigns of four of his Pre-
“ decessors, assisted by their respective Parliaments, yet it had
“ proved altogether ineffectual. That the Restraint upon
“ the Consciences of the Dissenters had been very prejudicial
“ to the Nation, as was sadly experienced by the horrid Re-
“ bellion in the time of his Majesty’s Father. That the ma-
“ ny Penal Laws made against Dissenters had rather encreased
“ than lessened the Number of them ; and that nothing could
“ more conduce to the Peace and Quiet of this Kingdom,
“ and the Increase of the Number as well as of the Trade
“ of his Subjects, than an entire Liberty of Conscience, it
“ having always been his Opinion, as most suitable to the
“ Principles of Christianity, That no Man should be perse-
“ cuted for Conscience sake ; for he thought Conscience
“ could not be forced, and that it could never be the true
“ Interest of the King of England to endeavour to do it.”

His Maje-
sty’s Decla-
ration of
Indulgence.
Gazette,
No. 2231.

This Speech meeting with no Opposition in the Council, his Majesty on the 4th of April caused his gracious Declaration for Liberty of Conscience to be published. In the preamble to which his Majesty does not scruple to say, That he cannot but heartily wish (as it will easily be believed) that all his Subjects were Members of the Catholick Church, yet it is his Opinion, “ That Conscience ought not to be forced,” for the Reasons mentioned in the foregoing Speech, which he recites at large ; and then adds, “ By virtue of his Roy-
“ al Prerogative, he thinks fit to issue out his Declaration
“ of Indulgence, making no doubt of the Concurrence of
“ his two Houses of Parliament, when he shall think it con-
“ venient for them to meet. And, First, He declares, That
“ he will protect and maintain his Archbishops, Bishops and
“ Clergy, and all other his Subjects of the Church of Eng-
“ land, in the free Exercise of their Religion as by Law
“ established, and in the quiet and full Enjoyment of their
“ Possessions. Secondly, That it is his Royal Will and
“ Pleasure, that all Penal Laws for Non-Conformity to the
“ Religion established, or by reason of the Exercise of Re-
“ ligion in any Manner whatsoever, be immediately suspen-
“ ded. And to the End, that by the Liberty hereby gran-
“ ted, the Peace and Security of the Government in the
“ Practice thereof may not be endangered, he strictly charges

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“ges and commands all his Subjects, that as he freely gives
“them leave to meet, and serve God after their own Way,
“be it in private Houses, or Places purposely hired and
“built for that Use, so that they take special Care that no-
“thing be preached or taught among them which may alie-
“nate the Hearts of his People from him or his Govern-
“ment; that their Meetings and Assemblies be peaceably,
“openly, and publickly held, and all Persons freely ad-
“mitted to them; and that they signify and make known
“to some one or more of the next Justices of Peace, what
“Place or Places they set apart for such Uses. And he is de-
“sirous to have the Benefit of the Service of all his Subjects,
“which by the Law of Nature is inseparably annexed and
“inherent to his Royal Person. And that none of his Sub-
“jects may be for the future under any Discouragements or
“Disability, who are otherwise well inclined, and fit to serve
“him, by reason of some Oaths or Tests, that have usually
“been administered upon such Occasions, he hereby further
“declares, that it is his Will and Pleasure, that the Oaths
“of Supremacy and Allegiance, and the several Tests and
“Declarations mentioned in the Acts of Parliament made
“in the 25th and 30th of his Brother’s Reign shall not
“hereafter be required to be taken, declared, or subscribed
“by any Persons whatsoever, who are or shall be employed
“in any Office, or Place of Trust, either Civil or Military
“under him, or in his Government. And it is his Inten-
“tion from Time to Time hereafter to grant his Royal
“Dispensation to all his Subjects, so to be employed, who
“shall not take the said Oaths, or subscribe or declare the
“said Tests or Declarations. And he does hereby give his
“free and ample Pardon to all Non-Conformist Recusants,
“and other his Subjects, for all Crimes and Things by them
“committed, or done contrary to the Penal Laws formerly
“made relating to Religion, and the Profession or Exercise
“thereof. And although the Freedom and Assurance he has
“hereby given in relation to Liberty and Property might be
“sufficient to remove from the Minds of his Subjects all
“Fears and Jealousies in relation to either, yet he thinks
“fit to declare, that he will maintain them in all their
“Properties and Possessions, as well of Church and Abbey
“Lands, as in other their Estates and Properties whatso-
“ever.”

A Declaration of the same Nature was sent to Scotland,
in which the King, “by Virtue of his Prerogative Royal,
“absolute Authority and Power over all his Subjects, who
“are

Another for
Scotland.
Eachard.
p. 1083.
Burnet,
p. 713.

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“ are bound to obey him without reserve, repeals all the severe Laws made by his Grandfather King James I. and takes off all Disabilities from his Roman Catholick Subjects, which rendered them incapable of Employment and Benefices. He also slackened the Laws against moderate Presbyterians, and promised never to force his Subjects by any invincible Necessity to change their Religion. He also repealed all Laws imposing Tests on those who held any Employments.”

Remarks.

This was a strange Conduct (says Bp. Burnet) in a Roman Catholick Monarch, at a Time when his Brother of France had just broke the Edict of Nantz, and was Dragooning his Protestant Subjects out of his Kingdom. But the Bishop suspects the King's Sincerity in his Declaration, from his promising to use no invincible Necessity to force his Subjects to change their Religion, as if there was a Reserve, and that some Degrees of Compulsion might be proper one time or other ; which seems to have been a paralled Case to the Doctrine of the Church concerning Non Resistance. However, by another Proclamation the King granted full Liberty to the Scots Presbyterians to set up Conventicles in their own Way, which they thankfully accepted ; but when his Majesty pressed them to dispose their Friends to concur with him in taking off the Test and Penal Laws, which they knew was only to serve the Papists, they answered only in cold and general Terms.

Dissenters
admitted to
serve Offices.

In pursuance of these Declarations the Dissenters of all Sorts were not only set at Liberty, but admitted to serve “ in all Offices of Profit and Trust.” Nov. 6, the King sent an Order to the Lord Mayor of London to dispense with the Quakers not swearing, or at least not to fine them if they refused to serve, by which means a Door was open to the Roman Catholicks, and to all others to bear Offices in the State without a legal Qualification. Several Addresses were presented to the King upon this Occasion from the Companies in the City of London, from the Corporations in the Country, and even from the Clergy themselves, thanking his Majesty for “ his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience ; and his Promise to support the Church of England as by Law established,” assuring him of their Endeavours to choose such Members for the next Parliament as should give it a more legal Sanction.

Sewel,
p. 603.

But will not
acknowledge
the Dispensing
Power.
p. 718.

The several Denominations of Dissenters also were no less thankful for their Liberty, and addressed his Majesty in higher Strains than some of their elder and more cautious Ministers approved

approved of, for neither Mr. Baxter, Mr. Stretton, nor a great many others would join in them; Bishop Burnet admits, that few concurred in those Addresses, and that the Persons who carried them up were mean and inconsiderable. When there was a general Meeting of the Ministers to consider of their Behaviour in this Crisis, and two Messengers from Court waited to carry back an Account of the Result, Mr. Howe gave his Opinion against the Dispensing Power, and every Thing that might contribute Assistance to the Papists to enable them to subvert the Protestant Religion. Another Minister stood up and said, that he apprehended their late Sufferings were occasioned more by their firm Adherence to the Constitution, than their Religious Differences from the Establishment, and therefore if the King expected they should give up the Constitution and declare for the Dispensing Power, he had rather, for his Part, lose his Liberty, and return to his former Bondage. In conclusion, Mr. Howe, in summing up the whole Debate, signified to the "Courtiers that" they were in general of the same Opinion." Mr. Coke adds, that to his Knowledge the Dissenters did both dread and detest the Dispensing Power; which was a bold Declaration in this Crisis from a Number of Men who subsisted only by the Royal Favour, and ought to have been remembered in better Times.

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Gazette,
No. 2234.

Howe's
Life, p. 134.

But tho' the Court were a little disappointed in their Expectations from the Dissenters, they put the best Face they could on the Affair, and received the Addresses of those who came to Court with high Commendations. The first that went up were the London Anabaptists, who say, that "the Sense of" "this invaluable Favour and Benefit derived to us from your" "Royal Clemency, compel us to prostrate ourselves at your" "Majesty's Feet with the Tender of our most humble" "Thanks for that Peace and Liberty which both we, and all" "other Dissenters from the National Church now enjoy"—Next came the Presbyterians, "who acknowledged his Majesty's Princely Compassion in rescuing them from their" "long Sufferings, in restoring to God the Empire over" "Conscience, and publishing to the World his Royal Christian Judgment, That Conscience may not be forced; and" "his Resolution that such Force should not be attempted in" "his Reign, which they pray may be long"—Then followed the Independants: "Sir, the great Calamity we" "have been a long Time under, thro' the severe Execution" "of Penal Laws in Matters of Religion, has made us deeply" "sensible of your Majesty's Princely Clemency towards us" "Dissenting

Their Ad-
dresses of
Thanks.
Gazette,
No. 2234.

Gazette,
No. 2238.

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“ Dissenting Subjects, especially since in the Indulgence
“ vouchsafed there are no Limitations hindering the Enjoyment
“ of it with a good Conscience, and that your Majesty pub-
“ lished to the World, that it has been your constant Sense
“ and Opinion, that Conscience ought not to be constrained,
“ nor People forced in Matters of meer Religion” —
About the same Time was published the humble and thankful
Address of the London Quakers, to this Purpose ; “ May it
“ please the King ! Tho’ we are not the first in this Way,
“ yet we hope we are not the least sensible of the great Fa-
“ vours we are come to present the King our humble, open,
“ and hearty Thanks for — We rejoice to see the Day
“ that a King of England should from his Royal Seat so uni-
“ versally assert this Royal Principle, that Conscience ought
“ not to be restrained, nor People forced for Matters of
“ Religion” — The several Addresses above mentioned
expressed their humble Dependence on his Majesty’s Royal
Promise “ to secure their Rights and Properties,” and that
he will endeavour to engage his two Houses of Parliament to
concur with him in this good Work. Here are no Flights of
Expressions, nor Promises of “ Obedience without Re-
“ serve,” but purely a Sense of Gratitude and Thankfulness
for their Liberty.

They are ne-
vertheless
jealous of the
King’s Con-
duct.

And though it must be allowed that some few Dissenters,
from an Excess of Joy for their Liberty, or it may be, from
a strong Resentment against their late Persecutors, published
some severe Pamphlets, and gave too much Countenance to
the Measures of the Court, as Mr. Lobbe, Alsop, and Pen
the Quaker, yet the Body of them kept at a Distance, and
“ as thankful as they were for their Liberty (says Lord Ha-
“ lifax) they were fearful of the Issue ; neither can any
“ Number of Consideration among them, be charged with
“ hazarding the publick Safety by falling in with the Measures
“ of the Court, of which they had as great a Dread as their
“ Neighbours.” And the Lords, in a Conference with the
House of Commons upon the Occasional Bill, in the first
Year of Queen Ann, say, “ That in the last and greatest
“ Danger the Church was exposed to, the Dissenters joined
“ with her, with all imaginable Zeal and Sincerity, against
“ the Papists their common Enemies, shewing no Prejudice
“ to the Church, but the utmost Respect to the Bishops when
“ sent to the Tower.”

The Church
in Distress
apply to the
Dissenters
for Assis-
tance.

Burnet.

p. 708. 709.

But as the King and Court seemed to carry all before them,
the Church Party were in Despair, and almost at their Wits
end;

end; they saw themselves on the brink of Ruin, imagining that they should be turned out of their Freeholds for not reading the King's Declaration, and that the Non-Conformists would be admitted into their Pulpits; as Dr. Sherlock, Master of the Temple, acknowledged in Conversation to Mr. Howe; and that, as the Papists had already invaded the Universities, they would in a little Time overset the Whole Hierarchy of the Church. In this distress they turned their Eyes every where for Relief: They applied to the Dissenters, giving them the strongest Assurances of a Comprehension, and Toleration in better Times, if they would but assist in delivering them out of their present Troubles. Bishop Burnet says, that the Clergy here in England writ to the Prince of Orange, and desired him to send over some of the Dissenting Preachers, whom the Violence of the former Times had driven into Holland, and to prevail effectually with them to oppose any false Brethren, whom the Court might have gained over; and that they sent over very positive Assurances, which passed through his own Hands, "that in case they stood firm now to the common Interest they would in a better Time come into a Comprehension of such as could be brought into a Conjunction with the Church, and to a Toleration with the rest." Agreeably to these Assurances, when the Reverend Mr. Howe, Mr. Mead, and other Refugee Ministers, waited on the Prince of Orange, to return him Thanks for the Protection of the Country, and to take their Leave, his Highness made them some Presents to pay their Debts and defray their Charges home; and having wished them a good Voyage, he advised them to be very cautious in their Addresses; and not to suffer themselves to be drawn into the Measures of the Court so far as to open a Door for the introducing of Popery, by desiring the taking off the "Penal Laws and Test" as was intended. He desired them also to use their Influence with their Brethren to lay them under the same Restraints. His Highness also sent Orders to Monsieur Dykevelt his Resident, to press the Dissenters to stand off from the Court; "and to assure them of a full Toleration and Comprehension if possible, when the Crown should devolve on the Princess of Orange." Agents were sent among the Dissenters to soften their Resentment against the Church, and to assure them, that for the future they would treat them as Brethren, as will be seen in the next Chapter.

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With strong
Promises of
Favour in
better
Times.

By the Inter-
est of the
Prince of
Orange.

The Dissenters had it now in their Power to distress the Church Party, and it may be, to have turned the Scale against

Remarks.

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against them, if they would have given way to revenge, and fallen in heartily with the King's Measures. They were strongly tempted on both Sides; the King preferred them to Places of Profit and Trust, and gave them all Manner of Countenance and Encouragement; and the Churchmen loaded them with Promises and Assurances what great Things they would do for them, as soon as it was in their Power. But alas! no sooner was the Danger over but the Majority broke their Vows in Distress; for when the Convocation met the first Time after the Revolution they would not hear of a Comprehension, nor so much as acknowledge the foreign Churches for their Brethren, but seemed rather inclinable to return to their old Methods of Persecution; so little Dependance ought to be placed on High Church Promises!

Letter to the
Dissenters.

But in their present Circumstances it was necessary to flatter the Non-Conformists, and weaken the King's Hands, by dissuading the Dissenters from relying on the Promises of their new Friends; for this Purpose a Phamphlet writ by the Marquis of Hallifax, and published by Advice of some of the most eminent Dignitaries of the Church, was dispersed all over England, entituled, "A Letter to a Dissenter upon Occasion of his Majesty's late gracious Declaration of Indulgence." It begins with saying, "That Churchmen are not surprized nor provoked at the Dissenters accepting the Offers of Ease from the late Hardships they lay under, but desire them to consider, 1. The Cause they have to support their new Friends. And, 2. Their Duty in Christianity and Prudence not to hazard the publick Safety by a Desire of Ease or Revenge.

"With regard to the First, the Church of Rome (says the Author) does not only dislike your Liberty, but by its Principles cannot allow it; they are not able to make good their Vows; nay, it would be a Habit of Sin that requires Absolution; you are therefore hugged now only that you may be better squeezed another Time. To come so quick from one Extream to another is such an unnatural Motion, that you ought to be on your Guard: The other Day you were the Sons of Belial, now you are Angels of Light — Popery is now the only Friend of Liberty, and the known Enemy of Persecution. We have been under shameful Mistakes if this can be either true or lasting."

The Letter goes on to insinuate, "that some Ministers have been bribed into Measures of the Court; that they were

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“ were under Engagements, and impowered to give re-
“ wards to others, where they could not persuade. Now
“ if these or others should preach up anger and vengeance
“ against the Church of England, ought they not rather
“ to be suspected of Corruption, than to act according to
“ Judgment ;——If they who thank the King for his
“ Declaration should be engaged to justify it in point of
“ Law, I am persuaded it is more than the Addressers are
“ capable of doing——There is a great difference be-
“ tween enjoying quietly the advantage of an Act irregu-
“ larly done by others, and becoming Advocates for it ;
“ but frailties are to be excused——Take warning by the mis-
“ take of the Church of England, when after the Resto-
“ ration they preserved so long the bitter taste of your
“ rough usage to them, that it made them forget their In-
“ terest and sacrifice it to their Revenge——If you had
“ now to do with rigid Prelates the argument might be fair
“ on your side, but since the common danger has so laid
“ open the mistake, that all former Haughtiness towards
“ the Dissenters is for ever extinguished, and the Spirit of
“ Persecution is turned into a Spirit of Peace, Charity, and
“ Condescension, will you not be moved by such an Ex-
“ ample ?——If it be said, the Church is only humble
“ when it is out of Power ; the Answer is, that is un-
“ charitable, and an unseasonable Triumph ; besides, it
“ is not so in fact, for if she would comply with the
“ Court, she could turn all the Thunder upon yourselves,
“ and blow you off the Stage with a Breath ; but she will
“ not be rescued by such unjustifiable means——You
“ have formerly very justly blamed the Church of Eng-
“ land for going too far in her Compliance with the Court ;
“ conclude therefore that you must break off your Friend-
“ ship or set no Bounds to it——The Church is now
“ convinced of its Error, in being too severe to you ; the
“ next Parliament will be gentle to you ; the next Heir is bred
“ in a Country famous for Indulgence ; there is a general
“ Agreement of thinking Men, that we must no more cut
“ ourselves off from foreign Protestants, but enlarge our
“ Foundations ; so that all things conspire to give you Ease
“ and Satisfaction, if you do not too much anticipate it.
“ To conclude, the short Question is, Whether or no
“ you will join with those who must in the end run the
“ same fate with you ? If the Protestants of all sorts have
“ been to blame in their Behaviour to each other, they
“ are upon equal terms, and for that very Reason ought
“ now

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“ now to be reconciled——” How just so ever the reasoning of this Letter may be, either the Author did not know the Spirit of the Church Party (as they were called) or he must blush when he compares it with the Fact that followed the Revolution, Twenty thousand Copies were dispersed about the City and Country, and had a very good effect, for the honest well-meaning Dissenters made no advantage of the favourable Juncture ; they entered into no Alliances with the Papists, nor complied with Court Measures, any further than they favoured the cause of that religious Liberty, which they had a natrual Right to, and which the Church Party ought never to have taken from them.

Measures of
the Court to
obtain a le-
gal Toler-
ation.

No 2302.

The King
goes a
Progress.

The War between the King and the Church being now open, each party prepared for their defence ; the points in debate were, A general Toleration, and the Dispensing Power ; the latter of which the High Church Party had connived at in the late Reign ; but when the edge of it was turned against themselves, (the King having made use of it to break down the fence of the Church, by “ abrogating the Penal Laws and Tests, and making an Inroad “ upon the two Universities)” they cried out against it as subverting the whole Constitution ; and forgetting their late Addressses, contested this Branch of the Prerogative. The King had got the opinion of the Judges for the Legality of it, but this not giving Satisfaction, he determined to obtain a Parliamentary Sanction. For this purpose he published the following Order in the Gazette, “ that whereas “ his Majesty was resolved to use his utmost Endcavours, “ that his Declaration of Indulgence might pass into a “ Law, he therefore thought fit to review the Lists of “ Deputy-Lieutenants, and Justices of Peace in the several “ Counties, that those may be continued who would be “ ready to contribute what in them lies towards the ac- “ complishment of so good and necessary a work, and “ such others, added to them, from whom his Majesty “ may reasonably expect the like Concurrence and Assist- “ ance.” According to this Resolution the King’s first Parliament was dissolved, and Agents were employed to dispose the People to the choice of such new Members as might facilitate the affair. The King himself went a Progress round the Country to ingratiate himself with the People ; and it can hardly be expressed (says Eachard) with what joyful acclamations his Majesty was received, and loyal acknowledgments were paid him in all places ; but
in

in the affair of the Tests (says Burnet) there was a visible coldness among the Nobility and Gentry, tho' the King behaved in a most obliging manner.

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When the King returned from his Progress he began to change the Magistracy in the several Corporations in England, according to the Powers reserved to the Crown in the new Charters; he turned out several of the Aldermen of the City of London, and placed new ones in their room. He caused the Lists of the Lord Lieutenants, and Deputy-Lieutenants, to be reviewed, and such as would not promise to employ their Interests in the Repeal of the Penal Laws were discarded. Many Protestant Dissenters were put into Commission on this occasion, in hopes that they would procure such Members for the next Parliament as should give them a legal Right to what they now enjoyed only by the Royal Favour; but when the King pressed it upon the Lord Mayor of London, and the new Aldermen, who were chiefly Dissenters, they stood at a Distance, and made no reply.

p. 717.
Changes
the Magi-
strates in
Corporati-
ons.

The Reason of the Dissenters coldness in an affair that so nearly concerned them, and for which they have since expressed so strong a desire, was no other than "their concern for the Protestant Religion, and their aversion to Popery." The King was not only a Roman Catholic, but a Bigot; and it was evident, that the plucking up the Fences at this time must have let in an Inundation of that Religion upon the Nation. If the King had been a Protestant the case had been different, because Papists could not take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to a Prince who stands excommunicated by the Church of Rome; but now there would be no obstacle, or if there was, the King would dispense with the Law in their favour; the Dissenters therefore were afraid, that if they should give into the King's measures, for the sake of their present Liberty, Popery in a little time would ride triumphant, and not only swallow up the Church of England, but the whole Protestant Interest. This induced them to stand at a distance, and rely upon the precarious Promises of the Church of England.

Reasons of
the Dis-
senter's not
being for
abrogating
the Penal
Laws at
this Time,

* According to this Resolution Bishop Burnet observes, that Sir John Shorter, the new Lord Mayor, and a Protestant Dissenter, thought fit to qualify himself for his Office according to Law, though the Test was suspended, and the King had signified to the Mayor that he was at liberty, and might use what Form of Worship he thought best in Guildhall, which was designed as an Experiment to engage

Behaviour
of Sir John
Shorter the
Dissenting
Ld Mayor.
Burnet.
p. 718.

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the Presbyterians to make the first change from the established Worship, concluding, that if a Popish Mayor or did this one year, it would be easy for a Popish Mayor to do it the next ; but his Lordship referred the case to those Clergymen who had the Government of the Diocese of London during the Bishop's Suspension, who assured his Lordship it was contrary to Law ; so that though the Lord Mayor went sometimes to the Meetings of Dissenters, he went frequently to Church, and behaved with more decency (says his Lordship) than could have been expected. This disoblged the King to a very high degree, insomuch that he said, " The Dissenters were an ill-natured sort of People " that could not be gained."

The King
goes into
rash and
violent
Measures,
by Advice
of his
Priests.

The opposition the King met with heightened his Resentments, and pushed him on rash and violent Measures ; if he had proceeded by slow degrees, and secured one conquest before he had ventured on another, he might have succeeded, but he gave himself up to the Fury of his Priests, who advised him to make haste with what he intended. This was discovered by a Letter from the Jesuits at Leige to those of Friburgh, which says, the King wished they could furnish him with more Priests to assist him in the Conversion of the Nation, which his Majesty was resolved to bring about, or die a Martyr in the attempt. He said, " He must make haste, that he might accomplish it in his " Life-time ;" and when one of them was lamenting that his next Heir was an Heretick, he answered, " God will " provide an Heir ;" which argued, either a strong Faith, or a formed design of imposing one on the Nation. Father Petre was the King's chief Minister, and one of his Majesty's Privy Council, a bold and forward Man, who pushed at every thing that might ruin the Church. The King designed him for the Archbishoprick of York, now vacant, and for a Cardinal's Cap, if he could make Interest with the Pope ; for this purpose the Earl of Castlemain was sent Ambassador to Rome ; and a Nuncio was sent from thence into England, to whom his Majesty paid all possible respect, and gave Audience at Windsor though it was contrary to Law ; for all Commerce with the Court of Rome was declared High Treason by the Statute of King Henry VIII. but the King said " He was above Law ;" and because the Duke of Somers set would not venture to officiate in this Palace at the Ceremony he was dismissed from all his Employments.

Burnet,
p. 711, 712.

Ib. p. 733.

It was a fatal Error in King James to put a Slight on the ancient Nobility, and turn most of his Servants out of their places because they were Protestants: This weakened his Interest, and threw the Men of Influence into the hands of the Church. It was impossible to disguise his Majesty's Design of introducing Popery upon the Establishment any longer, therefore Parker Bishop of Oxford was employed to justify it, who published a Book, entituled, "Reasons for Abrogating the Test imposed on all Members of Parliament;" which could have no other Reference, but to the renouncing "Transubstantiation, and the Idolatry of the Church of Rome;" for the Members of Parliament had no other Qualification imposed upon them besides the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. The Bishop said much to excuse the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and to free the Church of Rome from the charge of Idolatry. The Book was licensed by the Earl of Sunderland, and the Stationer was commanded not to print any Answer to it; but Dr. Burnet, then in Holland, gave it a very smart and satyrical Reply, which quite ruined the Bishop's Reputation.

King James II. 1687.

Bishop Parker writes for the Court. Burnet, p. 74^o.

But his Majesty's chief dependance was upon his Army, which he was casting into a popish Mould; Protestant Officers were turned out; Portsmouth and Hull, the two principal Seaports in England, were in Popish Hands; and the Majority of the Garrisons were of the same Religion. Ireland was an inexhaustible Seminary, from whence England was to be supplied with a Catholick Army; an Irish Roman Catholick (says Welwood) was a most welcome Guest at Whitehall; and they came over in shoals. Over and above compleat Regiments of Papists there was scarce a Troop or Company in the Army wherein some of that Religion was not placed, by express orders from Court. Upon the whole, the affairs of the Nation were almost at a Crisis; and it was believed, that what the King could not accomplish by the gentler methods of Interest and Persuasion he would establish by his Sovereign Power. The Army at Blackheath was to awe the City and Parliament; and if they proved refractory, an Irish Massacre, or some other desperate attempt, might possibly decide the Fate of the Nation.

Protestants displaced and R. Cathol. put into their Places.

About this time died the Rev. Mr. David Clarkson, B. D. born at Bradford in Yorkshire, Feb. 1621-2. and Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, where he was Tutor to Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Bates

Death of Mr. Clarkson.

King
James II.
1687.

in his Funeral Sermon gives him the character of a Man of sincere Godliness and true Holiness: Humility and Modesty were his distinctive characters; and his Learning was superior to most of his Time, as appears by his "Treatise of Liturgies, his Primitive Episcopacy, his Practical Divinity of Papists destructive to Men's Souls; and his Volume of Sermons," printed after his death. He was some time Minister of Mortlack in Surrey, but after his Ejectionment he gave himself up to Reading and Meditations, shifting from one place of obscurity to another till the times suffered him to come into Light; he was then chosen Successor to the Reverend Dr. John Owen, in the Pastoral Office to his Congregation. Mr. Baxter says, He was a Divine of extraordinary worth for solid Judgment, of healing, moderate Principles, of great acquaintance with the Fathers, of great ministerial Abilities, and of a godly, upright Life. Great was his Solemnity and Reverence in Prayer; and the method of his Sermons was clear, deep and instructive. His Death was unexpected, but (as he declared) it was no surprize to him, for he was entirely resigned to the Will of God, and desired to live no longer than to be serviceable. This good Man (says Dr. Bates) like holy Simeon, had Christ in his Arms, and departed in peace, to see the Salvation of God above, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

Of Dr.
Jacomb.

Dr. Thomas Jacomb was born in Leicestershire, and educated first in Magdalen Hall, Oxon, and after in Emanuel College, Cambridge, from whence he removed to Trinity College, of which he was Fellow. He came to London in 1647. and was soon after Minister of Ludgate Parish, where he continued till he was turned out in 1662. He met with some trouble after his Ejectionment, but being received into the Family of the Countess Dowager of Exeter, Daughter of the Earl of Bridgwater, he was covered from his Enemies. This honourable and virtuous Lady was a Comfort and Support to the Non-Conformist Ministers throughout the Reign of Charles II. Her respects to the Doctor were peculiar, and her favours extraordinary, for which he made the best returns he was able. The Doctor was a learned Man, a solid Divine, a serious and affectionate Preacher, of unspotted Morals, and a Non-Conformist upon moderate Principles. He died of a cancerous humour, that put him to the most acute pain, which he bore with invincible patience and resignation till the 27th of March, 1687. when he died in the Countess of Exeter's House, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

Mr.

Mr. John Collins was educated in Cambridge New England, but returning from thence in the times of the Civil War, became a celebrated Preacher in London, having a sweet Voice, and a most affectionate manner in the Pulpit. He was Chaplain to General Monk when he marched out of Scotland into England, but was not an Incumbent any where when the Act of Uniformity took place. Being of the Independant Denomination he succeeded Mr. Mallory as Pastor of a very considerable Congregation of that Persuasion, and was one of the Merchants Lecturers at Pinners Hall. He was a Man mighty in the Scriptures; of an excellent natural temper; very charitable to all good Men without regard to parties; and died universally lamented, Dec. 3, 1687.

King
James II.
1687.

Of Mr.
Collins.

C H A P. XII.

From King James's Declaration of Liberty of Conscience, to the Act of Toleration in the Reign of King William and Queen Mary.

TH O' the projects of the Roman Catholicks were ripe for execution there was one circumstance which spread a black Cloud over all their attempts, which was the near prospect of a Protestant Successor to the Crown: This was the Life of the Protestant Cause, and the terror of the Papists. To remove this difficulty his Majesty first attempted to convert his eldest Daughter Mary, Princess of Orange, to the Roman Catholick Religion, or at least to consent to the making way for it, by taking off the Penal Laws. To accomplish this, his Majesty writ an obliging Letter to his Daughter, reciting the motives of his own conversion; which were the "great Devotion of the Church of Rome; the adorning their Churches; their acts of Charity, which were greater than the Protestants could boast of; the numbers who retired from the World, and devoted themselves to a religious Life. He was convinced that Christ had left an Infallibility in the Church, which the Apostles acknowledged to be in St. Peter, Acts xv. It was the Authority of the Church (says he) that declared the Scriptures to be Canonical; and certainly, they who declared them could only interpret them, and where ever this Infallibility was, there must be a clear Succession, which

King
James II.
1688.

King attempts to convert the Princess of Orange to Popery. Burnet, p. 720, 721.

King
James II.
1688.

“ could be no where but in the Church of Rome, the Church
“ of England not pretending to Infallibility, tho’ she acted as
“ if she did, by persecuting those who differed from her, as
“ well Protestant Dissenters as Papists ; but he could see no
“ reason why Dissenters might not separate from the Church
“ of England, as well as the Church of England had done
“ from that of Rome——”

The Princess’s Re-
ply.

The Princess answered the King’s Letter with great respect ; “ she affirmed the Right of private Judgment, according to the Apostle’s Rule, of proving all things, and holding fast that which is good. She saw clearly from the Scriptures, that she must not believe by the Faith of another, but according as things appeared to herself. She confessed, if there was an Infallibility in the Church, all other Controversies must fall before it, but that it was not yet agreed where it was lodged, whether in a Pope or a general Council, or both ; and she desired to know in whom the Infallibility rested when there were two or three Popes at a time, acting one against another ; for certainly the Succession must then be disordered. She maintained the lawfulness and necessity of reading the Holy Scriptures ; for though Faith was above reason, it proposed nothing contradictory to it. St. Paul ordered his Epistles to be read in all the Churches ; and he says in one place, I write as to wise Men, Judge ye what I say ; and if they might judge an Apostle, much more any other Teacher. She excused the Church of England’s persecuting the Dissenters in the best manner she could ; and said the Reformers had brought things to as great perfection as those corrupt ages were capable of ; and she did not see how the Church was to blame, because the Laws were made by the State, and for civil Crimes, and that the Grounds of the Dissenters leaving the Church were different from those for which they had separated from the Church of Rome——” It was impossible for the Princess to clear up this objection. But Bishop Burnet adds very justly, that the severities of the Church against the Dissenters were urged with a very ill Grace, “ by one of the Church of Rome,” that has delighted herself so often by being as it were bathed with the Blood of those they call Hereticks. Upon the whole, it appeared, that her Highness was immoveably fixed in her Religion, and that there was not the least prospect of her departing from it.

p. 725.

At

At the same time his Majesty attempted the Prince of Orange, for which purpose he employed one Mr. James Steward, a Lawyer of Scotland, who writ several letters upon this argument to pensionary Fagel, in whom the Prince placed an entire confidence. The Pensionary neglected his letters for some time, but at length it being industriously reported, that the silence of the Prince was a tacit consent, the Pensionary laid all his letters before his Highness, who commissioned the Pensionary to draw up such a letter as might discover his true intentions and sense of matters.

The letter was dated from the Hague, Nov. 4. 1687. and begins with assurances of the Prince and Princess's duty to the King; and since Mr. Steward had given him to understand, that his letters were written with the King's knowledge and allowance, the Pensionary assures him in the name of their Highness's, that it was their opinion, that "no Christian ought to be persecuted for his Conscience, or be ill used because he differs from the established Religion;" and therefore they agreed that the Papists in Scotland and Ireland should have the free exercise of their Religion in private as they had in Holland; and as to Protestant Dissenters, they heartily approved of their having an entire liberty of their Religion without any trouble or hindrance; and their Highnesses were ready to concur to the settling it, and giving their guarantee to protect and defend it. If his Majesty desired their concurrence in repealing the penal Laws, they were ready to give it, provided the Laws by which Roman Catholicks were excluded from sitting in both Houses of Parliament, and from all employments ecclesiastical, civil and military remained in force; and likewise those other Laws which secure the Protestant Religion against all attempts of the Roman Catholicks; but they could not consent to the repeal of those Laws which tended only to secure the Protestant Religion, such as the Tests, because they imported no more than a deprivation from publick employments, which could do them no great harm. If the number of the Papists was inconsiderable, it was not reasonable, to insist upon it; and if those few that pretended to publick employments would do their party so much injury as not to be content with the Repeal of the penal Laws, unless they could get into offices of trust, their ambition only was to be blamed——" This letter was carried by Mr. Steward to the King, and read in the Cabinet Council, but it had no effect, only the King

King
James II.
1688.

He at-
tempts the
Prince.
Burnet,
P. 731.
732.

His High-
ness's Re-
ply by Pen-
sionary
Fagel.
Wel.
Memoirs,
p. 218.

Burnet.
P. 733.

ordered

King
James II.
1688.

ordered Mr. Steward to write back, that he would have all or nothing. However, the Church Party were satisfied with the Prince's resolution to maintain the Tests; the Protestant Dissenters were pleased with their Highnesses declaration for the Repeal of the penal Laws so far as concerned themselves, and they placed an entire confidence in their word. The Lay Papists and Seculars pressed the King to accept of the Repeal of so much of the penal Laws as was offered, and blamed the ambition of the Jesuits and Courtiers about the King, who would leave them exposed to the severity of the Law, when a freedom was offered; but his Majesty being governed by the furious Ecclesiastics would abate nothing. At length the Pensionary's letter was printed by allowance of the Prince, and sent all over England, which provoked the King to that degree, that he spoke indecently of his Highness to all the foreign Ministers, and resolved to put the severest marks of his displeasure upon him.

The Queen
declared to
be with
Child.

Gazette,
No. 2309,
2316.

The first Project of gaining over the Prince having failed, his Majesty went upon another, which, if it obtained, must effectually set aside the Protestant Succession; and that was, providing the Nation with an Heir of his own body by the present Queen, though for many years she had been reckoned incapable of having Children. This was first whisper'd among the Courtiers, but was soon after confirmed by Proclamation in the Gazette of Jan. 2d. and 26th. 1687-8. in words to this effect, "That it had pleased Almighty God to give his Majesty apparent hopes, and good assurance of having Issue by his Royal Consort the Queen, who, through God's great goodness, was now with Child;" wherefore his Majesty appoints, that on the 15th of January in the Cities of London and Westminster; and on the 29th in all other places in England; and on the 29th of January and 19th of February in all places in Scotland, publick Thanksgiving and solemn Prayer be offered up to God on this occasion, and a form of Prayer was drawn up accordingly by the Bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough; in which were these expressions, "Blessed be that good Providence that has vouchsafed us fresh hopes of Royal Issue by our gracious Queen Mary; strengthen her, we beseech thee, and perfect what thou hast begun. Command thy holy Angels to watch over her continually, and defend her from all dangers and evil accidents, that what she hath conceived may be happily brought forth, to the joy of our Sovereign Lord the King, the further Establishment of his Crown, the happiness and welfare of the whole Kingdom,

A Publick
Form of
Prayer for
her Majesty.
Calamy,
p. 382.

“ dom, and the glory of thy great name, &c.” This struck all the Protestant part of the Nation with consternation, except a few ranting Tories, whose Religion was at the service of the King, whensoever he should call for it. The Conception was looked upon by the Jesuits as miraculous, and as the effect of a vow the Queen had made to the Lady of Lorreto: They prophesied it would certainly be a Prince; but the Protestants sighed in secret, and suspected a fraud; the grounds of which the historians of these times have related at large.

King
James II.
1688.

The King, embolden'd with the prospect of a Popish Successor. instead of venturing first upon a Parliament, published another declaration for liberty of Conscience, April 27. in higher strains, and more advantageous to the Papists than the former; the substance of it was as follows;

James Rex.

“ OUR conduct has been such in all times as ought to have persuaded the World, that we are firm and constant to our resolutions; yet that easy people may not be abused by the malice of crafty wicked men, we think fit to declare, that our intentions are not changed since the 4th of April, 1687, when we issued our Declaration for liberty of Conscience in the following terms” [Here the Declaration is recited at large, and then it follows] “ Ever since we granted the indulgence we have made it our care to see it preserved without distinction, as we are encouraged to do daily by multitudes of Addressees, and many other assurances we receive from our Subjects of all persuasions, as testimonies of their satisfaction and duty; the effects of which we doubt not but the next Parliament will shew, and that it will not be in vain that we have resolved to use our utmost endeavours to establish liberty of conscience on such just and equal foundations as will render it unalterable, and secure to all people the free exercise of their Religion for ever, by which future ages may reap the benefit of what is so undoubtedly for the general good of the whole Kingdom. It is such a security we desire without the burthen and constraint of Oaths and Tests, which have unhappily been made by some Governments but could never support any. Nor could men be advanced by such means to Offices and Employments which ought to be the reward of services, fidelity and merit. We must conclude, that not only good Christians will join in this, but whoever is concerned for the Wealth and power of the
“ Nation.

A second
Declaration
for Liberty
of Conscience.
Gazette,
No. 2342.

King
James II.
1688.

“ Nation. It would, perhaps, prejudice some of our
“ neighbours, who might lose part of those vast advantages
“ they now enjoy, if liberty of Conscience were settled in
“ these Kingdoms, which are above all others most capable
“ of improvements, and of commanding the trade of the
“ World. In pursuance of this great work we have been
“ forced to make many changes both of civil and military Of-
“ ficers throughout our Dominions, not thinking any ought
“ to be employed in our service who will not contribute to-
“ wards the establishing the peace and greatness of their
“ Country, which we most earnestly desire, as unbiaſſed men
“ may see by the whole conduct of our Government, and
“ by the condition of our Fleet and of our Armies, which
“ with good management shall constantly be the same and
“ greater, if the safety or honour of the Nation require it,
“ We recommend these considerations to all our Subjects,
“ and that they will reflect on their ease and happiness, now
“ that above three years it has pleased God to permit us to
“ reign over these Kingdoms, we have not appeared to be
“ that Prince our enemies would make the World afraid
“ of; our chief aim having been not to be the Oppressor,
“ but Father of our People, of which we can give no bet-
“ ter evidence than by conjuring them to lay aside private
“ animosities, as well as groundless jealousies, and to choose
“ such Members of Parliament as may do their parts to
“ finish what we have begun, for the advantage of the Mo-
“ narchy over which Almighty God has placed us, being re-
“ solved to call a Parliament that shall meet in November
“ next at farthest.”

Appointed
to be read
in all
Churches.
Gazette,
No. 2344.

This Declaration was published in the usual manner, and ordered to be read in time of divine Service in all Churches and Chapels in and about London, May 20th and 27th; and in all the rest of England and Wales on the 3d and 10th of June following, upon penalty of being prosecuted in the ecclesiastical Commission. For this purpose the Bishops were required to cause it to be distributed throughout their respective dioceses; some of them (says Burnet) carried their compliance to a shameful pitch, offering up their Allegiance to the King without limitation or reserve. Dr. Crew, Bishop of Durham, Barlow of Lincoln, Cartwright of Chester, Wood of Litchfield and Coventry, Walters of St. David's, Sprat of Rochester, and Parker of Oxford, went all the lengths of the Court, and set forward Addresses of thanks to his Majesty in the most exalted language, for the promise he had made in

p. 715.
With which
some of the
Bishops
comply.

his

his late Declaration, to maintain the Church of England as by Law established; tho' it was evident enough he designed to subvert it. An Address came from the Clergy of Chester, justifying the Declaration, as issuing from the prerogative of the King's Supremacy, and insisting, that the Clergy were obliged by what is called Statute Law, the Rubrick of their Liberty, to publish what was required by the King, or their Bishop, and therefore they were troubled to hear of the disobedience of some of that Bench, who tho' they tenderly promised the Dissenters something, yet refused to do their part about the Declaration, lest they should be parties to it; which reason we with due modesty esteem insufficient. Herbert Bishop of Hereford published his reasons for reading the Declaration, from that passage of Scripture, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as Supreme, &c.—Now the King commanding it to be read without requiring our Assent, Consent or Allowance, I can't see (says the Bishop) how it can be refused—if it be said this is to admit of a dispensing power, yet it is not contrary to the word of God. If the King should aver his dispensing power to be inherent in the Crown, and will use it as he pleases, I should beseech him not to exert it in so high a manner; but after this, what have Bishops to do but submit, since since here is no Doctrine affirmed, but only a declaration of matter of fact."

King
James II.
1688.

Gazette,
No. 2374.

But the majority of the Clergy were of different sentiments; eighteen Bishops, and the chief of their Clergy, refused to publish the Declaration, so that it was read (says Burnet) but in seven Churches in London; and in about two hundred all over England. The Commissioners for ecclesiastical Affairs sent out citations by the King's Order, requiring the Chancellors and Archdeacons to send in Lists of all who had obeyed, and of those who had not obeyed the order of Council; together with the places where it had been neglected. But most of the Bishops disobeyed, and generously undertook to stand in the gap, and screen the inferior Clergy from prosecution: Seven of them met at Lambeth, and after Consultation signed an Address in behalf of themselves, and several of their absent Brethren, setting forth, "that they were not averse to the Publishing his Majesty's Declaration for want of Duty to his Majesty, or due tenderness towards Dissenters, in relation to whom (say they) we are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when the matter comes to be considered

Different
Behaviour
of others.
Welw.
Memoirs,
p. 209.
Gazette,
No. 2364.

Their
Address.
Burnet,
p. 636,
738.

"and

King
James II.
1688.

“ and settled in Parliament; but the Declaration being
“ founded on such a dispensing power as may at present set
“ aside all Laws ecclesiastical and civil, appears to us illegal,
“ and did so to the Parliament in the year 1672. and it is a
“ point of such great consequence, that we cannot make our
“ selves parties to it, so far as the reading of it in the
“ Church in time of divine service will amount to, and dis-
“ tributing it all over the Kingdom.” Signed by Sangroft
Archbishop of Canterbury, Lloyd Bishop of St. Asaph,
Kenn of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester,
White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Bristol.

King's]
Answer.

The King was startled at the Address, and answered in a
very angry tone; “ I have heard of this before, but did not
“ believe it; I did not expect this from the Church of Eng-
“ land, especially from some of you; if I change my mind
“ you shall hear from me, if not, I expect my Commands
“ shall be obeyed.” And added, that they should be made
to feel what it was to disobey him. The six Bishops who
brought the Address replied, The Will of God be done.

Remark.

But the reader will judge, whether the slavish Doctrine of
Non-Resistance and unlimited obedience which the High
Church Party had been preaching up for above twenty years,
as the Doctrine of the Church of England, had not brought
the King into these difficulties which lost him his Crown? A
Doctrine destructive of the Laws of Society, and which has
done more mischief to crowned Heads than it will ever do
service. If the King had not relied on the flattering Addres-
ses of these men, under which it seems there was a Reserve,
he would have stopt short, and took other measures; but he
did not perceive the Mine till it was sprung, and blew up his
whole Government at once. This was the Crisis upon
which the fate of the Nation was to depend.

Seven of
them sent
to the
Tower.

While the King was consulting what to do with the Bishops
he was for some time in great perplexity; several of the Po-
pish Nobility pressed him to retreat, and let the matter fall;
but at length, by advice of Father Petre, Mr. Lob, and some
others, he ordered the Bishops to be prosecuted; and they
refusing to enter into Bonds for their appearance at the King's
Bench on account of their Peerage, were sent to the Tower
by water, June 8. but were discharged within a week, upon en-
tering into bonds for small Sums, to answer to the information
that day fortnight. On the 29th of June they were brought
to the King's Bench Bar in Westminster Hall, attended by
several of the nobility, and a vast croud of common people;
and after a long trial of ten hours they were acquitted: Upon
which

But ac-
quitted.

which there was a general joy, and such loud shouts, as were heard not only in the City, but even in the Army on Blackheath.

King
James II.
1688.

The Bishops Address was printed by authority, with a satyrical Paraphrase, setting forth, that tho' the Bishops had, without any bowels of tenderness, exercised many inhuman cruelties upon the Dissenters, they promise now to come to a temper, but it is only such an one as they themselves should settle in Convocation; and tho' they had all along vigorously endeavoured to advance above all Law that arbitrary Power upon which they suppose his Majesty's Declaration was founded, when it could be strained to the oppression of Dissenters, yet now they oppose it, and are desirous in this juncture (as in the year 1672.) that the Laws for persecution should retain their force, and the dispensing power not to be countenanced, tho' designed for a general good.

But this was too late, the controversy between the King and the Church was not now to be decided by the Pen; and it was apparent beyond contradiction, that the hearts of the people were turned against the Court; even the Dissenters (says Eachard) shewed an unusual readiness to join the Church against their common enemy; and whatever might be in the hearts of some, the Church Party continued to discover an equal willingness to coalesce with the Dissenters. When Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, passed thro' Oswestry in Shropshire, he sent for Mr. James Owen the dissenting Minister, and ventur'd to acquaint him with the secret, of the Prince of Orange's invitation by some great persons, together with himself; and added, "He hoped the Protestant Dissenters would concur in promoting the common interest, for you and we are brethren (says he); we have indeed been angry brethren, but we have seen our folly, and are resolved, if we ever have it in our power, to shew that we will treat you as brethren."

They court
the Dissen-
ters.

Cal. cont.
in Pref.

Even Archbishop Sancroft, in the circular letter which he sent to the Clergy of his province, exhorted them to cultivate a good correspondence with the Dissenters. The eleventh Article of his Letter, dated July 16. has these words, "That they (viz. the Clergy) should walk in wisdom towards them who are not of our Communion; and if there be in their parishes any such, that they neglect not frequently to converse with them in the Spirit of meekness, seeking by all good ways and means to gain and win them over to our Communion; more especially that they have a tender regard to our brethren the Protestant Dissenters; that

Archbp.
Sancroft's
circular
Letter
Calamy's
Abridg.
p. 385.

" upon

King
James II.
1688.

“ upon occasion offered they visit them at their Houses,
“ and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them
“ fairly where-ever they meet them, persuading them (if
“ it may be) to a full compliance with our Church ; or at
“ least, that whereunto we have already attained, we may
“ walk by the same Rule, and mind the same things ; and
“ in order thereunto, that they take opportunities of affu-
“ ring and convincing them, that the Bishops of this
“ Church, are really and sincerely irreconcilable Enemies
“ to the Errors, Superstitions, Idolatries, and Tyrannies of
“ the Church of Rome ; and that the very unkind jealou-
“ sies which some have had of us to the contrary were alto-
“ gether groundless. And in the last place, that they warm-
“ ly and affectionately join us in daily fervent Prayer to the
“ God of Peace, for an universal blessed Union of all re-
“ formed Churches at home and abroad, against our com-
“ mon Enemy.”—Such was the language of the Church
in distress !

Other Af-
surances.
Burnet, p.
716.

Calamy, p.
386.

Apol. for
Church of
England.
Calamy,
426.

It was often said, “ That if ever God should deliver
“ them out of the present distress they would keep up their
“ domestick Quarrels no more ;” which were so visibly,
and yet artfully managed by our adversaries, as to make us
devour one another—Again, “ I do assure you, and I am
“ certain I have the best grounds in the World for my as-
“ surance (says one) that the Bishops, when the happy op-
“ portunity shall offer itself, will let the Protestant Dissen-
“ ters find that they will be better than their Word given in
“ their famous Petition.” Remarkable are the Words of
another Reverend Divine on the same occasion ; “ the Bi-
“ shops have under their hands declared their dispositions to
“ come to a temper in matters of Conformity, and there
“ seems to be no doubt of their Sincerity.—If ever
“ God brings us into a settled State of the Storms into
“ which our Passions and Folly, as well as the Treachery of
“ others, has led us, it cannot be imagined that the Bishops
“ will go off from those moderate Resolutions which they
“ have now declared ; and they continuing firm, the weak
“ and indiscreet Passions of any of the inferior Clergy must
“ needs vanish—And I will boldly say, that if the Church
“ of England, after she has got out of this Storm, will re-
“ turn to hearken to the Peevishness of some four Men,
“ she will be abandoned both of God and Man, and will
“ set Heaven and Earth against her. The Nation sees too
“ clearly how dear the dispute about Conformity has cost us
“ to stand upon such Punctilio’s ; and those in whom our
deliverance

“ deliverance is wrapt up judge too right, that ever they
 “ will be Priest-ridden in this Point.—And if any argu-
 “ ment was wanting to conclude the certainty of this Point,
 “ the wise and generous behaviour of the main Body of
 “ the Dissenters in this present juncture has given them so
 “ just a Title to our Friendship, that we must resolve to set
 “ all the World against us if we can ever forget it; and if
 “ we do not make them all the returns of Ease and Favour
 “ when it is in our power to do it.”

King
 James II.
 1688.

The Reader has now seen the many and strong assurances of Favour, given by the Church Party in Distress, to the Non-conformists, all which, in a few Months, vanished into Smoak. Nevertheless I am fully of opinion, that the Low Church Clergy meant honestly, and designed to be as good as their Word; for which purpose a Scheme was proposed to review and enlarge the Liturgy by correcting some things, and adding others, and leaving some few Ceremonies indifferent; but there was another Party that lay behind the Curtain, and meant no more by their protestations of Favour to the Dissenters, than to get themselves out of trouble; they had a Reserve under their flattering Promises, and as they renounced the Doctrine of Non-Resistance to serve their own turn, when that was done they retreated, and would have become as cruel Persecutors as before; they were Enemies to the Revolution; and when the Prince of Orange had done their Work they would have sent him back from whence he came; these were afterwards distinguished by the names of Non-Jurors, Jacobites, and High-Fliers, whose numbers were greater than the Low Church Clergy imagined. They prevailed in Convocation, intimidated the Friends of Liberty and Charity, and put an effectual Stop to all further Attempts for a Comprehension of Dissenters.

Remarks.

Calamy, p.
 384.

While the Bishops were in the Tower, and the Princess Anne at the Bath, the Queen was said to be delivered of a Prince on Sunday June 10, between the hours of nine and ten in the Morning. The affair was conducted with great imprudence; no care had been taken to satisfy the Protestant Part of the Nation that the Queen was with Child, tho' it was ridiculed in Pamphlets dispersed about Whitehall. None of the Protestant Ladies were admitted to be with her when she changed her Linen; nor to see the Milk in her Breasts, nor to feel the Child move within her, but all about her were Italian Women. The place where her Majesty was to lie in, was not known a few days before it happened;

Suspected
 Birth of
 the Pr. of
 Wales.

King
James II.
1688.

and it was oddly circumstanced as to time, most of the Protestant Ladies being out of the Way, and preparing for Church ; the Dutch Ambassador, then in Town, was not called to be a Witness, on behalf of the Princess of Orange, the presumptive Heir ; but all was done and over in an hour or two. The Birth was attended with great Rejoicings of the Popish Party ; a day of publick Thanksgiving was appointed, on which occasion a Form of Thanksgiving was drawn up by the Bishop of Rochester ; and a new set of Congratulations came up from all parts of the Kingdom.

Bishop Burnet, Mr. Eachard, and others, have examined into the Legitimacy of this Birth with all possible Exactness, but have left the matter under great uncertainties. Some have pronounced it suppositious, and no better than the last desperate effort of the Popish Party to perpetuate their Religion. Others, who credited the Birth, have given very plausible Reasons to believe, that the present Pretender was not the Queen's Child, but another's clandestinely introduced into its place. Bishop Burnet is of opinion, that the Proofs of its Legitimacy were defective. However, all the hopes of a Protestant Successor seemed now to be at an end, and the Joys of the Papists to be consummate ; the English Reformation was expiring, and nothing short of a total Subversion of Government in Church and State to be expected.

Prince of
Orange's
Expedition.

The Princess of Orange being thus cut off from the Succession, his Highness gave greater attention to the advices he received from England of the " Queen's having miscarried some Months before," and that therefore the present Child must be suppositious. The Church Party having abandoned their Doctrine of Non-Resistance, fled with others to the Prince of Orange as their last Refuge, and prayed him to come over to their Rescue ; with this view Admiral Ruffel, and several other great Persons, repaired to the Hague on other plausible Pretences, but in reality to invite the Prince, and confer with him about an Expedition to England, who received them favourably, and discovered a good disposition to espouse their Cause, considering that his own Right to the Crown was now lost, and that if Popery was established in England, Holland, and the whole Reformed Interest, must be exposed to the utmost hazard. Little persuasion was wanting to prevail with the States General to assist the English Protestants ; but all the difficulty was to keep it secret, while they were preparing for
fo

so hazardous an undertaking. The State made use of the Differences about the Election of an Archbishop of Cologne as a Reason to form an Army for the security of their own Borders; and the Prince, who had the Administration in his hands, set himself under this cover to prepare all Necessaries for his intended embarkation, while Mr. Zuylewstein brought him from time to time the strongest assurances of the disposition of the Body of the English Protestants to appear for him at his landing, which fully fixed him in his purpose.

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But the French Ambassador kept a watchful Eye upon the Motions of the Prince of Orange, and gave timely notice of the extraordinary preparations for War that were making in Holland, to his Master Lewis XIV. from whom King James had the first Intelligence. Mr. Skelton, the King's Envoy at Paris, also writ five or six Letters to Court, on the same Head, but King James gave little heed to his Advices, because the Prince of Orange carried it in a most dutiful and respectful Manner, complimenting his Majesty on the birth of the Prince of Wales, and causing his name to be added to the rest of the Princes of the Royal Family to be prayed for in his Chapel. However, the King of France continued to alarm the Court of England with the intended Invasion, and offered to send over fifteen thousand Men, or as many more as should be wanted to his assistance; but the Earl of Sunderland, who had lately complimented the King with his Religion, prevailed with his Majesty not to bring such an Army of French Papists into his Dominions, lest it should blacken his Memory, and confirm the suspicions of the Protestants, that he designed the overthrow of their Religion and Liberties.

Of which
the King
has Intelli-
gence from
Paris and
the Hague.
Burnet, p.
766.

The King being at length persuaded of the Prince of Orange's designs, ordered the Fleet to be fitted out, and the Army to be augmented; and dispatched orders to Tyrconnel, to send over several Regiments out of Ireland, which put the people under terrible apprehensions of another Irish Massacre. September 21, his Majesty issued out his Proclamation for the meeting of a new Parliament, "intimating his Royal purpose to endeavour a legal Establishment of an universal Toleration, and inviolably to preserve the Church of England in possession of the several Acts of Uniformity, as far as they were consistent with such a Toleration. And further to quiet the Minds of his Protestant Subjects, he was content that the Roman Catholics should remain incapable of being Members of the

His Majesty's Proceedings upon it.
Gazette.
No. 2384.

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Gazette.
No. 2386.

He applies to
the Bishops,
but wavers.

ib. 2388,
2391.

Prince of
Orange's
Expedition
and Declaration.

"House of Commons, that so the Legislature might continue in the Hands of Protestants." September 23, the King was further assured by Letters from the Marquis of Abbeville at the Hague, that Pensionary Fagel had owned the Design of the Prince of Orange to invade England. Upon which the King turned pale and speechless for a Time, and like a distracted Man turned himself every way for Relief, but was resolute in nothing. He put off the Meeting of the Parliament for the present, and by Advice of his Council applied to the Bishops then in Town for Advice what was necessary to be done to make the Church easy. "The Bishops moved him to annul the Ecclesiastical Commission, and the Dispensing Power; to recal all Licenses and Faculties for Papists to keep Schools, to prohibit the four pretended Vicars Apostolical invading the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; to fill the vacant Bishopricks; to restore the Charters, and to call a free and regular Parliament, by which the Church of England might be secured, according to the Act of Uniformity; and provision made for a due Liberty of Conscience."

According to this Advice the King and Court began to tread backward, concluding that if they could satisfy the Bishops, and recover the Affection of the Church, all would do well, but it was too late. However, the Bishop of London's Suspension was taken off, the Ecclesiastical Commission dissolved, the City Charter, and the Fellows of Magdalen College were restored, and other illegal Practices renounced, all which was said to be the effect of the King's meer Grace and Favour; but upon News of the Prince of Orange's Fleet being dispersed by a Storm, and that they would hardly be able to put to Sea again, 'till next Spring; his Majesty put a stop to all further Redress of Grievances.

But the Prince having repaired the Damages of the Storm put to Sea a second Time, Nov. 1, and after a remarkable Passage, in which the Wind chopt about almost miraculously in his Favour, landed at Torbay, Nov. 5, with about fourteen thousand Men, without meeting the King's Fleet, which was out at Sea, in order to intercept them. The Prince brought over with him a Declaration, dated October 10, divided into twenty six Articles, but reducible to three principal Heads; 1. An Enumeration of the Grievances of the Nation, with regard to Religion and Civil Government. 2. The fruitless Attempts which had been made to redress those Grievances; where mention is made of the suspicious Birth of the pretended Prince of Wales.

3. A Protestation that the present Expedition was intended for no other Purpose than to have a free and lawful Parliament ; to which the Prince would refer all the Grievances complained of ; for the obtaining such a free Parliament his Highness declares, he had been most earnestly solicited to come into England by a great many Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen, and other Subjects of all Ranks ; and to encourage the Protestant Dissenters his Highness adds, that he would recommend to the Parliament the making such new Laws as might establish a good Agreement between the Church of England and all Protestant Non-Conformists, and in the mean Time would suffer all such as would live peaceably to enjoy all due Freedom in their Consciences.

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The King, who had relied too much on the Clergy's Professions of unlimited Obedience, being surprized at the Expression in the Prince's Declaration, that he was invited over by the Lords Spiritual, sent for the Bishops then in Town, and insisted not only upon their disowning the Fact, but upon their signing a Paper, expressing their Abhorrence of the intended Invasion ; but they drew back, and excused themselves only with a general Profession of their Allegiance and Duty. " The Church Party (says Burnet) now shewed " their Approbation of the Prince's Expedition in such " Terms, that many were surprized at it, both then and " since that Time ;" they spoke openly in favour of it ; they expressed their Grief to see the Wind so cross, and wished for a Protestant Wind that might bring the Prince over. His Majesty therefore finding himself deceived in the Church Party, and that he had nothing to rely upon but his Army, used all imaginable Diligence to strengthen it ; in Obedience to the Orders already given, two thousand five hundred Men (chiefly Papists) were landed at Chester from Ireland. Commissions were given out for raising ten new Regiments of Horse and Foot. Three thousand Scots were ordered from that Country. All the Militia were commanded to be in a Readiness to march on their first Summons ; and a Proclamation was issued out, requiring all Horses and Cattle to be removed twenty Miles from those Parts of the Sea Coast, where it was apprehended the Prince would land ; but so great was the Peoples Disaffection that they paid little Regard to his Majesty's Orders.

The King's
Preparations
to resist him.
Burnet, p.
784.

Soon after his Highness landed, the Body of the Nation discovered their Inclination so evidently, that the King lost both

Confusion at
Court and in
the City.

King
James II.
1688.

both Head and Heart at once. The City of London was in Confusion ; Reports were spread that the Irish would cut the Throats of the Protestants all over the Nation in one and the same Night, which awakened the Peoples Fears, and put them all Night on their Guard. When this Fright was over, the Mob rose and pulled down the Popish Mass-Houses, and burnt the Materials in the Streets ; Father Petre, with the Swarms of Priests and Jesuits who had flocked about the Court, disappeared, and retired into foreign Parts ; and several of the King's arbitrary Ministers, who had brought him under these Difficulties, left him and absconded. Jefferies was taken in Wapping in a Sailor's Habit, and would have been torn in Pieces by the Mob if he had not been conducted by a strong Guard to the Tower, where he died before he came to his Trial. So that the unhappy King being left in a Manner alone, went with a small Retinue to his Army at Salisbury.

Progress of
the Prince of
Orange.

The Prince of Orange having refreshed his Forces, marched from Torbay to Exeter, where the Nobility and Gentry signed an " Association to support and assist his Highness in pursuing the Ends of his Declaration, and that if any Attempt was made on his Person, it should be revenged on all by whom, or from whom it should be made." Great Numbers of common People came in to the Prince at Exeter ; and as soon as he marched forward towards London Prince George of Denmark, the Dukes of Ormond, Grafton, Lord Wharton, Churchill, and others of the first Character, deserted the Army at Salisbury, and went over to the Prince, with a great many Protestant Officers and Soldiers ; so that his Majesty perceived, that even the Army, which was his last Refuge, was not to be relied on ; and to compleat his Unhappiness, Princess Anne, the King's younger Daughter, withdrew privately from Court with the Bishop of London, who put on his Buff Coat and Sword, and commanded a little Army for her Highness's Defence.

Heads of
Coll. in
Oxford send
to the Prince
and sign the
Association.
Burnet,
p. 793, 798.

Dr. Finch, Son to the Earl of Winchelsea, and Warden of All Souls College in Oxford, was sent to the Prince from some of the Heads of Colleges, to invite him to Oxford, and to assure him they were ready to declare for him, and that their Plate should be at his Service, if he wanted it. The Prince intended to have accepted their Invitation,

Invitation, but all Things being in a Ferment at London, he was advised to make all the haste thither that he could. So he sent to Oxford to excuse his not coming, and to offer them "the Association, which was signed by almost all the Heads, "and the chief Men in the University; even by those who "being disappointed in the Preferments they aspired to, "became afterwards his most implacable Enemies." Archbishop Sancroft also sent his Compliments to the Prince, and with seven or eight Bishops more signed the Association, having changed the Word "Revenge" into that of "Punishment." This was a sudden Turn (says the Bishop) from those Principles that they had carried so high but a few Years before. The Dissenters went intirely into all the Prince's Measures, and were ready to sign the Association: There were few or no Jacobites or Non-Jurors among them; and throughout the whole Course of King William's Reign, they were among his most loyal and zealous Subjects.

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James II.
1688.

Eachard,
p. 1138.

In this critical Juncture the Queen and the young Prince of Wales were sent over to France, December 9, and the King himself followed the latter end of the Month, having first caused the Writs for calling a new Parliament to be burnt, and the great Seal to be thrown into the Thames. After his Majesty's first Attempt to leave the Kingdom he was seized at Feverham, and prevailed with to return back to London; but when the Prince resolved to come to Whitehall, and sent his Majesty a Message, that he thought it not consistent with the Peace of the City and of the Kingdom, for both of them to be there together, his Majesty retired a second Time to Rochester with the Prince's consent, and after a Week's Stay in that Place went away privately in a Vessel to France, leaving a Paper behind him, in which he declared, that tho' he was going to seek for foreign Assistance, he would not make use of it to overthrow the established Religion of the Laws of his Country. — Thus ended the short and unhappy Reign of King James II and with him the Male Line of the Royal House of Stuarts, a Race of Kings which Providence raised up to be the Scourge of these Nations, for they were every one chargeable with Tyranny and Oppression: They were Favourers of Popery, and Enemies of the Laws and Liberties of their Country. They enfeebled the Nation by Luxury and Licentiousness of Manners, and sunk a bold and brave People into Contempt among all the foreign Powers.

King leaves
the King-
dom.
Burnet,
p. 795, 804.

End of the
Male Line of
the Stuarts.

Inter-
Regnum.
1688.

Burnet,
P. 797.

Nothing could have been more fortunate and happy for the Prince of Orange than the King's Flight from Rochester to France, which gave a plausible handle for the Convention Parliament to pass a Vote, "that the King had abdicated the Crown, and that the Throne was vacant;" though it would have looked more like a voluntary Desertion, if his Majesty had gone off the first time from Feverham, and had not said in the Paper he left behind him, "That he was going to seek for foreign Assistance;" but it is sufficiently evident that he was frightened away by his Priests, who possessed him with Belief that he was already a Prisoner; and by his Queen, who prevailed with him to consult his own and his Family's Safety by leaving the Kingdom for the present: Thus a great and powerful Monarch was in a few weeks reduced to the contemptible Condition of a wandering Pilgrim.

Address of
the Clergy to
the Prince.
Calamy,
p. 387.

And of the
Non-
Conformist
Ministers.
Howe's
Life, p. 142.

The Prince of Orange came to St. James's, December 18, and on the 21st. following the Bishop of London with several of the Clergy, and some Dissenting Ministers, waited upon his Highness to congratulate him upon the happy Success of his glorious Expedition; when his Lordship acquainted his Highness in the Name of the Clergy, that there were some of their Dissenting Brethren present, who were herein entirely of the same Sentiments with themselves. But on the 2d. of January about ninety of the Non-Conformist Ministers attended the Prince at St. James's in a distinct Body, being introduced by the Earl of Devonshire, and the Lords Wharton and Wiltshire; when the Reverend Mr. Howe, in the Name of the rest, assured his Highness "of their grateful Sense of his hazardous and heroical Expedition, which the Favour of Heaven had made so surprizingly prosperous. That they esteemed it a common Felicity, that the worthy Patriots of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom had unanimously concurred with his Highness's Designs, by whose most prudent Advice the Administration of publick Affairs was devolved in this difficult Conjunction into Hands which the Nation and the World knew to be apt for the greatest Undertakings, and so suitable to the present Exigency of our Case. They promised the utmost Endeavours, in their several Stations, to promote the excellent and most desirable Ends for which his Highness had declared. They added their continual fervent Prayers to the Almighty, for the Preservation of his Highness's Person, and the Success of his future Endeavours for the Defence and Propagation of the Protestant Interest throughout the Christian World; that they should

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“ All most willingly have chosen that Time for the Season of
 “ paying their Duty to his Highness, when the Lord Bishop,
 “ and the Clergy of London attended his Highness for the
 “ same Purpose (which some of them did, and which his
 “ Lordship was pleased condescendingly to make mention of
 “ to his Highness) had their Notice of that intended Appli-
 “ cation been so early, as to make their more gene-
 “ ral Attendance possible at that Time. Therefore though
 “ they did now appear in a distinct Company, it was not on
 “ a distinct Account, but on that only which was common
 “ to them, and to all Protestants; and tho’ there were some
 “ of their Brethren of eminent Note, whom Age or present
 “ Infirmities hindered from coming with them, yet they con-
 “ curred in the same grateful Sense of their common Deli-
 “ verance.” His Highness received them very favourably,

His High-
ness's An-
swer.
Eachard.

and returned them the following Answer; “ My great End
 “ was the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and
 “ with the Almighty's Assistance and Permission, so to
 “ defend and support the same, as may give it Strength and
 “ Reputation throughout the World, sufficient to preserve it
 “ from the Insults and Oppression of its most implacable E-
 “ nemies: and that, more immediately in these Kingdoms of
 “ England, Scotland, and Ireland; and I will use my utmost
 “ Endeavours so to settle and cement all different Persuasi-
 “ ons of Protestants in such a Bond of Love and Commu-
 “ nity as may contribute to the lasting Security and Enjoy-
 “ ments of Spirituals and Temporals to all sincere Profes-
 “ sors of that holy Religion.”

In order to settle the Government, the Prince published an
 Order, desiring all Persons who had served as Knights, Citizens,
 or Burgeßes, in any of the Parliaments in the Reign of King
 Charles II. to meet him at St. James's on Wednesday the 26th
 of December, at ten in the Morning; and that the Lord
 Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of London would
 be present, and fifty of the Common Council. This Assembly
 desired the Prince to take upon himself the Administration of
 the Government for the present; and a Convention Parlia-
 ment was chosen with all Expedition, in which various Me-
 thods were proposed of settling the Government; some were
 for compromising Matters with King James, and others for a
 Regency; but after long and warm Debates the Throne was
 declared Vacant, “ King James having abdicated the Go-
 “ vernment, and broken the Original Contract with his
 People. When it was put to the Vote, whether to fill the
 Throne

The Throne
declared
vacant, and
the Crown
offered to
the Prince
and Princess
of Orange.

Inter-
Regnum.
1688.

Burnet,
p. 809.

Throne with a King, or to appoint a Regent, it was carried for the former but by two Voices, Fifty one being for a King, and Forty nine for a Regent, among which latter were twelve or thirteen Bishops, two only (viz.) the Bishops of London and Bristol, being for a King; the Reason of which was their being unwilling to contradict the Doctrine they had been so long preaching (viz.) that the Regal Power was Jure Divino, and his Majesty's Character indelible. Indeed they had invited the Prince of Orange to come to the Relief of their Religion, but the Storm being blown over, they thought it not incumbent on them wholly to depart from their old Principles, by renouncing the King, and therefore they voted for a Regency; but the Question being carried (says Bishop Burnet) Nature was so strong in them that it was too hard for their Doctrine. And a Declaration being drawn up for asserting and vindicating the anti-ent Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, the Crown was offered to the Prince and Princess of Orange who arrived from Holland the Day before; and BOTH having declared their Acceptance of it, were proclaimed KING and QUEEN of England, &c. Feb. 13. 1688-9. and crowned at Westminster, April 11. following, with the joyful Acclamations of the whole Body of the Nation.

King
William
and Queen
Mary.
1688.

Remarks.

Thus a wonderful Revolution was brought about with little or no loss of Blood; and it is surprizing to look back and reflect on the remarkable Appearances of Divine Providence in the Rise and Progress of this Affair; how the Court of England and the Roman Catholick Powers were all infatuated or a sleep, while the Design was forming; and when it was carrying into Execution, how the Winds were remarkably subservient, and the Hearts of the People very much united till it was brought to Maturity: But it will amaze all Posterity to read the inconsistent and dishonourable Part which the High Church Clergy and their Friends acted on this Occasion; for after they had preached the King into a Belief of their unlimited Loyalty, and assured him in numberless Addresses, that their Lives and Fortunes were absolutely at his Service; and after the University of Oxford, by a solemn Decree, had declared all Manner of Resistance damnable and infamous to the Christian Religion, they were among the first who resisted him; and by opening A Reserve which lay hid under all their Professions of Duty and Allegiance, let him fall into that Pit out of which he could never escape. As soon as the King invaded the Properties of the Universities, and threatened to take

take down the Fences of Preferments in the Church, they invited the Prince of Orange to come with an armed Force to their Rescue; They signed an Association to support and assist him; They offered him their Plate, and declared for him in a Body, even while their Sovereign was on the Throne; and yet after all this they would have retracted, and made up Matters again with King James; They opposed the Motion in the Convention Parliament for declaring the Throne vacant; and when the Government came to be settled upon King William and Queen Mary, great Numbers of them would not submit to it, and those who did acted a treacherous and dishonourable Part to their Great Deliverer as long as he lived. What Inconsistencies are these! Or, what Oaths and Declarations can hold Men who can burst such Bands, and cut such sacred Cords asunder! The like must be said with regard to their Vows and Promises to the Non-Conformists, all which were forgot or broken as soon as the Church was out of Danger. The Dissenters acted a more consistent Part, for not being intangled with the same Fetters as others were, they went heartily into the Revolution, and were among King William's best and most hearty Friends in the Worst of Times.

King
William
and Queen
Mary.
1688.

No sooner was King William and Queen Mary settled on the Throne, but the Dissenting Ministers in and about the City of London waited on their Majesties with an Address of Congratulation, when Dr. Bates at their Head made the two following Speeches.

To the KING,

May it please your Majesty,

“ **T** H E Series of successful Events that has attended
 “ your Glorious Enterprize for the Saving these King-
 “ doms from so imminent and destructive Evils, has been so
 “ eminent and extraordinary, that it may force an Ac-
 “ knowledgment of the Divine Providence from those who
 “ deny it, and cause Admiration in all who believe and reve-
 “ rence it. The Beauty and Speed of this happy Work
 “ are the bright Signatures of his Hand, who creates Deli-
 “ verance for his People: The less of human Power the
 “ more of Divine Wisdom and Goodness has been conspi-
 “ cuous in it. If the Deliverance had been obtained by
 “ fierce and bloody Battles, Victory it self had been deject-
 “ ed and sad, and our Joy had been mixed with afflicting
 “ Bitterness; but as the Sun ascending the Horizon dispels
 “ without

Address of
the Dissen-
ting Mini-
sters to K.
William.

King
William
and Queen
Mary.
1688.

“ without Noise the Darknes of the Night, so your serene
“ Presence has, without Tumults and Disorders, chased away
“ the Darknes that invaded us. In the Sense of this asto-
“ nishing Deliverance we desire with all possible Ardency
“ of Affection to magnify the glorious Name of God, the
“ Author of it, by whose entire Efficacy, the Means have
“ been successful ; and we cannot without a warm Rap-
“ ture of Thankfulness recount our Obligations to your
“ Majesty, the happy Instrument of it. Your illustrious
“ Greatness of Mind, in an Undertaking of such vast Ex-
“ pence, your heroick Zeal in exposing your most precious
“ Life in such an adventurous Expedition, your wise Con-
“ duct, and unshaken Resolution in prosecuting your great
“ Ends, are above the loftiest Flights of Language, exceed
“ all Praise. We owe to your Majesty the two greatest and
“ most valuable Blessings that we can enjoy, The Preserva-
“ tion of the True Religion, our most sacred Treasure ; and
“ the Recovery of the falling State, and the establishing it
“ upon just Foundations. According to our Duty, we pro-
“ mise unfeigned Fidelity, and true Allegiance to your Ma-
“ jesty’s Person and Government. We are encouraged by
“ your gracious Promise upon our first Address, humbly
“ to desire and hope, that your Majesty will be pleased, by
“ your Wisdom and Authority, to establish a firm Union
“ of your Protestant Subjects in Matters of Religion, by
“ making the Rule of Christianity to be the Rule of Con-
“ formity. Our blessed Union in the Purity and Peace of
“ the Gospel will make this Church a fair and lovely Type of
“ Heaven, and terrible to our Antichristian Enemies: This
“ will make England the steady Centre for whence a pow-
“ erful Influence will be derived for the Support of Reform-
“ ed Christianity abroad. This will bring immortal Ho-
“ nour to your Name, above the Trophies and Triumphs of
“ the most renowned Conquerors. We do assure your Ma-
“ jesty, that we shall cordially embrace the Terms of Union
“ which the ruling Wisdom of our Saviour has prescribed in
“ his Word. We shall not trespass further on your Royal
“ Patience, but shall offer up our fervent Prayers to the
“ King of Kings, that he will please to direct your Majesty
“ by his unerring Wisdom, and always incline your Heart
“ to his Glory, and encompass your sacred Person with his
“ Favour as with a Shield, and make your Government an
“ universal Blessing to these Kingdoms.”

To which his Majesty was graciously pleased to make the following Answer.

“ I

“ I TAKE kindly your good Wishes, and whatsoever
 “ is in my Power shall be employed for obtaining
 “ such a Union among you. I do assure you of my Pro-
 “ tection and Kindness.”

King
 William
 and Queen
 Mary.
 1638.

To the QUEEN.

King's
 Answer.

May it please your Majesty,

“ YOUR happy Arrival into your native Country,
 “ and Accession to the Crown, has diffused an uni-
 “ versal Joy through this Kingdom. 'Tis an auspicious Sign
 “ of publick Felicity, when supream Virtue, and supream
 “ Dignity, meet in the same Person. Your inviolable Firm-
 “ ness in the Profession of the Truth, and exemplary Piety,
 “ are the most radiant Jewels in your Crown. The Lustre
 “ of your Conversation, unstained in the Midst of temp-
 “ ting Vanities, and adorned with every Grace, recommends
 “ Religion as the most honourable and amiable Quality, even
 “ to those who are averse from hearing Sermons, and apt
 “ to despise serious Instructions and Excitations to be Reli-
 “ gious. We humbly desire, that your Majesty would be
 “ pleased by your Wisdom and Goodness, to compose the
 “ Differences between your Protestant Subjects in Things of
 “ less Moment concerning Religion. We hope those Re-
 “ verend Persons who conspire with us in the main End,
 “ the Glory of God and the Publick Good, will consent
 “ to the Terms of Union wherein all the Reformed Churches
 “ agree. We shall sincerely address our Requests to God,
 “ that he will please to pour down in a rich Abundance his
 “ Blessings upon your Majesty's Person and Government,
 “ and preserve you to his heavenly Kingdom.”

Their Ad-
 drels to the
 Queen.

Her Majesty was graciously pleased to Answer,

“ I WILL use all Endeavours for the obtaining an
 “ Union that is necessary for the edifying of the
 “ Church. I desire your Prayers.”

Her Ma-
 jesty's An-
 swer.

Though the Joy that accompanied the Revolution had a
 considerable Influence on the Choice of Parliament Men,
 yet there being no Court to make Interest among the People,
 it appeared that the late King James had a considerable Party
 in both Houses sufficient to perplex the new Government,
 who first proposed the Choice of a new Parliament, in order
 to throw the Nation into a new Ferment : but this being
 over-ruled, a Bill was brought in, and passed June 23, to turn
 the

Some Bi-
 shops refused
 the Oath.
 Burnet,
 Vol. II.
 P. 6, 8.

King
William
and Queen
Mary.
1688.

the present Convention into a Parliament, it being wisely concluded, that those who had set the King on the Throne would be most zealous to maintain him there; but when the House was called over, and the Members required to take the Oaths, eight Bishops absented themselves (viz.) Dr. Sancroft Archbishop of Canterbury, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Kenn of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, Thomas of Worcester, Lloyde of Norwich, and Frampton of Gloucester; but that they might recommend themselves by a Shew of Moderation, before they withdrew, they moved the House of Lords for a Bill of Toleration, and another of Comprehension, which were drawn up accordingly by the Earl of Nottingham, and were much the same with those prepared for the House of Commons in King Charles the Second's Time, during the Debates about the Bill of Exclusion.

Burnet.
Vol. II.
p. 6, 11.

The Clergy in general took the Oaths, but it became visible that many among them took them only as Oaths of Submission to Usurpers during their Usurpation, with this Reserve, that it was still lawful to assist King James if he should come to recover the Crown, and that he was still their King, de Jure, though the Prince of Orange was King de Facto, contrary to the plain Meaning of the Words; but the Clergy broke through all these Fetters (says the Bishop) to the Reproach of their Profession: And the Prevarication of so many in so sacred a Matter contributed not a little to the Atheism of the Age; but they had embarked so far in their Doctrines of "absolute Submission, and the Divine Right of Monarchy," that they knew not how to disengage themselves with Honour or Conscience. Many suffered the Time limited for taking the Oaths to lapse, and yet officiated afterwards contrary to Law. They threatened the Church with a new Separation, which frightened the moderate Clergy, and put a stop to all Amendments of the Liturgy for the ease of Dissenters, lest the Non-Jurors should gain over great Numbers of the Laity by pretending to abide by the old Liturgy, in Opposition to a new invented Model. Thus the Non-Conformists were sold to the Jacobites by the timorousness of their Friends; for the High Church Party discovered an irreconcilable Enmity to an Accommodation, and seemed only to wish for an Occasion to renew old Severities. Those who had moved for a Comprehension, and brought the Bill into the House of Lords, acted a very disingenuous Part (says Burnet) for while they studied to recommend themselves, by seeming to countenance the Bill, they

they set on their Friends to oppose it, while the Favourers of it were represented as Enemies to the Church.

When the King came to the House, March 16, he made the following Speech.

King
William
and Queen
Mary.
1689.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ **N**OW I have Occasion of coming hither to pass these Bills, I shall put you in mind of one Thing which will conduce much to our Settlement, as a Settlement will to the Disappointment of our Enemies. I am, with all the Expedition I can, filling up the Vacancies that are in the Offices and Places of Trust by this late Revolution. I hope you are sensible there is a necessity of some Law to settle the Oaths to be taken by all Persons to be admitted to such Places. I recommend it to your Care, to make a speedy Provision for it ; and as I doubt not but you will sufficiently provide against Papists, so I hope you will leave room for the Admission of all Protestants that are willing and able to serve. This Conjunction in my Service will tend to the better uniting you among your selves, and the strengthening you against your common Enemies.” It appears by this that King William was for taking off the Test, and abrogating the Penal Laws, as far as relates to Dissenting Protestants, but it came to nothing.

His Majesty recommends qualifying all his Protest-Subjects for serving the Government.
Gazette,
No. 2436.

When a Bill was brought into the House of Lords for abrogating the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and appointing other Oaths in their stead, a Committee was appointed to insert a Clause “ to take away the Necessity of receiving the Sacrament in order to make a Man capable of enjoying any Office, Employment, or Place of Trust ;” but when it was reported to the House it was rejected by a considerable Majority, the Earls of Stamford and Chesterfield, the Lords Lovelace, Delamere, North and Grey, Wharton and Vaughan, entered their Protests.

Bill for changing the Oath.

After this another Clause was offered, by which it was provided, that such should be sufficiently qualified for any Office, “ who within a Year before, or after their Admission, did receive the Sacrament either according to the Usage of the Church of England, or in any other Protestant Congregation, and could produce a Certificate under the Hands of the Minister, and two other credible Persons Members of such a Congregation.” The Question being put, whether this Clause should be a Part of the Bill, it passed in the Negative ; the Lords Oxford, Lovelace, Wharton,

King
William
and Queen
Mary.
1689.

Burnet,
p. 11.

Wharton, Mordaunt, Montague, and Paget, entering their Protests.

It was proposed further, in a Committee of the House of Lords, to take off the Necessity "of Kneeling at the Sacrament," but when the Question was put whether to agree with the Committee in leaving out the Clause, the Votes were equal, and so according to the Usage of the House it passed in the Negative. The like Fate attended the Motion about the "Cross in Baptism," and explaining the Words Assent and Consent in Subscription. Thus the several Attempts for Alterations in the Church Service, at a Time when the Legislature was in temper for accommodating lesser Differences, were frustrated by a rising Party of Jacobites and Tories, who threatened the new Government with a Revolt unless they were humoured, and for fear of them all the Promises of Accommodation with the Dissenters were renounced and given up.

Act of Toleration
brought into
the House
and passed.

Soon after a Bill for "Toleration of Protestant Dissenters" was brought into the House, and had an easy Passage; though some proposed, that the Act should only be temporary, as a necessary Restraint, that the Dissenters might demean themselves so, as to merit the Continuance of it when the Term of Years now offered should end; but this was rejected. Bishop Burnet says, That his Zeal for this Act lost him his Credit with the Church Party, by which it appears they did not much like it. It is entitled, "An Act for exempting their Majesty's Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws." But the Corporation and Test Acts are omitted; and Socinians are excepted, but Provision is made for Quakers, upon their making a solemn Declaration, instead of taking the Oaths to the Government. This Act excuses all Protestant Dissenters from the Penalties of the Laws therein mentioned, for not coming to Church, provided they take the Oaths to the Government, "and subscribe the Doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, &c. But this being the Basis of their present Liberty, I have inserted the Act at length in the Appendix, Numb. I.

Append.
No. I.

Bill for a
Comprehension,
Burnet.
p. 10.

While the Bill for a Toleration was depending, a Motion was made in the House of Lords for a Comprehension, which was received, and some Progress made in it; but a Proviso being offered, and pressed with great earnestness by some temporal Lords, that in imitation of the Acts passed in the Reigns of King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. a number of Persons both of Clergy and Laity might be empowered to prepare

prepare Materials for such a Reformation of Things relating to the Church as might be fit to offer to the King and Parliament, it was warmly debated, and at length rejected by a small Majority. Bishop Burnet was against the Proviso, for fear of offending the Clergy, who would look upon it as taking the Reformation out of their Hands; but adds, "I was convinced soon after that I had taken wrong Measures, and that the Method proposed by the Lords was the only one like to prove effectual." Dr. Tillotson being of the same mind with Burnet, advised the King to refer the Affair to a Synod of Divines, whose Determinations he apprehended would stop the mouths of Papists, who reproached our Reformation as built chiefly on a Parliamentary Authority, and would be better received by the Body of the Clergy.

King
William
and Queen
Mary.
1689.

Accordingly it was agreed in Council, that a select number of learned Divines should be appointed by the Royal Mandate, to meet and consult about the most proper Methods of healing the Wounds of the Church; that their Determinations should be laid before the Convocation, and from thence receive the Sanction of Parliament. Agreeably to this Revolution the King issued out a Commission to thirty Divines, of which ten were Bishops, whose Names were,

An Ecclesiastical Commission to prepare Matters for it.

Dr. Lumplugh, Abp. York,	Sir Jonath. Trelawny, Bp.
Compton, Bp. London,	Exeter,
Mew, Bp. Winchester,	Dr. Burnet, Bp. Sarum,
Lloyde, Bp. St. Asaph,	Humphrys, Bp. Bangor,
Sprat, Bp. Rochester,	
Smith, Bp. Carlisle,	Stratford, Bp. Chester.

To these were added the following Divines,

Dr. Stillingfleet,	Dr. Patrick,
Tillotson,	Meggot,
Sharpe,	Kidder,
Aldridge,	Jane,
Hall,	Beaumont,
Montague,	Goodman,
Beveridge,	Battely,
Alston,	Tennison,
Scot,	Fowler,
Grove,	Williams.

Their Commission was as follows ;

King
William
and Queen
Mary.
1689.

Their
Powers.

“ Whereas the particular Forms of Divine Worship, and
“ the Rights and Ceremonies appointed to be used therein,
“ being Things in their own Nature indifferent and altera-
“ ble, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable that upon
“ weighty and important Considerations, according to the
“ various Exigencies of Times and Occasions, such Changes
“ and Alterations should be made therein, as to those that are
“ in Place and Authority should from Time to Time seem
“ either necessary or expedient.”

“ And whereas the Book of Canons is fit to be reviewed,
“ and made more suitable to the State of the Church ; and
“ whereas there are Defects and Abuses in the Ecclesiastical
“ Courts and Jurisdictions : and particularly, there is not
“ sufficient Provision made for the removing of scandalous
“ Ministers, and for the reforming of Manners, either in
“ Ministers or People. And whereas it is most fit that there
“ should be a strict Method prescribed for the Examination
“ of such Persons as desire to be admitted into Holy Orders,
“ both as to their Learning and Manners.”

“ We therefore, out of our pious and princely Care for
“ the good Order, Edification, and Unity of the Church of
“ England committed to our Charge and Care, and for
“ the reconciling as much as is possible of all Differences
“ among our good Subjects, and to take away all Occasion
“ of the like for the future, have thought fit to authorize
“ you, &c. or any nine of you, whereof three to be Bi-
“ shops, to meet from Time to Time as often as shall
“ be needful, and to prepare such Alterations of the Liturgy
“ and Canons, and such Proposals for the Reformation of
“ the Ecclesiastical Courts ; and to consider of such other
“ Matters as in your Judgments may most conduce to the
“ Ends above mentioned.”

The Legali-
ty of them.

The Committee being met in the Jerusalem Chamber, a
Dispute arose about the Legality of their Commission ; Sprat
Bishop of Rochester, one of King James's Ecclesiastical
Commissioners being one of their Number, they pretended
to fear a Præmunire, though there was not so much as a sha-
dow for such a Pretence, the King's Supremacy, if it means
any Thing, empowering him to appoint proper Persons not
to make Laws, but to prepare Matters for the Legislature :
However, upon this, Mew Bishop of Winchester, Sprat of
Rochester, with Dr. Jane and Dr. Aldridge, withdrew.
Some of them said plainly, they were against all Alterations
whatsoever ;

whatsoever ; they thought too much would be done for the Dissenters, in granting them an Act of Toleration, but they would do nothing to make Conformity still easier. They said further, that altering the Customs and Constitutions of the Church to gratify a peevish and obstinate Party, was like to have no other Effect but to make them more insolent. But was it ever tried ? Did the Convocation or Parliament make a single Abatement from the Year 1662, to this Time ; If the Experiment had been tried, and proved ineffectual, the blame might have been cast upon the Dissenters ; but to call them peevish and obstinate without offering them any, even the smallest Alterations, deserves no better a Name than the highest Abuse of Language. Was there no obstinacy and peevishness on the side of the Church, in retreating from so many Promises without a single Offer ? —But it was said further, that the Church by offering these Alterations seemed to confess that she had hitherto been in the Wrong, and that the Attempt would divide them among themselves, and make People lose their esteem for Liturgy, if it appeared that it wanted Correction. Such were the Reasonings of these high Divines, if they deserved the Name, some of whom but a few Months before pretended to come to a Temper with their Brethren.

But it was answered on the other side, That if a few Corrections or Explanations would give all just Satisfaction to the Dissenters, there was reason to hope it would bring over many of the People, if not the Teachers themselves ; at least if the Prejudices of the present Dissenters were too strong, it would have a good Effect on the next Generation ; nor could it be any Reproach to the Church, since the Offers were made only in regard to their Weakness. Ritual Matters were of an indifferent Nature, and became necessary only from the Authority of the Church and State, therefore it was an unreasonable Stiffness to deny any Abatements in such Matters, in order to hale the Wounds of the Church. Great Changes had been made by the Church of Rome in her Rituals ; and among our selves since the Reformation, in the Reigns of King Edward VI. Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles II, and it seemed necessary at this Time to make the Terms of Communion with the Church as large as might be, that so the greater Number might be brought into it, since by the Act of Toleration they might dissent with Safety.

But while Men were debating these Matters, the Jacobite Party took hold of this Occasion to enflame Mens Minds against the Government. It was said the Church was to be

King
William
and Queen
Mary.
1689.

Reasons
against Al-
terations.
Burnet,
Vol. II.
p. 31.

And for
them.

King
William
and Queen
Mary.
1689.

pulled down and Presbytery set up : The Universities took Fire and declared against Alterations, and against all that promoted them, as Men who intended to undermine the Church. Severe Reflections were cast on the King himself, as not being in the Interest of the Church, for the Cry of the Church's Danger was raised by all the Enemies of the Government, as that under which they thought they might safely shelter all their ill Designs. Great Interest was made every where in the Choice of Convocation Men, to whom the Determinations of the Committee was to be referred, so that it was quickly visible that the laudible Designs of the King and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners would have no Effect.

Their Pro-
ceedings.
Burnet,
p. 31.

However the Committee continued their Work 'till they had finished it ; they had before them all the Exceptions that either the Puritans before the War, or the Non-Conformists since the Restoration, had made to the Church Service. They had also many Propositions and Advices that had been offered at several Times by many of our Bishops and Divines upon those Heads ; Matters were well considered, and freely and calmly debated, and all was digested into an entire Correction of every Thing that seemed liable to any just Exception. Dr. Nichols says, they began with reviewing the Liturgy, and first in examining the Calendar ; they ordered in the room of the Apocryphal Lessons certain Chapters of Canonical Scripture to be read, that were more to the Peoples Advantage ; Athanasius's Creed being disliked by reason of the damnatory Clauses it was left to the Ministers Choice to use it, or change it for the Apostles Creed. New Collects were drawn up more agreeable to the Epistles and Gospels for the whole course of the Year, with that Elegance and Brightness of Expression (says the Doctor) and such a Flame of Devotion, that nothing could more affect and excite the Hearts of the Hearers, and raise up their Minds towards God ; they were first drawn up by Dr. Patrick ; Dr. Burnet added to them farther Force and Spirit ; Dr. Stillingfleet afterwards examined them with great Judgment, carefully weighing every Word in them ; and Dr. Tillotson had the last Hand, giving them some free and masterly Strokes of his sweet and flowing Eloquence ; Dr. Kidder made a new Version of the Psalms, more agreeable to the Original, Dr. Tenison made a Collection of the Words and Expressions throughout the Liturgy which had been excepted against, and proposed others in their Room that were clear and plain, and less liable to Exception ——— Singing in Cathedrals was to be laid aside ——— The Apocryphal Lessons were to be omitted

Apparatus.
P. 95, 96.

The parti-
cular
Amend-
ments.
Caamy's
Abridg.
Vol. I.
P. 453.

mitted, together with the Legendary Saints Days — The Cross in Baptism to be left to the Choice of the Parent — and Kneeling at the Sacrament to be indifferent — The Intention of Lent Fasts was declared to consist only in extraordinary Acts of Devotion, not in distinction of Meats — The Word Priest was to be changed for Minister — The Use of the Surplice is left to the Discretion of the Bishop, who may dispence with it, or appoint another to read the Service — God-Fathers and God-Mothers in Baptism may be omitted if desired, and Children presented in their Parents Names — Re-Ordination of those who had been ordained by Presbyters was to be only conditional — But these, with some other useful Alterations in the Litany, Common Service, and Canons, will not be known 'till the Papers themselves are made publick. However the Concessions and Amendments made in them would in all Probability have brought in three Parts in four of the Dissenters.

King
William
and Queen
Mary.
1689.

While these Things were debating in Parliament and among the Commissioners, an Address was presented, April 19, praying that according to the antient Custom and Usage of the Kingdom in Time of Parliament, his Majesty would issue out his Writ for calling a Convocation of the Clergy to be advised with in Ecclesiastical Matters, assuring his Majesty, that it was their Intention forthwith to proceed to the Consideration of “ giving Ease to Protestant Dissenters;” but when they met it quickly appeared, that the High Church Party were superior to the Moderate, by their chusing Dr. Jane. who drew up the Oxford Decree, Prolocutor, before Dr. Tillotson. His Majesty sent a Letter or Message by the Earl of Nottingham, assuring them of his constant Favour and Protection, and that he had summoned them together not only because it was usual upon holding Parliaments, but out of a pious Zeal to do every Thing that might tend to the best Establishment of the Church of England, he therefore desired them to consider of such Things as by his Order should be laid before them, with a due and impartial Zeal for the Peace and good of the Church. But there was no room for it, for the Lower House of Convocation quickly came to a Resolution, “ not to enter into any Debates with relation to Alterations;” and it was not without Difficulty carried to make a decent Address to the King, thanking him for his Promise of Protection. And because in the Address which the Bishops sent down, they acknowledged the Protection which the Protestant Religion in general, and the

Proceedings
of the Con-
vocation.

Their Dis-
affection.

King
William
and Queen
Mary.
1689.

Church of England in particular had received from his Majesty, they would not agree to it, because it imported their owning some common Union with the foreign Churches. They would thank his Majesty for his Care to establish the Church of England, whereby the Interest of the Protestant Churches abroad would be better secured, but would not insert the Words, "This and all other Protestant Churches," as the Bishops had desired.

The Bishop of London, in his Answer to the Prolocutor's Speech, told them, That they ought to endeavour a Temper in Things not essential to Religion; and that it was their Duty to shew the same Indulgence and Charity to the Dissenters under King William, which some of the Bishops and Clergy had promised in their Addresses to King James. "But all these Promises (says Bishop Burnet) were entirely forgot." It was in vain therefore to refer the Amendments of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to a Number of Men who had resolved to admit of no Alterations; and 'tis thought that if the Act of Toleration had been left to their Decision, it would have miscarried. The King observing Matters run thus high, broke up the Sessions; and seeing they were in no Disposition to do good, they were kept from doing Mischief by Prorogations for a Course of ten Years.

Remarks.

This was the last fruitless Attempt for a "Comprehension" of Dissenters within the Establishment; and such was the ungrateful Return that these angry Churchmen made to those who had helped them in Distress! For it ought to stand upon Record, that the Church of England had been twice rescued from the most imminent Danger by Men of those very Principles for whose Satisfaction they would not move a Pin nor abate a Ceremony; first in the Year 1660, when the Presbyterians restored the King and Constitution without making any Terms for themselves; and now again at the Revolution of King William, when the Church fled for Succour to a Presbyterian Prince, and was delivered by an Army of fourteen thousand Hollanders of the very same Principles with the English Dissenters; but how uncivilly those Troops were used afterwards, when they had done their Work, is too ungrateful a Piece of History to remember.

On the Account of
Abolishing
Episcopacy
in Scotland.
Burnet,
Vol. II.
p. 23.

But besides the strong Disposition of the High Church Clergy and their Friends to return to their Allegiance to King James, there was another Incident that sharpened their Resentments against the King and the Dissenters, which was his Majesty's consenting to the abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland, which he could not prevent without putting all his Affairs into the

the utmost Confusion ; the Bias of the People was strong for Presbytery, and the more, because the Episcopal Party went almost universally into King James's Interests, so that the Presbyterians were the only Friends the King had in that Kingdom. There was a Convention called in Scotland like that in England, who on the eleventh of April, the Day on which King William and Queen Mary were crowned in England, passed Judgment of Forfeiture on King James, and voted the Crown of Scotland to King William and Queen Mary. They drew up a Claim of Rights, by one Article of which it was declared, " That the Reformation in Scotland having been begun by a Parity among the Clergy ; " Prelacy in the Church was a great and insupportable Grievance to the Kingdom." The Bishops, and those who adhered to them, having left the Convention because not summoned by a Writ from King James ; the Presbyterians had a Majority of Votes to carry every Thing as they pleased ; upon which the Abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland was made a necessary Article of the new Settlement. The Episcopal Party sent the Dean of Glasgow to King William, to know his Intentions concerning them, who answered he would do all he could to preserve them consistent with " a full Toleration to the Presbyterians," provided they concurred in the new Establishment ; but if they opposed it he should not enter into a War for their sakes. The Bishops, instead of submitting to the Revolution, resolved unanimously to adhere firmly to King James, and declared in a Body with so much Zeal against the new Settlement, that it was not possible for the King to preserve them. The Clergy sent for King James into Scotland, and the Earl of Dundee got together some thousands of Highlanders to make a Stand, but General Mackay, who was sent with a Body of Forces to disperse them, routed them at a Place called Gillicranky, and killed the Earl of Dundee upon the spot. So that Episcopacy in Scotland fell a Sacrifice to the Interest of King James.

King
William
and Queen
Mary.
1689.

Which was
owing to the
Jacobitism
of the Scots
Bishops and
Clergy.

But tho' it was impossible to stop the Torrent of the Scots Peoples Zeal for Presbytery ; and though the King had none but Presbyterians on his Side in that Kingdom, yet the suffering it to take Place, raised the Disaffection of the English Clergy. Reports of the King's Disaffection to the Hierarchy of the Church were spread with great Industry over the Nation ; the leading Men of both Universities were possessed with it (says Butnet) tho' the King had joined in Communion with the Church, and took the Sacrament according to Law ;

Creates Disaffection to the Government.

Burnet.
P. 29.

King
William
and Queen
Mary.
1689.

And to the
English
Dissenters.

but it was given out, that Men zealous for the Church were neglected, and that those who were indifferent to the Ceremonies were promoted. His Majesty promised the Scots Clergy to moderate Matters in their Favour, and Lord Melvil, Secretary of State, engaged very solemnly for the same Thing; but when the Presbyterians threatened to desert the Court if they were deserted by them, Melvil thought it was the King's Interest to secure them to his Interest, which could not be done but by abandoning the Ministers of the Episcopal Persuasion. Such therefore as refused to read the Proclamation of King William and Queen Mary by the prefixed Day were deprived of their Livings; which being published up and down England, and much aggravated, raised the Aversion of the Friends of the Church against the Presbyterians so high (says Bishop Burnet) that they began to repent their having granted a Toleration to a Party, who where they prevailed, shewed so much Fury against those of the Episcopal Persuasion. But it ought to be remembered that this was a Government Case, that the Fate of the Revolution in that Kingdom depended upon it; and that the Bishops and Episcopal Clergy, almost to a Man, were determined Jacobites, and refused to take the Oaths to King William and Queen Mary. Besides, what Reason had the Scots Presbyterians to trust the Episcopal Clergy, when it was in their Power to do themselves Justice? Had they not deceived them out of their Discipline in 1662, and persecuted them cruelly ever since? Let the Reader peruse the dreadful Sufferings of the Kirk in the Reign of King Charles the Second, and judge how far they had Reason to put them again into the Saddle, and give the Reins into their Hands.

King made
uneasy by the
Tories.
Burnet,
p. 35, 39.

But the Disaffection of the High Church Clergy rose still higher, even to the King himself, who was made uneasy by a set of Men who were as Thorns in his Sides, and clogged the wheels of his Government to his Death; insomuch that his Majesty sometimes declared with more than ordinary Vehemence that he would not stay in England and hold an empty Name: that it was not easy to determine which was best, "a Commonwealth or Kingly Government;" but he was sure the worst of all Governments was, "a King without a Treasure, and without Power." He once resolved to return to Holland and leave the Government in the Queen's Hands, imagining they would use her better; and he communicated his Design to the Marquis of Carmarthen, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and some more, who besought him

him with Tears to change his Resolution, and at last prevailed : But had his Majesty declared this from the Throne the Nation was in a Temper to have done Justice to the Incendiaries ; for notwithstanding their Clamours they knew themselves to be in desperate Circumstances if the King should leave them, as having renounced their Allegiance to King James, and gone such lengths as he could never forgive. But King William being a generous Prince imagined they might be gained by heaping Favours on their Heads, and therefore took up with a Motley Ministry, which distressed him to the last. Thus the Tories and High Church Clergy enjoyed the Advantages of a Glorious Revolution, while they acted a most unworthy Part towards their GREAT DELIVERER, and a most unkind and ungenerous One to the Dissenters.

King
William
and Queen
Mary.
1689.

Nor have these Gentlemen ceased to discover their Enmity to the Dissenters since that Time, as oft as the Power had been in their Hands. It was impossible to hurt them while King William lived, but no sooner was Queen Anne upon the Throne but they endeavoured to cramp the Toleration by the Bill against Occasional Conformity, which was brought into the House one Session after another, 'till at length it obtained the Royal Assent in the latter end of the Year 1711, under the specious Title of, " An Act to
" preserve the Protestant Religion, and to confirm the Toleration, and further to secure the Protestant Succession." It makes some few Concessions in favour of the Toleration, but then it enacts, " That if any Persons in Office, who
" by the Laws are obliged to qualify themselves by receiving
" the Sacrament or Test, shall ever resort to a Conventicle
" or Meeting of Dissenters for Religious Worship, during the
" Time of their Continuance in such Office, they shall
" forfeit twenty Pounds for every such Offence, and be disqualified for any Office for the future, 'till they have made
" Oath that they have entirely conformed to the Church,
" and not been at any Conventicle for the Space of a whole
" Year." So that no Person in the least Office in the Customs, Excise, or Common Council, &c. could ever come within the Doors of a Meeting-House. But the Reader may read the Act at large in the Appendix, Numb. II.

Their Conduct to the Dissenters since the Revolution.

Occasional Conformity Bill.

In the last Year of Queen Anne the Toleration was further strained by an " Act to prevent the Growth of Schism ?" for with these Gentlemen all Dissenters are Schismatics, and in order to prevent their Growth, the Education of their Children

Append.
No II.

The Schism Bill.

King
William
and Queen
Mary.
1689.

Repealed by
King
George I.

dren was taken out of the Hands of their Friends, and entrusted only with such who were "full and entire Conformerists." And if any School-Master or Tutor should be willingly present at any "Conventicle of Dissenters for Religious Worship," he shall suffer three Months Imprisonment, and be disqualified, as above, from teaching School for the future. The Act was to take Place August 1, 1714, the very Day the Queen died; but his late Majesty King George I, being fully satisfied that these Hardships were brought upon the Dissenters for their steady Adherence to the Protestant Succession against a Tory and Jacobite Ministry, who were preparing the Way for a Popish Pretender, procured the Repeal of them in the fifth Year of his Reign. The aforesaid Act, with the Repeal, is inserted in the Appendix, Numb. III and IV. together with a Clause which "forbids the Mayor, or other Magistrate, to go into any Meeting for Religious Worship with the Ensigns of his Office."

Many of the ejected Ministers of 1662, and others, survived the Revolution, and made a considerable Figure in the Reigns of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, As,

Dissenting
Ministers
who survived
the Revolution.

The Rev. William Bates,
D. D.
Obad. Grew, D. D.
Sam. Annesly, D. D.
John Collings, D. D.
Mr. Richard Baxter,
Mr. Vincent Alsop, M. A.
Mr. John Howe, M. A.
Mr. Thomas Doolittle,
M. A.
Mr. Phil. and Matth. Henry,
M. A.
Mr. John Flavel,
Mr. Matthew Barker,
M. A.
Mr. George Cockayne,
Mr. John Faldo,
Mr. William Lorimer,
M. A.
Mr. Thomas Gilbert,
B. D.

The Rev. Mr. Jos. Hill, B. D.
Mr. Rob. Bragge,
Mr. Math. Mead,
Mr. James Forbes, M. A.
Mr. Thomas Cole, M. A.
Mr. George Griffith,
M. A.
Mr. Nath. Mather,
Mr. Edward Veal,
Mr. John Quick,
Mr. Nathaniel Vincent,
M. A.
Mr. Richard Stretton,
M. A.
Mr. George Hammond,
M. A.
Mr. Richard Kentish,
Mr. Henry Newcome,
M. A.
Mr. Math. Sylvester,
Mr. Christ. Nefse, M. A.

Mr.

The Rev. Mr. John Humphreys, M. A.	The Rev. Mr. Robert Billio,
Mr. Rich. Mayo,	Mr. Rich. Steele, M. A.
Mr. Matth. Clarke, sen.	Mr. Nath. Taylor,
Isaac Chauncey, M. D.	Mr. Robert Flemming,
Mr. Sam. Slater, M. A.	M. A.
Daniel Williams, D. D.	Mr. Dan. Burges,
Mr. John Spademan,	Mr. James Owen, &c.
M. A.	

King
William
and Queen
Mary.
1689.

These and many others who deserve an honourable Character, were learned and useful Men, and most of them popular Preachers, serviceable to the Societies for Reformation of Manners, “and eminent Confessors in the Cause of Liberty and Scriptural Religion;” but their Deaths not happening within the Compass of this Work, I must leave them to be remembered by the Historians of after Times.





APPENDIX.

NUMB. I.

The Toleration Act, entituled, An Act for Exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects Dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalties of certain Laws.

1 Will. & Mary, cap. 18.

FOrasmuch as some Ease to scrupulous Consciences, in the Exercise of Religion, may be an effectual Means to unite their Majesty's Protestant Subjects in Interest and Affection,

The several Laws against Dissenters repealed.

23 Eliz. cap. 1.
29 Eliz. cap. 6.

29 Eliz. cap. 2.
§ 14.

I. Be it enacted by the King and Queen's most excellent Majesties, and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That neither the Statute made in the 23d year of the Reign of the late Queen Elizabeth, entituled, "An Act to Retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their due Obedience;" nor that Statute made in the 29th year of the said Queen, entituled, "An Act for the more speedy and due Execution of certain Branches of the Statute made in the 23d year of the Queen's Majesty's Reign," viz. the aforesaid Act; nor that Branch or Clause of a Statute made in the first year of the Reign of the said Queen, entituled, "An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and Administration of the Sacraments;" whereby all Persons having no lawful or reasonable Excuse to be absent are required to resort to their Parish Church or Chapel,

pel, or some usual Place where the Common Prayer shall be used upon pain of Punishment by the Censures of the Church; and also, upon pain, that every Person so offending shall forfeit for every such Offence twelve pence. Nor that Statute made in the 3d year of the late King James the First, entituled, "An Act for the better discovering and re-
 " pressing Popish Recusants." Nor that after Statute made in the same year, entituled, "An Act to prevent and avoid
 " dangers which may grow by Popish Recusants." Nor any other Law or Statute of this Realm made against Papists or Popish Recusants, except the Statute made in the 25th year of King Charles II. entituled, "An Act for preventing dan-
 " gers which may happen from Popish Recusants." And except also the Statute made in the 30th year of the said King Charles II. entituled, "An Act for the more effec-
 " tual preserving the King's Person and Government. by
 " disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parlia-
 " ment," shall be construed to extend to any Person or Persons dissenting from the Church of England, that shall take the Oaths mentioned in a Statute made this present Parliament, entituled, "An Act for removing and preventing
 " all Questions and Disputes concerning the Assembling and
 " Sitting of the present Parliament," shall make and subscribe the Declaration mentioned in a Statute made in the 30th year of the Reign of King Charles II. entituled, "An Act to prevent Papists from sitting in either House of
 " Parliament." Which Oaths and Declaration the Justices of Peace at the General Sessions of the Peace to be held for the County or Place where such Person shall live, are hereby required to tender and administer to such Persons as shall offer themselves to take, make and subscribe the same and thereof to keep a Register, And likewise, none of the Persons aforesaid shall give or pay, as any Fee or Reward, to any Officer or Officers belonging to the Court aforesaid above the Sum of 6d. nor that more than once for his or their Entry of his taking the said Oaths, and making and subscribing the said Declaration; nor above the further Sum of 6d. for any Certificate of the same to be made out and signed by the Officer or Officers of the said Court.

II. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every Person and Persons already convicted, or prosecuted in order to Conviction of Recusancy, by Indictment, Information, Action of Debt, or otherwise grounded upon the aforesaid Statute; or any of them that shall take the said Oaths mentioned in the said Statute made this present

3 Jac. I.
cap. 4.
3 Jac. I.
cap. 5.

Exception.
25 Car. II.
cap. 2.
30 Car. II.
Stat. 2d.
cap. 1.

Supra,
cap. 1.

30 Car. II.
Stat. 2d.
cap. 1.
Taking De-
claration to
be register'd.
Fee for Re-
gister and
Certificate.

Persons com-
victed, &c.
Taking the
Oaths, &c.
shall be dis-
charged.

present Parliament; and make and subscribe the Declaration aforesaid in the Court of Exchequer, or Assize, or General or Quarter Sessions, to be held for the County where such Person lives, and to be thence respectively certified into the Exchequer, shall be thenceforth exempted and discharged from all the Penalties, Seizures, Forfeitures, Judgments, and Executions, incurred by Force of any of the aforesaid Statutes, without any Composition, Fee, or further Charge whatsoever.

35 Eliz.
cap. 1.

22 Car. II.
cap. 1.
Ecclesiastical
Court.

III. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every Person and Persons that shall, as aforesaid, take the said Oaths, and make and subscribe the Declaration aforesaid, shall not be liable to any Pains, Penalties, or Forfeitures, mentioned in an Act made in the 35th year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, entituled, "An Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their due Obedience." Nor in an Act made in the 22d year of the Reign of the late King Charles II. entituled, "An Act to prevent and suppress seditious Conventicles." Nor shall any of the said Persons be prosecuted in any Ecclesiastical Court, for, or by Reason of their Non-Conforming to the Church of England.

Private
Meetings
excluded.

IV. Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Assembly of Persons, Dissenting from the Church of England, shall be held in any place for Religious Worship, with the Doors lock'd, bar'd or bolted, during any Time of such Meeting together, all and every Person or Persons that shall come to, and be at such Meeting, shall not receive any Benefit from this Law, but be liable to all the Pains and Penalties of all the aforesaid Laws recited in this Act, for such their Meeting, notwithstanding his taking the Oaths, and his making and subscribing the Declaration aforesaid.

Tithes saved.

V. Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to exempt any of the Persons aforesaid from paying of Tithes, or other Parochial Duties, or any other Duties to the Church or Minister; nor from any Prosecution in any Ecclesiastical Court, or elsewhere for the same.

Officers
scrupling
Oaths, &c.
allowed to
act by De-
puty.

VI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Person Dissenting from the Church of England, as aforesaid, shall hereafter be chosen, or otherwise appointed to bear the Office of High-Constable, or Pettit-Constable, Church-Warden, Overseer of the Poor, or any other Parochial or Ward Office, and such Person shall scruple to take upon him any of the said Offices, in regard of the Oaths,

or

or any other Matter or Thing required by the Law to be taken or done, in respect of such Office, every such Person shall and may execute such Office or Employment by a sufficient Deputy, by him to be provided, that shall comply with the Laws on this behalf; provided always, the said Deputy be allowed and approved by such person or persons in such Manner as such Officer or Officers respectively should by Law have been allowed and approved.

VII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no person dissenting from the Church of England in holy Orders, or pretended holy Orders, or pretending to holy Orders, nor any Preacher or Teacher of any Congregation of Dissenting Protestants, that shall make and subscribe the Declaration aforesaid, and take the said Oaths, at the General or Quarter Sessions of the peace to be held for the County, Town, Parts, or Division where such Person lives, which Court is hereby empowered to administer the same; and shall also declare his Approbation of, and subscribe the Articles of Religion mentioned in the Statute made in the 13th year of the Reign of the late Queen Elizabeth, except the 34th, 35th, and 36th, and these Words of the 20th Article, viz. ["The Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith, and yet"] shall be liable to any of the Pains or Penalties mentioned in an Act made in the 17th Year of the Reign of King Charles II. entitled, "An Act for Restraining Non-Conformists from inhabiting in Corporations;" nor the Penalties mentioned in the aforesaid Act made in the 22d year of his said late Majesty's Reign, for or by Reason of such Persons preaching at any Meeting for the exercise of Religion. Nor to the Penalties of 100l. mentioned in an Act made in the 13th and 14th of King Charles II. entitled, "An Act for the Uniformity of publick Prayers, and administering of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies; and for establishing the Form of making, ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in the Church of England," for officiating in any Congregation for the Exercise of Religion permitted and allowed by this Act.

VIII. Provided always, that the making and subscribing the said Declaration, and the taking the said Oaths, and making the Declaration of Approbation and Subscription to the said Articles, in Manner as aforesaid, by every respective person or persons herein before mentioned, at such General or Quarter Sessions of the peace as aforesaid, shall be then and there entered of Record in the said Court, for which

Persons in Orders how exempted from 17 Car. II. cap. 2. 13. 14 Car. II. cap. 4.

13 Eliz. cap. 12.

17 Car. II. cap. 2.

13 & 14 Car. II. cap. 4.

Taking the Oaths to be register'd.

Meeting
Doors to be
unlock'd.

6d. shall be paid to the Clerk of the Peace, and no more; provided that such person shall not at any time preach in any Place but with the Doors not lock'd, bar'd, or bolted, as aforesaid.

IX. And whereas some Dissenting Protestants scruple the Baptizing of Infants, Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That every person in pretended holy Orders, or pretending to holy Orders, or Preacher or Teacher, that shall subscribe the aforesaid Articles of Religion, except before excepted; and also except part of the 27th Article teaching Infant Baptism, and shall take the Oaths, and make and subscribe the Declaration aforesaid, in manner aforesaid, every such Person shall enjoy all the Privileges, Benefits, and Advantages, which any other Dissenting Minister, as aforesaid, might have or enjoy by virtue of this Act.

Teachers ex-
empt from
Offices.

X. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That every Teacher or Preacher in holy Orders, or pretended holy Orders, that is a Minister, Preacher or Teacher of a Congregation, that shall take the Oaths herein required, and make and subscribe the Declaration aforesaid; and also subscribe such of the aforesaid Articles of the Church of England, as are required by this Act in Manner aforesaid, shall be thenceforth exempted from serving upon any Jury, or from being chosen, or appointed to bear the Office of Church warden, Overseer of the Poor, or any other Parochial or Ward Office, or other Office in any Hundred of any Shire, City, Town, Parish, Division, or Wapentake.

Justices of
Peace may
tender the
Oaths, &c.

XI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That any Justice of the Peace may at any Time hereafter require any person that goes to any Meeting for exercise of Religion, to make and subscribe the Declaration aforesaid, and also to take the said Oaths, or Declaration of Fidelity herein after mentioned, in case such Person scruple the taking of an Oath, and upon refusal thereof such Justice of the Peace is hereby required to commit such person to Prison without Bail or Mainprize, and to certify the Name of such person to the next General or Quarter Sessions of the peace to be held for that County, City, Town, Part or Division, where such person then resides; and if such Person so committed shall upon a second Tender at the General or Quarter Sessions refuse to make and subscribe the Declaration aforesaid, such person refusing shall be then and there recorded, and shall be taken thenceforth to all Intents and Purposes for a Popish Recusant convict, and suffer accordingly, and incur all the Penalties and Forfeitures of the aforesaid Laws.

Penalty for
refusing.

XII. And whereas there are certain other persons Dissenters from the Church of England, who scruple the taking of any Oath, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every such Person shall make and subscribe the aforesaid Declaration; and also this Declaration of fidelity following.

Quakers
how exemp-
ted.
Alter'd as to
Quakers by
8 Geo. I.
cap. 6.

" I A. B. do sincerely promise, and solemnly declare, before God and the World, that I will be true and faithful to King William and Queen Mary. And I do solemnly profess and declare, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable Doctrine and Position, That Princes excommunicated, or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have any Power, Jurisdiction, Superiority, Pre-eminence or Authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this Realm."

Declaration
of Fidelity.

And shall subscribe a profession of their Christian Belief in these words :

" I A. B. profess Faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the holy Spirit, one God blessed for evermore; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the old and new Testament to be given by divine Inspiration."

Profession.

Which declaration and subscription shall be made and entered of Record at the general Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the County, City, or Place, where every such person shall then reside. And every such person that shall make and subscribe the two Declarations and Profession aforesaid, being thereunto required, shall be exempted from all the pains and penalties of all and every the aforementioned Statutes made against Popish Recusants, or Protestant Non-Conformists; and also from the penalties of an Act made in the 5th year of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth, entituled, " An Act for the Assurance of the Queen's Royal power over all Estates and Subjects within her Dominions," for or by reason of such persons not taking or refusing to take the Oath mentioned in the said Act. And also from the penalties of an Act made in the 13th and 14th years of the reign of King Charles II. entituled " An Act for preventing mischiefs that may arise by certain persons called Quakers refusing to take lawful Oaths," and enjoy all other the Benefits, Privileges, and Advantages, under the like Limitations, Provisoos and Conditions, which any other Dissenters should or ought to enjoy by virtue of this Act.

5 Eliz.
cap. 1.

13 & 14
Car. II.
cap. 1.

How purged
after the Re-
fusal of the
Oaths.

XIII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that in Caſe any Perſon ſhall reſuſe to take the ſaid Oaths when tender'd to them, which every Juſtice of the Peace is hereby impowred to do, ſuch Perſon ſhall not be admitted to make and ſubſcribe the two Declarations aforeſaid, tho' required thereunto either before any Juſtice of the Peace, or at the General or Quarter Seſſions, before or after any conviction of Popiſh Recuſancy, as aforeſaid, unleſs ſuch Perſon can, within thirty one Days after ſuch Tender of the Declaration to him, produce two ſufficient Proteſtant Witneſſes to teſtify upon Oath, that they believe him to be a Proteſtant Diſſenter, or a Certificate under the Hands of four Proteſtants who are conformable to the Church of England, or have taken the Oaths, and ſubſcribed the Declaration above-named, and ſhall produce a Certificate under the Hands and Seals of ſix or more ſufficient Men of the Congregation to which he belongs, owning him for one of them.

XIV. Provided alſo, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That until ſuch Certificate under the Hands of ſix of his Congregation, as aforeſaid, be produced, and two Proteſtant Witneſſes come to atteſt his being a Proteſtant Diſſenter, or a Certificate under the Hands of four Proteſtants, as aforeſaid, be produced, the Juſtice of the Peace ſhall, and hereby is required to take a Recognizance, with two Sureties, in the penal Sum of fifty Pounds, to be believied of his Goods and Chattles, Lands and Tenements, to the uſe of the King's and Queen's Majeſties, their Heirs and Succeſſors, for his producing the ſame; and if he cannot give ſuch Security to commit him to Priſon, there to remain until he has produced ſuch Certificate, or two Witneſſes, as aforeſaid.

Laws for
Divine Ser-
vice in force.

XV. Provided always, and it is the true Intent and Meaning of this Act, That all the Laws made and provided for the frequenting of Divine Service on the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, ſhall be ſtill in force, and executed againſt all Perſons that offend againſt the ſaid Laws, except ſuch Perſons come to ſome Congregation, or Aſſembly of Religious Worſhip, allowed or permitted by this Act.

Papiſts ex-
cepted.

XVI. Provided always, and be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That neither this Act, nor any Clause, Article, or Thing, herein contained, ſhall extend, or be continued to extend, to give any Eaſe, Benefit, or Advantage, to any Papiſt or Popiſh Recuſant whatſoever, or any Perſon,
that

that shall deny in his Preaching or Writing, the Doctrine of the blessed Trinity, as it is declared in the aforesaid Articles of Religion.

XVII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Person or Persons, at any Time or Times, after the 10th Day of June, do, and shall willingly, and of Purpose, maliciously, or contemptuously, come into any Cathedral, or Parish Church, Chapel, or other Congregation permitted by this Act, and disquiet or disturb the same; or misuse any Preacher or Teacher, such Person or Persons, upon proof thereof, before any Justice of Peace, by two or more sufficient Witnesses, shall find two Sureties to be bound by Recognizance in the penal Sum of fifty Pounds, and in default of such Sureties shall be committed to prison, there to remain till the next General or Quarter Sessions, and upon Conviction of the said Offence, at the said General or Quarter Sessions, shall suffer the Pain and Penalty, of twenty pounds, to the use of the King's and Queen's Majesties, their Heirs and Successors.

Disturbers
of Religious
Worship,
how punish-
ed.
§ 1 Geo. I.
Stat. 2.
cap. 5. § 4.

XVIII. Provided always, that no Congregation, or Assembly for Religious Worship, shall be permitted or allowed by this Act, until the place of such Meeting shall be certified to the Bishop of the Diocese, or to the Archdeacon of that Archdeaconry, or to the Justices of the Peace, at the General or Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the County, City, or Place, in which such Meeting shall be held, and register'd in the said Bishop's or Archdeacon's Court respectively, or recorded at the said General or Quarter Sessions, the Register or Clerk of the Peace whereof respectively is hereby required to register the same, and to give Certificate thereof to such Person as shall demand the same, for which there shall be no greater Fee nor Reward taken than the Sum of six Pence.

Place for
Worship to
be certified.

N U M B. II.

The Occasional Act, entituled, An Act for Preserving the Protestant Religion, by better Securing the Church of England, as by Law established; and for Confirming the Toleration granted to Protestant Dissenters by an Act, entituled, "An Act for exempting Their Majesty's Protestant Subjects, Dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws," and for supplying the Defects thereof; and for the further Securing the Protestant Succession, by requiring the Practicers of the Law in North Britain to take the Oaths, and subscribe the Declaration therein mentioned.

10th of Q.
Anne.

WHereas an Act was made in the thirteenth year of the Reign of the late King Charles II. entituled, "An Act for the well Governing and Regulating of Corporations." And another Act was made in the five and twentieth year of the Reign of the said late King Charles II. entituled, "An Act for the preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants." Both which Acts were made for the Security of the Church of England, as by Law established. Now for the better securing the said Church, and quieting the Minds of her Majesty's Protestant Subjects Dissenting from the Church of England, and rendering them secure in the Exercise of their Religious Worship; as also for the further strengthening the Provision already made for the Security of the Succession to the Crown in the House of Hanover, Be it enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That if any Person or Persons, after the five and twentieth Day of March, which shall be in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and twelve, either Peers or Com-
moners,

moners, who have, or shall have any Office or Offices, Civil or Military, or receive any Pay, Salary, Fee, or Wages, by Reason of any Patent or Grant from or under her Majesty, or any of her Majesty's Predecessors, or of her Heirs or Successors, or shall have any Command or Place of Trust from or under her Majesty, her Heirs or Successors, or from any of her Majesty's Predecessors, or by her or their Authority, or by Authority derived from her or them, within that Part of Great-Britain, called England, the Dominion of Wales, or Town of Berwick upon Tweed, or in the Navy, or in the several Islands of Jersey or Guernsey, or shall be admitted into any Service or Employment in the Household or Family of her Majesty, her Heirs or Successors; or if any Mayor, Alderman, Recorder, Bailiff, Town Clerk, Common Council Man, or other Person, bearing any Office of Magistracy, or place of Trust or other Employment relating to, or concerning the Government of any of the respective Cities, Corporations, Boroughs, Cinque Ports, and their Members, or other Port Towns within that Part of Great-Britain called England, the Dominion of Wales, Town of Berwick, or either of the Isles aforesaid, who by the said recited Acts, or either of them, were or are obliged to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Rites and Usage of the Church of England, as aforesaid, shall at any Time after their Admission into their respective Offices or Employments, or after having such Patent or Grant, Command or Place of Trust, as aforesaid, during his or their Continuance in such Office or Offices, Employment or Employments, or having such Patent or Grant, Command or Place of Trust, or any Profit or Advantage from the same, knowingly or willingly resort to, or be present at any Conventicle, Assembly or Meeting within England, Wales, Berwick upon Tweed, or the Isles aforesaid, for the Exercise of Religion in other Manner than according to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of England, in any place within that part of Great-Britain called England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, or the Isles aforesaid, at which Conventicle, Assembly, or Meeting, there shall be ten Persons or more assembled together, over and besides those of the same Household, if it be in any House where there is a Family inhabiting, or if it be in an House or Place where there is no Family inhabiting, then where any such ten Persons are so assembled, as aforesaid; or shall knowingly and willingly be present at any such Meet-

ing in such Houle or Place, as aforesaid, although the Liturgy be there used, where her Majesty (whom God long preserve) and the Princess Sophia, or such others as shall from Time to Time be lawfully appointed to be prayed for, shall not there be prayed for in exprefs Words according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, except where such particular Offices of the Liturgy are used, wherein there are no exprefs Directions to pray for her Majesty and the Royal Family, shall forfeit forty Pounds, to be recovered by him or them that shall sue for the same, by any Action of Debt, Bill, Plaint, or Information, in any of her Majesty's Courts at Westminster, wherein no Essoin, Protection, or Wager of Law shall be allowed, or any more than one Imparlançe.

And be it further enacted, That every person convicted in any Action to be brought, as aforesaid, or upon any Information, Presentment, or Indictment in any of her Majesty's Courts at Westminster, or at the Assizes, shall be disabled from thenceforth to hold such Office or Offices, Employment or Employments, or to receive any Profit or Advantage by reason of them, or of any Grant, as aforesaid, and shall be adjudged incapable to bear any Office or Employment whatsoever, within that part of Great-Britain called England, the Dominion of Wales, or the Town of Berwick upon Tweed, or the Isles of Jersey or Guernsey.

Provided always, and be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any person or persons, who shall have been convicted, as aforesaid, and thereby made incapable to hold any Office or Employment, or to receive any profit or Advantage by reason of them, or of any Grant, as aforesaid, shall after such Conviction, conform to the Church of England, for the space of one year, without having been present at any Conventicle, Assembly, or Meeting, as aforesaid, and receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Rites and Usage of the Church of England, at least three Times in the year; every such person or persons shall be capable of the Grant of any of the Offices or Employments aforesaid.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That every such person so convicted, and afterwards conforming, in manner, as aforesaid, shall at the next Term after his Admission into any such Office or Employment, make Oath in writing in some one of her Majesty's Courts at Westminster, in publick and open Court, or at the next Quarter Sessions for that County or Place where he shall reside, between the Hours of nine and twelve in the Forenoon, he hath con-

formed

formed to the Church of England for the space of one year before such his Admission, without having been present at any Conventicle, Assembly or Meeting, as aforesaid, and that he hath received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at least three Times in the Year; which Oath shall be there enrolled and kept upon Record.

Provided, that no person shall suffer any punishment for any Offence committed against this Act, unless Oath be made of such Offence before some Judge or Justice of the Peace (who is hereby empowered and required to take the said Oath) within ten Days after the said Offence committed, and unless the said Offender be prosecuted for the same within three Months after the said Offence committed; nor shall any person be convicted for any such Offence, unless upon the Oaths of two credible Witnesses at the least.

Provided always, That this Act, or any Thing therein contained, or any Offence against the same, shall not extend or be judged, to take away or make void any Office of Inheritance; nevertheless, so as such person having or enjoying any such Office of Inheritance, do or shall substitute and appoint his sufficient Deputy (which such Officer is hereby empowered from Time to Time, to make or change, any former Law or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding) to exercise the said Office, until such Time as the person having such Office, shall conform, as aforesaid.

And it is hereby further enacted and declared, by the Authority aforesaid, That the Toleration granted to Protestant Dissenters, by the Act made in the first year of the Reign of King William and Queen Mary, entituled, "An Act
" for Exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects, Dis-
" senting from the Church of England, from the Penalties
" of certain Laws," shall be, and is hereby ratified and confirmed, and that the same Act shall at all Times be inviolably observed, for the Exempting of such Protestant Dissenters as are thereby intended, from the pains and penalties therein mentioned.

And for the rendering the said last mentioned Act more effectual, according to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, Be it further enacted and declared by the Authority aforesaid, That if any person Dissenting from the Church of England (not in holy Orders, or pretended holy Orders, or pretending to holy Orders, nor any Preacher or Teacher of any Congregation) who should have been entituled to the Benefit of the said last mentioned Act, if such Person had duly taken, made, and subscribed the Oaths and Declara-

tion, or otherwise qualified him or herself, as required by the said Act, and now is or shall be prosecuted upon or by Virtue of any of the penal Statutes, from which Protestant Dissenters are exempted by the said Act, shall at any time during such prosecution, take, make, and subscribe the said Oaths and Declaration, or being of the People called Quakers, shall make and subscribe the aforesaid Declaration, and also the Declaration of Fidelity, and subscribe the profession of their Christian Belief according to the said Act, or before any two of her Majesty's Justices of the Peace (who are hereby required to take and return the same to the next Quarter Sessions of the Peace, to be there recorded) such person shall be, and is hereby entitled to the Benefit of the said Act, as fully and effectually as if such person had duly qualified himself within the Time prescribed by the said Act, and shall be thenceforth exempted and discharged from all the Penalties and Forfeitures incurred by Force of any the aforesaid penal Statutes.

And whereas it is or may be doubted, whether a Preacher or Teacher of any Congregation of Dissenting Protestants; duly in all Respects qualified according to the said Act, be allowed by virtue of the said Act, to officiate in any Congregation in any County, other than that in which he so qualified himself, although in a Congregation or Place of Meeting, duly certified and register'd as is required by the said Act; Be it declared and enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That any such Preacher or Teacher, so duly qualified according to the said Act, shall be, and is hereby allowed to officiate in any Congregation, although the same be not in the County wherein he was so qualified; provided that the said Congregation, or Place of meeting hath been before such officiating, duly certified and register'd or recorded according to the said Act: And such Preacher or Teacher shall, if required, produce a Certificate of his having so qualified himself, under the hand of the Clerk of the Peace for the County or Place where he so qualified himself, which Certificate such Clerk of the Peace is hereby required to make; and shall also before any Justice of the Peace of such County, or Place where he shall so officiate, make and subscribe such Declaration, and take such Oaths as are mentioned in the said Act, if thereunto required.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That on or before the fifteenth Day of June next, all Advocates, Writers to the Signet, Notaries Publick, and other Members of the College of Justice, within that Part of her Majesty's Kingdom

Kingdom of Great Britain called Scotland, shall be, and are hereby obliged to take and subscribe the Oath appointed by the Act of the sixth year of her Majesty's Reign, entituled, An Act for the better Security of her Majesty's Person and Government, before the Lords of Session of the aforesaid part of her Majesty's Kingdom, except such of the said Persons who have already taken the same : And if any of the Persons aforesaid do, or shall neglect or refuse to take and subscribe the said Oath, as aforesaid, such Person shall be, Ipso facto, adjudged incapable, and disabled in Law to have, enjoy, or exercise in any manner his said Employment or Practice.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that in all time coming, no Person or Persons shall be admitted to the employment of Advocate, Writer to the Signet, Notary Publick, or any Office belonging to the said College of Justice, until he or they have taken and subscribed the aforesaid Oath, in manner as is above directed.

N U M B. III.

The Schism Act, entituled, An Act to prevent the Growth of Schism, and for the further Security of the Churches of England and Ireland, as by Law established.

W H E R E A S by an Act of Parliament made in the ^{12th 2.} thirteenth and fourteenth Years of his late Majesty ^{Anne.} King Charles the Second, entituled, " An Act for the " Uniformity of Publick Prayers, and Administration of " Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies ; and for " establishing the Form of Making, Ordaining, and Con- " secrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in the Church of " England," it is amongst other things enacted, that every School-Master keeping any publick or private School ; and every Person instructing or teaching any Youth in any House or private Family, as a Tutor or School-master, should subscribe before his or their respective Archbishop, Bishop, or Ordinary of the Diocese, a Declaration or Acknowledgment, in which, amongst other things, was contained, as follows, viz. " I A. B. do declare, that I will conform to the " Liturgy of the Church of England, as it is now by Law " established ;" and if any School-Master or other Person, instructing or teaching Youth in any private House or Family,

mily, as a Tutor or School-Master, before Licence obtained from his respective Archbishop, Bishop, or Ordinary of the Diocese, according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, for which he should pay twelve Pence only, and before such Subscription and acknowledgment made, as aforesaid, then every such School-Master and other, instructing and teaching, as aforesaid, should, for the first offence, suffer three Months imprisonment, without Bail or Mainprize; and for every second and other such offence should suffer three Months imprisonment without Bail or Mainprize, and also forfeit to his Majesty the sum of five Pounds. And whereas notwithstanding the said Act, sundry Papists, and other Persons dissenting from the Church of England, have taken upon them to instruct and teach Youth as Tutors or School-Masters, and have for such purpose openly set up Schools and Seminaries, whereby, if due and speedy remedy be not had, great danger might ensue to this Church and State: For the making the said recited Act more effectual, and preventing the danger aforesaid, Be it enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lord's Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, that every Person or Persons who shall, from and after the first Day of August next ensuing, keep any publick or private School or Seminary, or teach and instruct any Youth as Tutor or School-Master, within that part of Great-Britain called England, the Dominion of Wales, or Town of Berwick upon Tweed, before such Person or Persons shall have subscribed so much of the said Declaration and Acknowledgment, as is before recited, and shall have had and obtained a Licence from the respective Archbishop, Bishop, or Ordinary of the Place, under his Seal of Office (for which the Party shall pay one Shilling, and no more, over and above the Duties payable to her Majesty for the same) and shall be thereof lawfully convicted, upon an Information, Presentment, or Indictment, in any of her Majesty's Courts of Record at Westminster, or at the Assizes, or before Justices of Oyer and Terminer, shall, and may be committed to the common Goal of such County, Riding, City, or Town Corporate, as aforesaid, there to remain without Bail or Mainprize for the Space of three Months, to commence from the time that such Person or Persons shall be received into the said Goal.

Provided

Provided always, and be it hereby enacted, that no Licence shall be granted by any Archbishop, Bishop, or Ordinary, unless the Person or Persons who shall sue for the same, shall produce a Certificate of his or their having received the Sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England, in some Parish Church, within the Space of one Year next before the Grant of such Licence, under the Hand of the Minister and one of the Church-Wardens of the said Parish, nor until such Person or Persons shall have taken and subscribed the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and Abjuration, as appointed by Law, and shall have made and subscribed the Declaration against Transubstantiation, contained in the Act made in the twenty fifth Year of the Reign of King Charles the Second, entitled, "An Act for preventing dangers which may happen from "Popish Recusants," before the said Archbishop, Bishop, or Ordinary; which said Oaths and Declarations, the said Archbishop, Bishop, or Ordinary, are hereby impowered and required to administer and receive; and such Archbishops, Bishops, and Ordinaries are required to file such Certificates, and keep an exact Register of the same, and of the taking and subscribing such Oaths and Declarations.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that any Person who shall have obtained a Licence, and subscribed the Declarations, and taken and subscribed the Oaths, as above appointed, and shall at any time after, during the Time of his or their keeping any publick or private School or Seminary, or instructing any Youth as Tutor or School-Master, knowingly or willingly, resort to, or be present at any Conventicle, Assembly, or Meeting, within England, Wales, or Town of Berwick upon Tweed, for the exercise of Religion, in any other manner than according to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of England, or shall knowingly and willingly be present at any Meeting or Assembly for the exercise of Religion, although the Liturgy be there used, where her Majesty (whom God long preserve) and the Elector of Brunſwick, or such others as shall, from time to time, be lawfully appointed to be prayed for, shall not there be prayed for in exprefs Words, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, except where such particular Offices of the Liturgy are used, wherein there are no exprefs Directions to pray for her Majesty and the Royal Family, shall be liable to the Penalties in this Act, and shall from thenceforth be incapable of keeping any publick or private School or Seminary, or instructing any Youth as Tutor or School-Master. And

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that if any Person licensed, as aforesaid, shall teach any other Catechism than the Catechism set forth in the Book of Common-prayer, the Licence of such Person shall from thenceforth be void, and such Person shall be liable to the Penalties of this Act.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful, to and for the Bishop of the Diocese, or other proper Ordinary, to cite any Person or Persons whatsoever, keeping School or Seminary, or teaching without Licence, as aforesaid, and to proceed against, and punish such Person or Persons by Ecclesiastical Censure, subject to such Appeals as in Cases of ordinary Jurisdiction; this Act or any other Law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided always, that no Person offending against this Act shall be punished twice for the same Offence.

Provided also, that where any Person shall be prosecuted without Fraud or Covin in any of the Courts aforesaid, for any Offence contrary to this Act, the same Person shall not be afterwards prosecuted for the same offence in any of the said Courts, whilst such former Prosecution shall be pending and carried on without any wilful delay; and in case of any such After prosecution, the Person so doubly prosecuted may alledge, plead, or shew forth in his defence against the same, such former Prosecution pending, or Judgment, or Sentence thereupon given, the said Pleader first making Oath before the Judge or Judges of the Court where such After-prosecution shall be pending, and which said Oath he or they are hereby impowered and required to administer, that the said Prior-prosecution was not commenced or carried on by his means, or with his consent or procurement, or by any Fraud or Collusion of any other Person to his Knowledge or Belief.

Provided always, that this Act, or any thing therein contained, shall not extend, or be construed to extend to any Tutor teaching or instructing Youth in any College or Hall, within either of the Universities of that part of Great Britain called England, nor to any Tutor who shall be employed by any Nobleman or Noblewoman, to teach his or her own Children, Grand-children, or Great Grand-children only, in his or her Family; provided such Tutor, so teaching in any Nobleman or Noblewoman's Family, do in every respect qualify himself according to this Act, except only in that of taking a Licence from the Bishop.

Provided

Provided also, That the penalties in this Act shall not extend to any foreigner, or alien of the foreign reformed Churches, allowed, or to be allowed by the Queen's Majesty, her Heirs or Successors in England, for instructing or teaching any Child or Children of any such Foreign or Alien only, as a Tutor or School-Master.

Provided always, and be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Person who shall have been convicted, as aforesaid, and thereby made incapable to teach or instruct any Youth, as aforesaid, shall, after such Conviction, conform to the Church of England for the space of one Year, without having been present at any Conventicle, Assembly, or Meeting, as aforesaid, and receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Rites and Usage of the Church of England, at least three Times in that Year, every such Person or Persons shall be again capable of having and using a Licence to teach School, or to instruct Youth as a Tutor or School-Master, he or they also performing all that is made requisite thereunto by this Act.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That every such Person so convicted, and afterwards conforming, in manner as aforesaid, shall, at the next Term after his being admitted to, or taking upon him to teach, or instruct Youth, as aforesaid, make Oath in writing, in some one of her Majesty's Courts at Westminster, in publick and open Court, or at the next Quarter Sessions for that County or Place where he shall reside, between the Hours of nine and twelve in the Forenoon, That he hath conformed to the Church of England, for the space of one year before such his Admission, without having been present at any Conventicle, Assembly or Meeting, as aforesaid, and that he hath received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at least three times in the year, which Oath shall be there enrolled, and kept upon Record.

Provided always, That this Act shall not extend, or be construed to extend to any Person, who as a Tutor or School-Master, shall instruct Youth in Reading, Writing, Arithmetick, or any part of Mathematical Learning only, so far as such Mathematical Learning relates to Navigation, or any Mechanical Art only, and so as such Reading, Writing, Arithmetick, or Mathematical Learning, shall be taught in the English Tongue only.

And whereas by an Act of Parliament made in Ireland, in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of his said late Majesty

jeſty King Charles the ſecond, entitled, “ An Act for the
 “ Uniformity of Publick Prayers, and Adminiſtration of
 “ the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies ; and
 “ for eſtabliſhing the Form of Making, Ordaining, and
 “ Conſecrating of Biſhops, Priests, and Deacons in the
 “ Church of Ireland ;” It is enacted concerning School-
 Maſters, and other Perſons inſtructing Youth in private Fa-
 milies in Ireland, as in and by the above recited Act is en-
 acted concerning School-Maſters and others inſtructing
 Youth in private Families, in that part of Great-Britain
 called England. And whereas it is reaſonable, that where
 the Law is the ſame, the remedy and means for enforcing
 the Execution of the Law ſhould be the ſame ; Be it there-
 fore enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That all and every
 the Remedies, Proviſions, and Clauſes, in and by this Act
 given, made, and enacted, ſhall extend, and be deemed,
 conſtrued, and adjudged, to extend to Ireland, in as full
 and effectual manner as if Ireland had been expreſſy named
 and mentioned in all and every the Clauſes in this Act.

N U M B. IV.

The Repeal, entitled, An Act for Strengthen-
 ing the Proteſtant Intereſt in theſe Kingdoms.

5th of K.
 George I.
 cap. 4.
 10 Annæ,
 cap. 2.

WHEREAS an Act of Parliament was made in the
 tenth year of the Reign of the late Queen Anne, [en-
 titled, “ An Act for preſerving the Proteſtant Religi-
 “ on by better ſecuring the Church of England as by Law
 “ eſtabliſhed, and for confirming the Toleration granted to
 “ Proteſtant Diſſenters, by an Act, [entitled, An Act for
 “ exempting their Maſteſty’s Proteſtant Subjects diſſenting
 “ from the Church of England from the Penalties of cer-
 “ tain Laws ;] and for ſupplying the defects thereof, and for
 “ the further ſecuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion, by requi-
 “ ring the Practiſers of the Law in North-Britain to take
 “ the Oaths, and ſubſcribe the Declaration therein men-
 “ tioned.]” And whereas part of the ſaid Act ; as alſo an-
 other Act hereinafter mentioned, have been found to be
 inconvenient ; Be it therefore enacted by the King’s moſt
 excellent Maſteſty, by and with the advice of the Lords
 Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament af-
 ſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, that the ſaid
 recited

recited Act passed in the tenth year of the late Queen Anne, from the beginning thereof to these Words ["And it is hereby further enacted and declared, by the Authority aforesaid, that the Toleration granted to Protestant Dissenters."] And also one Act made in the twelfth year of the Reign of the late Queen Anne, entituled, [An Act to prevent the growth of Schism, and for the further security of the Churches of England and Ireland as by Law established,"] shall be, and are hereby repealed, annulled, and made void.

Part of the Act 10 A. cap. 2. and the Schism Act of the 12 th of A. Stat. 2. cap. 7. shall be repealed.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Mayor, Bailiff, or other Magistrate, in that part of Great-Britain called England, the Dominion of Wales, or Town of Berwick upon Tweed, or the Isles of Jersey or Guernsey, shall knowingly or willingly resort to, or be present at any publick Meeting for Religious Worship, other than of the Church of England as by Law established, in the Gown, or other peculiar Habit, or attended with the Ensign or Ensigns of, or belonging to such his Office, that every such Mayor, Bailiff, or other Magistrate, being thereof convicted by due Course of Law, shall be disabled to hold such Office or Offices, Employment or Employments, and shall be adjudged incapable to bear any publick Office or Employment whatsoever within that part of Great-Britain called England, the Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, or Isles of Jersey and Guernsey.

Mayor, &c. resorting to any Conventicle with the Ensigns of his Office disabled to hold any publick Office.



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